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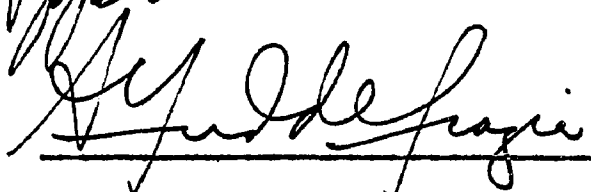
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION:
A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN CHANGE

by

Gabriel S. Pellathy

February, 1971

A dissertation in the Department of Politics
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Science
in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at
New York University

Approved


Professor A. DeGrazia
Research Adviser

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ABSTRACT

The National Education Association (NEA), founded in 1857, is the largest professional association in the United States with over a million members. This thesis attempts to fill a gap in social science literature by describing the organizational life of this large group, concentrating on NEA's changing goals, functions and external influence patterns, over the past twelve years.

In the late 1950's NEA's self-concept was subjected to severe stresses from within and without. Membership was invited to assess organizational performance in connection with the centennial celebrations of 1957; this process produced, unexpectedly, a social movement by classroom teacher members to reform NEA goals. Externally, the labor movement had decided to give increasing support to the unionization of white-collar public sector employees. This resulted in the renewed strength of the American Federation of Teachers, whose locals posed a severe threat to NEA's position in larger cities.

The renewed activism of NEA's classroom teacher members (who comprised some 85 percent of membership) in the late 1950's resulted in far-reaching changes in NEA's public service goals, in its attitudes to membership benefits and

in its outmoded structure. This thesis analyses the metamorphosis of NEA's position as a predominantly commonwealth organization oriented to public relations (concentrating on research, dissemination of information on public school policy and methodology, and lobbying for general federal support of education) to a group committed to alleviating the economic, social and political ills of society in addition to maintaining its older public service functions. As a result of this change, NEA instituted programs to service urban schools and professional associations, and programs dedicated to the human rights of disadvantaged Americans. The shift of emphasis has allowed the NEA to support federal categorical aid and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This has resulted in the increased political socialization of the NEA and its membership. The change has not been accomplished without significant opposition from NEA's large southern and rural membership. An oligarchy dominant in the 1950's and geared largely to such southern and rural sections, as well as to states' rights and fiscal conservatism, was seriously weakened as a result. This thesis analyzes the reasons for the decline of the oligarchy of the 1950's using Michels' thesis as a framework.

During the 1960's, economic benefits to membership have been increased greatly due to activist classroom teacher pressure. Again, this was done against the opposition

of sections of NEA's headquarters staff and some state affiliates that already provided some economic benefits to state group members. The tax status of NEA as an educational organization was imperiled as a result. NEA also committed itself to a more militant position in support of local or state NEA groups engaged in fruitless negotiations with public educational systems. In the 1960's, the use of boycott against recalcitrant systems was instituted by the NEA. By 1968, the use of teacher work stoppage was condoned under "drastic" circumstances. NEA now lobbies for a federal Negotiations Law for professional public employees, to be under the supervision of a new federal board.

These changes in public service and membership benefit goals of the NEA are reflected in, and have caused moves to update and streamline NEA's organizational structure. These institutional changes are detailed and analyzed in the thesis.

Using the framework of analysis drawn by social scientists such as Blau and Scott, Katz and Kahn, and Michels the thesis analyses the emergence of the NEA as a changed organization with new public service and membership benefit goals, evidencing new leadership patterns and modernized organizational structure. Aspects of membership representation involved in organizational decision-making are stressed throughout.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The staff of the National Education Association have provided the writer with office space and access to valuable materials. The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to Dr. Lyle C. Ashby, then deputy executive secretary, Dr. Jack Kleinmann, director of Organizational Planning, and Miss Alice Morton, archivist, as well as a number of other staff members who were kind and informative.

The Department of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati, where the writer is teaching at the time of completing his thesis, has been most patient and understanding in this matter. Special thanks are due to Dr. Dieter Dux, head of the department until June, 1970. The work of Mrs. R. F. Richey who typed the manuscript was invaluable.

Very rarely does an undertaking of this magnitude succeed without the support of family and friends. To my dearest wife, son, my parents, my wife's parents and to friends, especially Warren Farrell, himself a doctoral candidate at New York University, my deepest thanks.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction	1
II. Changing Goals and Priorities of the NEA . .	55
III. State, Local and Departmental Relations . .	100
IV. NEA's Evolving Governing Structure	166
V. The Representative Assembly	258
VI. Membership Benefits	383
VII. The NEA: Influencing Domestic Public Opinion and Policies	465
VIII. NEA Influence: International Relations . .	537
IX. Conclusions	595
Appendices	629
Bibliography	725

INTRODUCTION

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction: The Framework of Inquiry	1
Section One: Political Science Literature on Interest Groups and on the Na- tional Education Association . . .	1
Studies on Interest Groups	1
Studies Concerning the NEA	5
Section Two: A Brief Description of the NEA . . .	8
Importance of NEA	10
Participation in Policy Formation	12
Goals and Policies of the Association	14
Conflicting Goals	14
Changes in Goals	15
Changes in Structure	16
Changes in Attitude of Membership	18
Section Three: Organizational Changes in the NEA	19
General Considerations	19
Formal Organizations	19
Organizational Changes	20
Reasons for Change	21
Models for Change	23
Combined Approach to Change	25
Organizational Change in the NEA	27
Section Four: Related Lines of Inquiry	38
Elitism	38
Organization Decision-Making	41

	<u>Page</u>
Foreign Policy Formation	42
Formation of Public Opinion	42
Section Five: Source Materials and Methodology	42
Secondary Sources	42
Primary Sources	47
Methodology	50
Section Six: Restatement of Purpose	53

CHANGING GOALS AND PRIORITIES OF THE NEA

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	55
A. The Old Image of the NEA	58
The Commitment of NEA to Voluntary Action and Self-Help	59
NEA's Dominance by Its Southern Faction	63
NEA's Championship of the Public School System	66
The Urban-Rural Divergence in the NEA	67
NEA's "Monopoly" of the Public Education Field	68
B. Teacher Militancy in NEA	70
C. Development of Priorities in Goals	78
The Threefold Emphasis in NEA's Belief System.	83
New Public Service Goals of the NEA	85
Membership Benefit Goals of NEA	87
D. The Process of Change and Renewal Moderniza- tion of Structure	91
Streamlining NEA's National Headquarters Structure	93
Conclusions	97

STATE, LOCAL AND DEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	100
State Relations	106
Relation of State and Local Affiliates	107
Historical Overview	112
Staffing	115
Unification	117
Dual Affiliates	117
Vertical Unification	117
Benefits	118
Trends	119
The State Associations' Relations to NEA- Central Structure	121
Dissatisfaction of State Associations	121
NEA-State Affiliates: Coordinating Structure	124
History of the National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Asso- ciations (NASSTA)	124
Areas of Conflict	127
Unification	128
NEA Membership Insurance Issue	131
Conclusions	132
NEA Local Relations	132
Definition of Locals	133
Development of Locals	136
NEA Efforts in Local Affiliation	138

	<u>Page</u>
Role of Locals	138
Unification	139
Joint Chartering	140
Standards for Locals	143
Conclusion	146
NEA Departmental Relations	146
Status of Departments before 1969	146
NEA Membership Requirements for Department Members	149
Financial Relations of NEA and the Departments NEA Financial Aid	151
Coordination of Departmental Policies with NEA	157
The Position of Department Within the NEA Structure	159
Changes in NEA Departmental Relations	161
Reaction of Specific Groups	164
Higher Education	164
Administrators	165b
Conclusions	165c

NEA'S EVOLVING GOVERNING STRUCTURE

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	166
A. The Executive Committee	169
Present Status	169
Expansion and Clarification of Powers	169
Appointive Powers	172
Financial Powers	175
Disciplinary Powers	181
Individual Members	181
Action Against Group Affiliates	182
Sanctions	193
Supervisory Powers	196
B. The Board of Directors	200
Powers of the Board	200
Influence of the Board	203
C. The Office of the Executive Secretary	211
Powers	211
Michels' Postulates	214
The Carr Tenure	217
The Lambert Secretaryship	237
D. The Presidency	245
Succession	245
Powers	248
Rising Influence of the Presidency	248
Conclusion	254

THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	258
The Establishment of the Assembly	261
A. The Delegates to the NEA Assemblies	266
Selection of Delegates	266
Appointment of Delegates	268
Elected Delegates	271
Ex Officio Delegates	272
Per Member Ratio of Delegates	273
Overlapping Memberships and Delegates	275
Delegations from Host States	279
Personal Characteristics of Delegates	281
Age	281
Sex	282
Longevity	283
Delegate Expenses	285
B. Proposals for Reform of Delegate Selection	286
Saint Mary's Lake Conference	286
1957 Management Survey	286
Executive Committee Recommendations	289
Board of Directors Action	291
Action of the 1966 Assembly	296
Subsequent Action	298
Action in 1968	301

	<u>Page</u>
C. Influence Patterns in NEA Assemblies	305
Political Orientation of Delegates According to States	305
State-Local Divisions	306
Staff Members of State Affiliates	309
The Influence of Classroom Teachers (ACT)	311
Examples of ACT Influence	312
NEA Insurance Policy Offerings	312
Teacher Representation	314
The Issue of Assembly Size	318
Urban Associations	318
Influence of Administrators	328
Influence of the Executive Secretary	332
The Carr Era	333
The Educational Policies Commission (EPC) and the Assembly	341
D. Evaluation of the Assembly's Role	348
Assembly Committees	349
Time Available for Discussion of Business	349
NEA Resolutions	352
Proposals from the Floor	357
The Effectiveness of the Assembly in NEA's Conduct of Policy	361
The Assembly and Other NEA Governing Units	361
Compliance with Assembly Resolutions	363
Urban Affairs	364

	<u>Page</u>
Integration	369
Membership Benefits	374
The Constitutional Convention	377
Conclusion	379

MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	383
Individual Membership Benefits	390
Membership Dissatisfaction	390
Financial Benefits	391
Term Life Insurance	391
Annuity Plans	397
The Mutual Fund	401
Car Leasing	408
Credit Cards	410
Travel	412
Emergency Aid	413
DuShane Fund	413
The NEA*SEARCH	416
Aid to Membership Groups	418
The Evolution of "Professional Negotiations"	419
Guidelines for Professional Negotiations	420
NEA Research and Professional Negotiations	422
Sanctions by NEA	423
The Use of the NEA Code of Ethics	427
The Florida Situation	428
The DuShane Fund	431
Benefits to the Profession As a Whole	437
Code of Ethics	439
Educational Standards	442

	<u>Page</u>
Professionalism	444
NEA Research Division	448
Legislation	455
Deductibility of Expenses	456
Benefits for Overseas Teachers	457
International Education	458
Other Areas	459
Conclusion	461

THE NEA: INFLUENCING DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION AND POLICIES

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	465
The Educational Policies Commission	468
Gaging the Influence of the EPC	469
EPC's Position in the NEA	473
The Demise of the EPC	475
An Assessment of the Studies Made by EPC	480
The Vacuum Left by EPC	485
Creating a Climate Favorable to Education	488
A. White House Conferences	488
B. Use of the Public Communications Media	494
C. Commemoration of Education in the Public School System	499
D. Contacts with Other Organizations	501
NEA and Federal Support for Education	505
NEA Lobbying During the Eisenhower Admin- istrations	508
The National Defense Education Act of 1958 . . .	515
NEA and Federal Aid Legislation After 1960 . . .	519
The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act and Its Aftermath	527
Conclusions	533

NEA INFLUENCE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	537
History of NEA's International Involvement	539
The San Francisco Conference	545
The London Conference	551
UNESCO Preparatory Commission	556
U. S. National Commission for UNESCO	557
The Paris Conference	561
CIER (The Committee for International Educa- tional Reconstruction)	564
The NEA and International Teacher Groups	566
Overview	566
Founding of WOTP at Endicott	569
WOTP and the East-West Struggle	576
WOTP-WCOTP Relations with NEA	584
The Accomplishments of WCOTP	586
Conclusions	590

CONCLUSIONS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	595
Goals	595
I. Changes in Organizational Goals	595
A. Service to Members	595
B. Encouraging Political Activity of Members.	597
C. Encouraging Community Involvement of Members	598
D. Services to Special Groups of Members . . .	598
E. New Professional Goals	599
F. New Public Service Goals	600
G. Modernizing the Organization	601
II. Changes in Structure and Decision-Making . . .	604
A. Changes in Governing Structure	604
B. Changes in the Interrelation of Governing Structures	605
C. New Organizational Structures and Pro- grams to Reflect New Goals	607
III. Changes in External Policy	610
A. Domestic Legislation and American Public Opinion	610
B. International Activities	612
IV. Theoretical Conclusions	614
1. The Organizational Dilemmas Posed by Blau and Scott	614
2. Modification of "Commonwealth" Attributes.	616
3. Participation of Publics in Organizational Decision-Making	618

	<u>Page</u>
4. Organizational Adaptation	621
5. Representation and Elitism	622
V. Final Observations	627

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>	
III-1	Interrelation of NEA State and Local Levels in Selected Areas	107
III-2	Sample Checking of Departmental Membership Against NEA Membership in Departments	152
III-3	Reorganization Pattern of NEA-Affiliated Groups, June, 1969	165
IV-1	Board of Directors: Breakdown of Membership by Job Specialization	205
V-1	Appointment of NEA Assembly Delegates by Governing Bodies of State Groups	268
V-2	Selection of NEA Assembly Delegates by State Board of Directors	269
V-3	Participation of State Assemblies in the Selection of NEA Assembly Delegates	271
V-4	Selection of NEA Assembly Delegates by State Regional Conventions	271
V-5	A Study of Delegates Attending NEA Assembly at Dallas, 1968 (Ratio of Delegates Allowed and Attending per State to Total State Memberships).	274
V-6	Size of Delegations at NEA Assemblies from Host States	280
V-7	Percentage of Women in Major Delegations at 1968 NEA Convention	283
V-8	Longevity of NEA Delegates at NEA Assemblies	284
V-9	Declared Orientations of Major State Delegations at the 1968 NEA Assembly	307
V-10	Proportion of Staff Members to Other Delegates in State Delegations to NEA Assemblies	310

	<u>Page</u>
V-11	Number of Teachers in Delegations to NEA Assemblies, 1964-1968 312
V-12	Percentage of Teachers in Important NEA Groups 315
V-13	NEA Membership in Medium-sized and Smaller Cities 320
V-14	Administrators and Supervisory Personnel as Delegates to the 1968 NEA Assembly . . 330
V-15	Breakdown of Time Spent by the Repre- sentative Assembly, 1968 NEA Assembly . . 350
V-16	Number of Proposals and Time Spent in Discussion, 1968 NEA Assembly 351

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION:
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by

Gabriel S. Pellathy

VOLUME ONE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE FRAMEWORK OF INQUIRY

SECTION ONE: POLITICAL SCIENCE LITERATURE ON THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Studies on Interest Groups

Interest groups have been studied from various points of view in political science. One approach considers the existence of democracy in an organization;¹ another deals with the formation of oligarchy in groups and the phenomenon of leadership in general.² Further research examines various types of organizational publics and memberships.³ Some employ the framework of public administration

¹See W. M. Leiserson, American Trade Union Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); S. M. Lipset, M. A. Trow and J. S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

²The classic in this field is R. Michels, Political Parties (New York: The Free Press, 1962) (originally written in 1911); see also C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); O. Garceau, The Political Life of the American Medical Association (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941); R. Tannenbaum, I. Wechsler and F. Massarik, Leadership and Organization (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

³W. A. Glaser and D. S. Sills, The Government of Associations (Totowa, N. J.: The Bedminster Press, 1966); A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961).

principles; others use a sociological approach.⁴ There are descriptions of organizational structures focussing on decision-making.⁵ Thus, there have been a number of studies on aspects of the internal dynamics of an organization.

Another major area of research has dealt with the linkage of interest groups to public policy and public officials such as legislators. Studies in this area deal with the manner and effect of exerting pressure on public policy decisions.⁶

Moreover, there are many types of voluntary associations studied by social scientists. Labor unions, some major professional organizations, church groups, social movement organizations, ideological groups, veterans groups

⁴J. G. March and H. A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958); Presthus, R., The Organizational Society (New York: A. Knopf, 1962); D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.), Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1960, 2d ed.); P. Blau and W. Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962).

⁵P. M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); B. Gross, The Managing of Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1964); Glaser and Sills, op. cit. fn. 3, supra.

⁶B. Zisk, American Political Interest Groups: Readings in Theory and Research (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1969); H. Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964); R. Salisbury (ed.), Interest Group Politics in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

and universities have been among those considered.⁷

Yet in political science the question of linkage between the internal workings of groups and their public policy stands has not been explored often in an explicit way. Further, the connection between changes of organizational structures and the evolution of organizational policy has been described even more rarely. In sociology there is literature on this subject,⁸ but to the political scientist the materials seem often unsatisfactory because of the failure to relate the studies to the workings of the political system as a whole.

⁷For representative works, see the following: On labor unions, see W. M. Leiserson, op. cit., fn. 1, supra; on professional organizations, see O. Garceau, op. cit., fn. 2, supra; for church groups, see P. M. Harrison, op. cit., fn. 5, supra; on social movement organizations, see M. Zald, "The Political Economy of the YMCA: Structure and Change" (unpubl. MSS, Vanderbilt University, 1968) and R. Heberle, Social Movements (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951); on ideological groups, see D. Bell, The Radical Right (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964); on veterans' groups and fraternal groups, see J. Gray, The Inside Story of the Legion (New York: Boni and Gaer, 1948); on universities, see J. Corson, The Governance of Colleges and Universities (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960).

⁸See M. Zald, "The Political Economy of the YMCA: Structure and Change," op. cit., fn. 7, supra; Blau and Scott, op. cit., fn. 4, supra; R. Lippitt, J. Watson and B. Westley, The Dynamics of Planned Change (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958); S. E. Seashore and D. G. Bowers, Changing the Structure and Functioning of an Organization (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Social Survey Research Center, Monograph No. 33, 1963).

The present thesis will attempt to fill this gap in this area of research by a very comprehensive study of the National Education Association of America (hereinafter referred to as NEA). The focus of inquiry of this thesis will be the consideration of organizational change in the NEA, with specific reference to the evolution of internal structure and membership attitudes with resultant changes in organizational goals and external policy.

Studies Concerning the NEA

As of now, there is no comprehensive up-to-date study of the internal dynamics of the NEA, although there have been studies considering its impact on recent federal educational policy. This is true for the field of political science as well as the fields of sociology, organization theory and education.

In 1932, Teachers College, Columbia University, published a study by Erwin Stevenson Selle entitled The Organization and Activities of the National Education Association: A Case Study in Educational Sociology. The research covered the years 1918 to 1928 and dealt with the changes in the nature and function of the NEA due to the greater demands by classroom teachers (mostly women), and the establishment of a Representative Assembly in 1920. The study used a sociological approach in that it purported to show the effects of the environment (the social system of the

country during those years) on the organization. However, the Selle study is now completely out of date.

The failure to describe the internal structure and processes of the NEA and their recent evolution is a serious barrier to an understanding of present associational policy.

Thus a political scientist of the stature of Charles O. Jones, in his book An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy, writes in discussing federal aid to education in the 1960's, "After much painful reassessment, the National Education Association changed its stand against federal aid to parochial schools." (Emphasis supplied).¹⁰ The phrase "painful reassessment" is not footnoted and background studies on the nature and causes of this change are sketchy. In a recently published study of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Eidenberg and Morey indicate the shift in the NEA from strong opposition to any federal aid to private school systems to an acceptance of a formula allowing aid to individual children in such private systems.¹¹ This important shift is indicated summarily by the sentence, "Fear over possible exclusion from the policy-making process helped to persuade NEA to go along in 1965 with an aid

⁹Charles O. Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970).

¹⁰Ibid., p. 83.

¹¹E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, An Act of Congress (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969).

formula that would see some funds channelled into the hands of private and parochial schools."¹²

In a recent volume co-authored by Harmon Ziegler, one of the leading authorities in political science of interest groups, there is indication that the NEA has become a membership benefit organization, but the extent of this membership benefit orientation and the recent evolution of this policy is not indicated in detail.¹³ Not much more on the dynamics of change within the NEA in the 1960's is gleaned by the reading of other texts dealing with federal aid to education, such as the studies by Munger and Fenno, Meranto, and Bendiner.¹⁴

It may be noted that the calls for more comprehensive studies on the organizational life of important associations has not been lacking. Truman urges more work in this

¹²Ibid., p. 63.

¹³T. Dye and H. Zeigler, The Irony of Democracy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), pp. 199, 202.

¹⁴F. Munger and R. Fenno, Jr., National Politics and Federal Aid to Education (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962); P. Meranto, The Politics of Federal Aid to Education: A Study in Political Innovation (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1967); see also, R. Bendiner, Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965); P. Foss and D. Hill, Politics and Policies: The Continuing Issues (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), pp. 93-131.

area and Easton advocates further studies of "parapolitical" systems.¹⁵

SECTION TWO: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE NEA

The NEA is usually referred to as the major interest group in the field of education.¹⁶ Federal aid to education now accounts for about five per cent of the federal budget, a proportion that is likely to increase. Education absorbs much larger percentages of state and local expenditures.¹⁷ Thus, the NEA is a participant in the allocation of great amounts of public expenditures. It also maintains relations with and has an effect on, producers of school texts and educational materials.¹⁸

¹⁵See D. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: A. Knopf, 1951); D. Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliff, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

¹⁶Dye and Ziegler, op. cit., fn. 13, p. 207; Jones, op. cit., fn. 9, pp. 81-85.

¹⁷NEA, Estimates of School Statistics, 1968-69 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968, Research Report-er 1968-R-16), p. 18.

¹⁸The NEA is a member of the Joint Committee of the NEA and the American Educational Publishers Institute: NEA Handbook, 1968-69, (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968), p. 148. George Fisher, an immediate past president of the NEA, is to become the president of a multi-million Education Materials Center in Chicago. Ohio Schools, vol. XLVIII (October 9, 1970), p. 23.

The National Education Association, founded in 1857, is now the largest national professional association in the world, with membership of over one million every year since 1967.¹⁹ The membership consist largely of active public school instructional staff (there are also administrators, student members, and a small number of higher education faculty, as well as retired members) and as of 1970, a little over 50 per cent of the approximately two million persons on such instructional staffs belonged to the National Education Association. On the international level, the NEA has taken the lead in maintaining a world federation of teaching associations (now called the World Conference of the Teaching Profession, hereinafter referred to as the W.C.O.T.P.).

The NEA, structurally, is a federation and has a chartered state affiliate in every state. The structure, however, is complicated by the chartering, until recently, of local affiliates independent from state review. These local affiliates chartered by the NEA-Central professed loyalty to the latter, not to the state NEA affiliates, with which they often disagreed. The NEA also provides an umbrella for some 30 role-groups or "departments," with dual

¹⁹NEA Addresses and Proceedings, 1968 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968), pp. 543.

membership in the NEA and the departments mandated but not enforced.

The association owns, mortgage-free, almost a whole city block in Washington, D. C., where it has erected an imposing national headquarters building opened in 1957 and expanded since. Its annual budgets on the national organization level are now about \$15-million a year, of which about \$3.5-million goes into a legal defense fund (DuShane Fund) and almost one-half million is spent by the office for legislation. The association also has annual Emergency Fund appropriations which its Board of Directors can spend to assist teachers who are "withholding services" in disputes with school boards, or to counteract union activity.²⁰

Importance of NEA

Until its abolition in June, 1968, the most prominent group under the aegis of the NEA was the Educational Policies Commission, sponsored jointly by the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators, an affiliated role group of the NEA. The Commission included in its membership some of the most prominent names in American education, such as Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard University and James R. Killian of the Massachusetts Institute of T., as

²⁰Ibid., pp. 467-489 (Report of the Budget Committee, financial year 1968-1969).

well as Dwight D. Eisenhower while president of Columbia University. It issued statements on education in this country, and its statement, The Contemporary Challenge to American Education (1958) was particularly well received with a circulation of over a million copies. The conventions of the NEA and the separate convention of the American Association of School Administrators also receive extensive press coverage and draw the most important men in this country, such as President Eisenhower in 1957 (the centennial convention of the NEA), and Vice-President Humphrey in 1967.

The office of the U. S. Commissioner of Education has often been filled by prominent members of the NEA; an ex-Commissioner, Lawrence E. Derthick, is on the staff of the NEA today. An Assistant Secretary of Education, Don Davies, still holding office, is a former NEA staff member. During the Eisenhower administration, a close liason was maintained between the NEA officialdom and Secretary Fleming of the H.E.W. This factor, as well as the prominence of the NEA has assured the consultative status of the NEA on federal educational matters, administration bills and state of the union messages. The U. S. Office of Education even today relies heavily on the NEA's Research Department for various data and statistics. The NEA has also maintained good relations with a number of influential members of Congress, such as Congressman Perkins of the House Education

Committee and Congresswoman Green (D-Oregon.)

Participation in Policy Formation

The NEA has also participated in several White House Conferences on youth and education, and was particularly influential in promoting and organizing the 1955 White House Conference on Education. NEA officials, notably executive secretary Dr. William G. Carr, played a part in the inclusion of a reference to education in the U. N. Charter and the founding of UNESCO.

Since the end of the second World War, the NEA has fought for more federal aid to public schools, proposing general grants to states for school construction and teacher salaries. In this endeavor, however, it was handicapped by its consistently firm stand against aid to private institutions, parochial or otherwise, on the secondary or higher education level.²¹ Catholic members in Congress were able to defeat proposals drawn along NEA lines. By 1963, the NEA had modified its stand to support categorical as against general aid, accepting some federal control over categorical assistance. By 1965, it was reluctantly supporting the compromise formula of "aiding the child" that allowed the passage of the 1965 ESEA Act. In 1970, a now more aggres-

²¹Jones, op. cit., fn. 9, pp. 78-83.

sive and politicized NEA was instrumental in the passage of adequate funding for the 1965 Act, despite an initial presidential veto.²² Federal spending on education now amounts to some 5 per cent of the national budget and the NEA plays a major role in determining the amounts to be spent, the addition or deletion of federal programs and guidelines for administration. Further, NEA has successfully lobbied for tax advantages and favorable mail rates for educators and educational publishers.

On the state and local level, the NEA through its state and local organizations, enters into the processes of financing education. The NEA's role in the decision affecting public spending on education is undoubtedly its major contribution to the shaping of public policy.

The NEA also attempts to influence the climate of public opinion in this country by various types of publicity: press releases, publications, meetings, arguments against those who attack public schools in this country. It fights for state laws that would allow the teaching profession to control its own standards and norms of entry, and in so doing emulates the legal and medical professions. It would like to see the proliferation of state professional Negotiations Laws to aid in the settlement of teacher-

²²"Education Lobby Strengthened By Fight Over Nixon Budget," Ohio Schools, vol. XLVIII (Feb. 13, 1970), pp. 9-11.

education board disputes, and has introduced a bill to establish an agency similar to the National Labor Relations Board to handle such conflicts.

Goals and Policies of the Association

Conflicting Goals

The Congressional charger of the NEA states that it is to "elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of education in the United States." These two clauses are open to various interpretation and have been recently used by both proponents and opponents of organizational change. Until the 1960's, the second clause had pre-eminence and the NEA was to a large extent an educational and charitable service organization promoting public schools in this country, in general. This was reflected in its Internal Revenue Service classification as a Sec. 501(a) corporation. This state of affairs was supported by NEA leaders who in the 1950's were generalists of wide or even international renown, such as Dr. William G. Carr, the executive secretary of the NEA from 1952 to 1967. These men viewed themselves not so much the managers of a particular group as major figures in American public education. The situation was also supported by most school administrators who, in most instances, held dual membership in the NEA and in

their NEA-affiliated role group, the AASA. Up to the 1960's, these leaders and administrators who agreed on the public service function of the NEA, held the upper hand in NEA decision-making.

Changes in Goals

In the 1960's, however, there was an increasing emphasis on the first clause of the Charter just cited. The elementary and secondary school classroom teachers (forming another role-group, the Classroom Teachers Association, in which membership carries with it automatic NEA membership) were demanding more and more participation in decision-making and succeeded in weakening the public service orientation of the NEA to the extent that the Internal Revenue Service is now in the process of reclassifying the NEA as a 501(c) or business-league group. The demands of the classroom teachers in the 1960's were for more membership benefits, legal protection of members, and support of local affiliates engaged in a struggle with local school boards. They also wished to supplement the research and information functions of the NEA with involvement in urban and ghetto schools, Indian schools, political education and political support for legislators and officials willing to fund the new needs of public schools.

Changes in Structure

The classroom teachers were able to acquire considerable organizational power and supplant the older leaders and school administrators as the prime formulators of NEA policy. This change in the distribution of power within the NEA affected the operation and decision-making of the major offices and governing groups of the NEA--the offices of president and executive secretary, and the Board of Directors, Board of Trustees, the Executive Committee and the Representative Assembly, as well as the various permanent commissions of the NEA. The divergence between possible organizational goals and the two dominant elements of the NEA also created organizational dilemmas which by 1970 were being resolved--although not wholly--in favor of the classroom teachers (now called the Association of Classroom Teachers or ACT) and their views.

To spell out the effects of this evolution in somewhat more detail, the office of presidency, subject to election by delegates to a Representative Assembly where classroom teachers were in preponderance, was upgraded and its powers increased; while the power of the executive secretary, elected by a five-man Board of Trustees concerned with financial management, was carefully circumscribed. In this process, the Representative Assembly, as the supreme NEA legislative body, abolished the Board of Trustees on

the ground that the Board was not responsible and responsive to it. The election of the executive secretary was to be the function of the Executive Committee. The latter was reorganized by the Representative Assembly to assure more classroom teacher representation, and from that point on delegated more and more important functions to the Executive Committee. Meanwhile the Board of Directors, chosen at the annual convention by the various state delegations, were slowly relegated to the position of approving steps initiated by the Executive Committee. The Representative Assembly found that the eleven-member Executive Committee was ready to respect the wishes of the Representative Assembly more than a Board of Directors of over 100 members with many and varied philosophies and still containing many administrators. These administrator-board members were needed to convey the views of the state affiliate's membership to the NEA-Central bureaucracy, to the state affiliate's bureaucracy, and to the public officials of the home state, but they were not necessarily trusted to initiate important decisions for the NEA.

All groups within the NEA supported, however, a plan to increase the cohesiveness of the NEA by making simultaneous membership at the national, state, local or regional level mandatory. This drive to "unification" has now progressed to a stage where most state and local affiliates are committed to it.

Changes in Attitude of Membership

The whole concept of benefits to NEA membership also underwent change. Whereas in the past members had received only research materials, they now received organizational newsletters and a more membership-oriented journal. Opportunities were created for participation in valuable insurance programs, car rental programs, and mutual fund programs. A number of NEA regional offices was established. The allocation of the budget was changed to include large appropriations for urban education and human rights projects, as well as a program to increase teacher participation in politics.

Finally, the Representative Assembly in 1970 voted the holding of a Constitutional Convention in 1972.²³

With this change in internal dynamics, the policy stance of the Representative Assembly--and therefore the Executive Committee and other governing bodies and officers--began to change. By the mid-1960's the Representative Assembly's concern with social problems was apparent. By 1963, the attitude of the delegates was favorable to integration of segregated affiliates, categorical federal aid to education including programs in the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, urban school problems, and, later on, the

²³Resolution passed at the 1969 NEA Convention at Philadelphia (at the motion of the Board of Directors).

acceptance of the "aid for the child" formula that is the basis of the 1965 ESEA. The NEA had, by 1970, changed from a rather slow-moving, idealistic institution to an organization willing to use a forceful, pragmatic approach in its internal and external policies.

SECTION THREE: ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN THE NEA

General Considerations

Formal Organizations

In the analytical scheme of Talcott Parsons,²⁴ the NEA is a formal organization since it has membership, organizational goals and persistence, further, organizational structure, lines of command, the role of staff, and the position of subgroups is explicit. These characteristics distinguish it from a social organization or a social movement organization where values, structure and roles in the organization are not so clearly spelled out and are more flexible.

Formal organizations, however, are not closed systems that can neglect environmental forces. Moreover, they are human organization subject to growth and change; the system and the various subsystems must react to the

²⁴T. Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951).

environment, to membership demands, to the political systems to escape atrophy.^{24a} Formal organizations open to some degree to the environment will as a rule undergo differentiation, elaboration, further complexity. Further, the existence of an organization chart within formal organizations does not exclude informal distribution of authority or the development of part of the structure into a social movement organization that causes ferment. The urban movement within the NEA has developed into a social movement organization, although its secretariat has a definite place in the NEA organization chart. The existence of a "unity of the chain of command" is not to be taken for granted, for there are proposals or changes which do not emanate from the top authorities.

Organizational Changes

Since formal organizations are human, open systems (i.e., open to some degree to the environment, the larger social and political systems), the possibility and even probability of evolution in organizational goals, and eventually in structure cannot be ignored; indeed, it should be looked for. In line with the analysis above, organizational change has been defined by Blau and Scott as a drastic

^{24a}D. Katz and R. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), ch. 2.

change in the fundamental values and structure of the organization.^{24b}

Reasons for change. Such drastic, or major changes, can occur as a result of various forces. Change can result from environmental pressures. Reactions in the NEA have occurred from such causes as the stunning defeat of the NEA in the New York City bargaining representative elections by the United Federation of Teachers in 1961. Greater interest by the NEA in urban associations as a result of the 1961 defeat and the 1960 formation of the National Council of Urban Education Associations (NCUEA) brought it up against the problem of urban education in general and the education of the disadvantaged ghetto child in particular. Integration of schools in the South in the wake of Brown vs. Board of Education and subsequent acts of Congress and court decisions forced the NEA to reassess the role of dual (separate black and white) affiliates in Southern states and its efforts in the human rights field in general. The repeated defeats by Catholic Congressmen and their supporters of a general aid bill to public secondary education in this country forced the NEA to move towards the acceptance of categorical federal aid

^{24b}Blau and Scott, op. cit., fn. 4, p. 44.

to schools and a formula designed to aid the individual child, regardless of religion.

According to Blau and Scott,²⁵ major changes in organizational goals and structure occurs when there is a major change in the composition of the primary clientele groups which the organization serves. According to these authors, there may exist four major clientele groups: the general public (served by commonwealth organizations), the owners or managers of the corporation (served by the business organization), the public in contact with, and deriving benefits from, the corporation (service organization), and the membership of the association (mutual benefit organization). One of the crucial dilemmas faced by formal organizations according to Blau and Scott is how to decide which of these four major clientele groups should be served by the organization. The dilemma may be resolved in favor of one group of clients at one time, but the changing environment may force a re-evaluation. Another major dilemma is the influence of the clientele groups on decision-making by the organization's governing structure.

The Blau and Scott model of organizational behavior does not focus so much on environmental pressures and forces as the theories of Parsons, Easton, et al. In this respect the model has been called "post-functional."

²⁵Id.

The Blau and Scott scheme of viewing formal organizations can be refined by positing that major changes in organizational goals and structure can also occur if there is a major attitudinal change in the ranks of the clientele. In the NEA, for example, changes have occurred because of new orientations and increasing militancy on the part of classroom teachers and their spokesmen.

Models for Change. Change can also be looked at in an organization by focussing attention on the operation and performance of the sub-systems within an organization. Parsons posits three sub-systems: the managerial, the institutional and the technical. The latter is serviced and controlled by the managerial organization which in turn is directed by the institutional sub-system.

The managerial system deals with the "internal administration and allocation of resources within the organization." A second sub-structure is the institutional system, which controls the problem of external relations. The Parsonian analysis is completed by a consideration of the technical system, which deals with production, of goods or products, maintenance and servicing the organization, and adaptive machinery.

If one takes organizational performance as the point of departure, the approach of Katz and Kahn may be

of use.²⁶ These authors speak of four genotypic functions: (a) productive, engaged in by economic organizations or service organizations that sell or distribute some product; (b) maintaining, performed by organizations engaged in the socialization of people, such as church and school groups; (c) adaptive, by information--or research-oriented corporations such as the Rand Corporation or the Ford Foundation; and lastly, (d) the managerial or political function, i.e., activities concerned with the adjudication and control of people's rights and duties, and of other resources. All of these four types of organizations have sub-systems geared to the typical performance of the system:^{26a} they have (1) production or technical structures, concerned with the production of goods and the performance level of employees and staff; such as a Division of Publications; (2) maintenance structures concerned with the proper allocation of role and work-loads within the organization; a Personnel Department would be one such structure, but the governing bodies would also contribute to maintenance if they expanded or reorganized the staff; (3) adaptive structures, such as an Office of Research and an Office of Organizational Development. The adaptive function may be oriented to influencing public policy or changing the internal struc-

²⁶Katz and Kahn, op. cit., fn. 24A, pp. 111-115.

^{26a}Ibid., pp. 84-96.

ture of the organization; (4) procurement and disposal structures, whose function it is to persuade the clients of the organization and the general public that the products and performance of the organization are serving them well: a Public Relations department would perform such functions. Finally, (5) there is a managerial sub-structure which cuts across the four sub-structures previously mentioned and functions to coordinate the various sub-structures, resolve organizational conflicts and coordinate the external requirements of the organization with the available resources of staff and economic means.

Combined Approach to Change

The above schemata can be combined in a number of ways in order to construct meaningful indices of change. The present thesis is a combination of various models. The environmental forces that have pressured the NEA towards change are indicated. The two crucial organizational dilemmas outlined by Blau and Scott are discussed in terms of the shifting composition and shifting attitudes of the major clientele group of the NEA. Put more concretely, the thesis follows the Blau and Scott model by showing how a shift in the NEA away from public-service orientation to one stressing benefits to membership has caused stress, a change of values; how the increased demands of classroom teachers for more participation have caused a change in

structure. It represents a refinement of the model by showing that the change in attitudes of a major client group can cause change just as much as the substitution of one public or clientele for another: one is not faced with an either-or proposition in order to detect change. It further indicates that change can also be caused by the extent that participation in decision-making by clientele groups is made possible, i.e., not only by a major shift in the dominant public. Finally, the changed performance of the organization is indicated by showing the policy positions of the NEA regarding federal aid to education, racial segregation, aid to cities, self-governance of the profession, the rights of public sector employees, and other issues.

This combined approach is recognizable then, by those who follow the systems theory of either Parsons, Easton, Blau and Scott, or Katz and Kahn. The main emphasis is on the discussion of the two organizational dilemmas outlined by Katz and Kahn and the two most important sub-structures of the Katz-Kahn analysis: the managerial and the adaptive sub-structures.²⁷ The thesis is constructed around these four pillars, with some discussion of environmental pressures and the effectiveness of the performance of the NEA as far as its external relations are concerned.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 90-96.

Organizational Change in the NEA

The research material gathered by the writer will be presented in the following way:

1. Orientations and organizational goals of the NEA and their evolution. This material is covered by Chapter II. The organizational dilemma of choosing the clientele to be served is beginning to be felt in the 1950's, due to such factors as (1) increased entry of men into the teaching profession, and increased militancy of classroom teachers within the NEA; (2) increased activities of AFL-CIO sponsored teacher unions in the late 1950's; (3) increased attention of the country on the deficiencies of urban schools, especially after Sputnik in 1958; (4) the increasing pressure of the courts and civil rights groups to speed racial integration in schools, especially after the passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act; (5) increased self-examination of the NEA as part of its 1957 centennial celebration. Thus an organization which in the 1950's (a) is devoted to the disbursements of collective benefits to the public through its research and publicity efforts for public school education in general; (b) does not yield selective economic benefits to members but concentrates its

efforts on improving professional standards and prestige of the profession and passing a general federal aid bill for public education; (c) has made few efforts to reach "grass-roots" by opening regional offices of its Washington, D. C. headquarters, and pays little attention to the problems of members in urban centers and urban education in general; (d) has separate black and white state affiliates in the South; (e) has an ideological warfare with parochial and private school systems to the extent of opposing aid formulas based on the individual child, and of refusing to employ individuals of minority races or religions on its higher-echelon staff; (f) was in many cases administrator oriented, by the late 1960's has moved to the following position:

(i) The disbursements of collective benefits to the public has been limited to a point where the NEA has established a separate educational research foundation. (ii) There is growing emphasis on providing selective economic benefits to members, such as insurance programs, a mutual fund and car-leasing program. Further, a reserve fund is in operation to give economic aid to teachers out of work as a result of conflict with school boards. Also, there are greatly increased appropriation

for the defense of teachers who have been removed, suspended or accused in the line of duty. (iii) The NEA has in the 1960's accepted the principle of federal aid to individual children, as well as categorical aid, thus breaking the old impasse in federal legislation to public schools. (iv) The NEA has opened eleven regional offices throughout the country to help distribute the know-how stored at Washington, D. C., to other places as well. There is a strong urban program and increased appropriations for this area, as well as a model integrated school in Washington, D. C. (v) The separate black and white affiliates in the South have been integrated, on the pain of expulsion. (vi) Members of minority races and religions are employed in top positions within the central NEA bureaucracy in Washington, D. C.; staff members and lower-echelon employees now have a bargaining organization and make collective agreement. (vii) The NEA is engaging more and more in political education, following the political action programs of the AFL and CIO. (viii) The classroom teachers have received proportional representation on the all-important Executive Committee and all standing committees and commissions. (ix) The whole orientation and structure of the NEA will be examined in

the course of a Constitutional Convention to be held in 1972.

2. Changes in structure and distribution of organizational influence as a result of change in orientations and goals.

Chapter III deals with the chartering of affiliates and the relationship of NEA to allied role groups such as the institutionalized organizations of administrators, mathematics teachers, adult education teachers and so on. The position and interrelation of these groups under the NEA umbrella is discussed. It is pointed out that much of the inter-group confusion prevailing in the NEA stems from the past practice of the NEA to charter first, state affiliates and then local affiliates without adequate consultation of the already admitted state affiliates. Furthermore, the admission of new members on all three levels was handled independently by each without any coordination. Under pressure to provide, more efficiently, selective economic benefits (including technical knowledge that can build stronger professional affiliates) to members, the NEA has begun to streamline its structure by promoting simultaneous membership on all three levels, local, state and national. This means that the prospec-

tive NEA members would pay dues at three levels, thus providing economic support to all three. This unification of the dues structure is now almost complete. This move to dues unification is followed by the working out of cooperative arrangements between the three levels for membership benefits, the political education of teachers, for salary negotiation schools, and for a NEA-sponsored staff academy for field workers at all levels. In other words, the disorganized, federal structure of the NEA is moving gradually towards an integrated, cohesive system.

Similarly, the role group organizations such as the Administrator's group were affiliated with the NEA, but the NEA requirement that group or "departmental" members join the NEA as well was not enforced. The groups also used NEA facilities and employee resources without being taxed for these services. Again, under the pressure to create a membership-benefit organization, the NEA has moved to clarify its relationship to the role groups or departments by setting up three categories of affiliation, and spelling out the rights and duties of each category.

Chapters IV and V deal with the major decision-making structures of the NEA: the Executive Com-

mittee, the Board of Directors, the Board of Trustees, the Representative Assembly, the NEA presidency and the executive secretaryship. These two chapters bear on the second key dilemma posed by Blau and Scott: how to have "effective accomplishment" (as perceived by the leaders at that time) and yet have "democratic participation." The resolution of this dilemma consists in a "palace revolution" effected by classroom teachers against the elite leadership of the 1950's. This revolution means the end of the elite rule in the 1960's and, offering a modification of the Blau and Scott model, shows the creation of a (temporary) equilibrium between (a) the newly dominant group (the classroom teachers) who have gained control of the Representative Assembly and increased power in the Executive Committee and the presidency, and (b) the remnants of the old, public-service oriented elite which retained influence in the Board of Directors and in the NEA central bureaucracy at Washington as well as in many state affiliates. The situation in 1970 shows the dominance of the classroom teachers, the move to establish a separate educational research foundation within the NEA, and also shows the operation of a consensus between the new and old orientations in the mutual

support of such organizations as WCOTP, the defense of the profession, raising of professional standards, influencing the climate of public opinion, as well as an understanding of the need to limit organizational budgets.

Concretely, a submissive and apathetic Representative Assembly in the 1950's came to life in the 1960's and asserts its own legislative supremacy against the other parts of the governing structure by way of a formal Assembly resolution. It takes the initiative in passing legislation favorable to urban education, racial integration, human rights, categorical aid to schools and federal aid for the individual child. It abolishes the Board of Trustees which hitherto controlled the appointment of an executive secretary, and places his election in the Executive Committee. It abolishes the Educational Policies Commission which had presumed to speak as the authoritative voice of the NEA without clearing its statements with the Representative Assembly. It restricts the executive secretary's powers by mandating him to recognize a staff bargaining group. It mandates by-law changes in order to give proportional representation of classroom teachers on the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, so encouraged, now meets fre-

quently and supplants the Board of Directors as the chief initiator and executor of NEA policy. The office of the presidency, now filled by militants elected by the Assembly, grows in status and power and limits the former influence of the executive secretary.

Other standing committee and commissions must now have at least half of their members drawn from the ranks of classroom teachers. Thus, the sociometric distribution of influence shift in favor of the classroom teachers--who comprise the majority of membership--and the effect of this classroom teacher movement originating in the Assembly and in the presidency (since the Assembly elects the president) is definitely felt in the operation of organizational structure.

3. The effect of changed organizational goals and values and structure on organizational outputs.

Chapters VI and VII of the thesis deal with the change in the political economy of the NEA, the changes in its legislative stance, and the evolving methods of protecting and projecting the image of the teaching profession to the general public.

The change in NEA orientations and policy which moved the NEA into the category of membership

benefit organizations, in part at least, resulted in the offering of considerable economic benefits to NEA members. In addition to the distribution of a professional journal and research reports to membership, the NEA since the mid-1960's has offered a constantly improving life and disability insurance program to NEA members also willing to join state and local affiliates. Thus, the grant of economic benefits in this field at least was tied to the NEA effort to unify its structure. In addition to life and disability insurance, the NEA has offered a car-leasing program to its members in about a dozen states. It has established a mutual fund program by the creation of a subsidiary corporation to hold and administer such investments by members. It has also tried to introduce a special credit card available to teachers only. There are, finally, group travel arrangements that a member can utilize to cut his costs.

In addition to these benefits, discussed in Chapter VI, there has been a movement away from the production or subsidy of radio and television programs and the use of highly respected experts to influence public opinion in favor of teachers and the profession. Thus, the Educational Policies Commission which has done valuable work in in-

fluencing the general climate of opinion, was forced to go out of business since it did not respond adequately to the views and moods of the Representative Assembly. Subsidy for such television programs as the "Mr. Novak" series was discontinued because of its uncertain effect on the image of the NEA. Instead of these channels of publicity, more and more monies were being poured into the DuShane defense fund for teachers' rights. Furthermore, the appropriations for the NEA Division of Legislative Relations was increased. A new program called "TIP" (Teachers in Politics) absorbed more and more funds and staff. The NEA, in other words, reallocated its resources in this area for teacher defense funds and building up its political influence. There was an increased attempt to create power through the use of money, employing a careful use of program budgeting.

Since the early 1960's, moreover, large reserve funds or emergency funds were created to combat union activity. As the NEA's position in the large cities weakened progressively, more and more of these reserve or emergency funds were used for loans to NEA members who were emulating union tactics and engaging in strikes against school authorities. The NEA also faced several state-wide walk-

outs of teachers in the 1960's--notably in Florida and Utah--and made large grants to these state affiliates in order to help them to a successful conclusion of their controversies.²⁸

On the level of state legislation, the NEA was increasingly anxious to pass laws allowing the profession to regulate the conditions of entry and the standards in the profession, seeking to achieve powers similar to those enjoyed by the medical and legal professions. NEA state affiliates also worked on professional public employees negotiations laws.

On the federal level, the change in NEA attitudes has already been referred to above.²⁹ The NEA moved from a rigid opposition to any form of federal aid for private and parochial school systems to a more flexible view supporting categorical aid to education and a formula designed to aid the individual child, whatever the denomination or character of the school system. Since the passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the NEA has been fighting vigorously to keep the

²⁸T. M. Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

²⁹See texts cited in fn. 14, supra.

law in force and ensure full funding. The NEA actively informed its members on the stands of members of Congress on the aid-to-education issue, activity which threatened an imminent ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that NEA was now a business-league-membership-benefit organization under sec. 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Both the progressive, membership-benefit segment of the NEA and the older public-service oriented clientele of the organization agreed, however, on the value of the World Conference of the Teaching Profession to international understanding and peaceful evolution in world affairs. The WCOTP (under the leadership of Dr. Carr) is discussed in Chapter VIII of this thesis.

SECTION FOUR: RELATED LINES OF INQUIRY

Elitism

Elite theory has had a number of proponents since Roberto Michels and Gaetano Mosca; Harmon Zeigler and Thomas Dye are recent examples.³⁰ Elite theory is also a consideration in Oliver Garceau's classic study of the Amer-

³⁰Dye and Zeigler, op. cit., fn. 13; R. Michels, op. cit., fn. 2; G. Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York: McGraw Hill, 1939).

ican Medical Association.³¹ The basic propositions of this theory imply that communications between elites and masses flow largely downward: that elections, and parties have largely symbolic value as far as the masses are concerned; that elites shape organizational goals and policies and that the masses have at best indirect influence over decision-making. Elites tend to be more and more conscious of the need to maintain the structure of the association and the changes they seek will tend to remain minimal. Elites are open to non-elite groups or individuals only to a limited extent and the absorption of additions must be continuous but slow.

The implications of this study are that elite theory as delineated above needs not only refinement but modification to rescue it from its rather static position. The major contribution of the thesis to elite theory consists in the documentation of one case where a lack of unitary structure or unified chain of command, coupled with the existence of institutionalized role groups such as teachers and administrators, prevents the formation of an elite in full control of the situation. In the 1950's, indeed a powerful executive secretary could exercise great control over a staff that did not dream of collective bargaining, and governing bodies and officers who came to the Washing-

³¹O. Garceau, op. cit., fn. 2, supra.

ton, D. C. headquarters of the NEA infrequently and when they did come, had an agenda prepared by the executive secretary waiting for them. By the mid-1960's, a Representative Assembly manned by militant classroom teacher delegates was the center of successful attacks to change the basis of representation in the Executive Committee. The Committee in turn abolished the Board of Trustees, the basis of strength for the executive secretary, and curtailed the influence of both the Board of Directors and the executive secretary. Thus, where the spheres of authority of various governing bodies are not clearly drawn, and offices are capable of developing into powerful rallying points for discontented sub-groups, the formation of elites is impeded and the existing elite structures can be overthrown. In the NEA the organizational revolution engineered by the classroom teachers was much more than an inter-elite factional fight, since the issues of reform were exhaustively presented and debated first in the separate meetings of the Classroom Teachers and then on the NEA convention floor; that is, there is little evidence that the reform moves were foisted on an apathetic classroom teacher body. In fact, there was widespread belief that the demands of the classroom teachers were justified.

There are, moreover, numerous indications that communications and decision-making do not represent a flow downward only. Again, the institutionalization of role

groups and sub-systems may be an important consideration. The call for a NEA constitutional convention for example, was spearheaded by the NCUEA against the wishes of the executive secretary and his staff.

Organizational Decision-Making

This thesis is also a case study in organizational decision-making and various methods of representation. For example, the organization presents an important use of proportional representation in governing bodies. This method of representation is not widely used in the various American political systems, but in the case of this para-system was used to apportion influence with apparently good results. Further, the study shows how the Supreme Court's recent decision regarding "one man, one vote" in the political system is being used effectively to spark criticism against the uneven representation of state affiliates in the NEA Representative Assembly. The case of the NEA also suggests that the lines of authority in a large organization should be clearly drawn and the spheres of authority delineated to avoid inter-group rivalry. Moreover, a Congressional charter which can be amended only in form of a public law should be sufficiently vague to allow changes of structure through by-laws. Light is also shed on the leadership styles of top NEA leaders as they affect the power these leaders will hold.

Foreign Policy Formation

A part of the thesis deals with the impact of a domestically-based interest group on international policy and cooperation relating to education; since the latter affects political socialization in various parts of the world, the impact of the NEA has political repercussions.

Formation of Public Opinion

The activities of such NEA-sponsored groups as the EPC, the operation of a large defense fund for teacher rights, NEA subsidy for television and radio programs favorable to them, NEA publications, as well as the involvement of teachers in politics illustrate various efforts to create a public opinion climate favorable to one particular peak organization in education, the NEA. Such use of outputs is indeed elitist; even if the organizational structure is not completely captured by one particular group, all groups under the NEA umbrella agree that the pre-eminence of NEA as a spokesman for American education must be defended.

SECTION FIVE: SOURCE MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

Secondary Sources

At this time there are no comprehensive, up-to-

date studies of NEA organizational life in either political science, sociology, education or history.

There are, however, a number of fairly comprehensive texts on the NEA, written mostly from a historian's point of view and all of them are by now out of date. Selle's valuable study of the NEA between 1918-1928 has already been referred to;³² it deals with the changed nature of the Association after the institution of a Representative Assembly in 1920. Mildred Fenner's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation covers the years 1892-1942, and discusses the evolution of the NEA structure and staff.³³ From a part-time president and a handful of staff members the NEA develops into a major national organization with an imposing mansion in Washington, D. C., as its headquarters. The evolution of the presidency, the state associations, the emergence of the Representative Assembly and the Research Division are dealt with in detail, but the public policy of the Association and inter-role-group rivalries are not discussed, nor is the dissertation geared to presenting a clear picture of the trends in organizational decision-making. A volume of "historical vignettes" by Wesley,

³²E. S. Selle, The Organization and Activities of the National Education Association (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

³³M. Fenner, "The National Education Association: 1892-1942" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1942).

written for the centennial celebration of the NEA in 1957, brings NEA chronology up to 1957.³⁴

Lesser gleanings of the organizational life and performance of the NEA can be had through works by Myron Liebermann, who in 1956, predicted that the NEA would have to redistribute its available power and resources if collective bargaining in schools became standard procedure. The same author discusses this point further in a later volume on the future of public education.³⁵

A former NEA staff member now on the faculty of Texas A&M University, has written a text about one vital policy issue for the NEA: the issue of the propriety of teacher strikes and, specifically, strikes by NEA affiliates.³⁶ Professional negotiations of teachers with school boards, as well as sanctions against boards, have received increased attention, but mainly in shorter monographs or articles; Stinnett's text has an extensive bibliography. Occasionally there are book-length case studies or general studies on this subject.³⁷

³⁴E. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957).

³⁵M. Liebermann, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956).

³⁶Stinnett, op. cit., fn. 28, supra.

³⁷S. Petro, The Kingsport Strike (New Rochelle, N. Y.: The Aslington House, 1967); A. Schiff, A Study and Evaluation of Teacher Strikes in the United States (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, Wayne State University, 1952). Cf. S. Cole, The Unionization of Teachers: A Case Study of the UFT (New York: Praeger, 1969).

Another key issue for the NEA is the teacher-administrator relationship. Heald and Moore have authored a volume on this subject. Another work dealing with the organization and control of public schools in this country discusses the roles of teachers, administrators and professional associations.³⁸

As mentioned above, there is a growing body of literature on the impact of NEA on federal education policy. In these volumes, however, little if any attention is given to an analysis of the internal dynamics of the NEA.

There are few adequate studies on the motivations of teachers today in terms of economic gain vs. social power vs. idealism. However, the rising level of their expectations is shown by published NEA studies such as New Horizons for the Teaching Profession (NEA, 1961), a plea for further self-governance and improvements in a profession which lags behind others in these respects. Harmon Zeigler has discussed the degree of political involvement of the average American teacher; he probably underestimates the idealism that goes side-by-side with a search for economic benefits and political influence.⁴⁰

³⁸J. C. Heald and S. A. Moore II, The Teacher and Administrative, Relation in School Systems (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

³⁹M. Lindsey (ed.), New Horizons for the Teaching Profession (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1961).

⁴⁰H. Zeigler, The Political Life of American Teachers (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

The plight of Negro teachers, especially in the South, as a result of integration has not been properly examined, nor has the effect of integration on the standards, roles and distribution of teachers been presented in a scholarly fashion, although there are a number of short articles on this subject in professional journals and newspapers.

In works of education historians such as Butts, Cremin and Cubberley, mention is made of the performance and effect of the NEA on the social climate regarding education policy. The role of the EPC is mentioned especially, but the analyses tend to be short and unsupported by any statistical evidence.⁴¹

An inquiry into the existence of studies or histories of sub-groups of the NEA reveals that there are very few useful works in this area as well. Histories of such important groups as the Educational Policies Commission or the American Association of School Administrators have not been written.

There is a comprehensive history of the World Conference of the Teaching Profession in the form of a master's thesis by Sara Hadley of the NEA staff.⁴² An un-

⁴¹E. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947).

⁴²S. Hadley, "An Interpretation of the Role of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession in the Development of World Unity Among Teachers," (unpubl. M.A. Thesis, The American University, Washington, D. C., 1969).

published and incomplete account of the Association of Classroom Teachers (ACT) exists but it is not in final shape and is not for circulation. An official of the Tennessee Education Association, Robert Bogen, is writing a dissertation on the National Council of Urban Education Association.⁴³ An account of the AASA could perhaps be pieced together by a careful collation of their publications and reports of annual proceedings. Some departments less influential in associational politics have been the subject of book-length studies.⁴⁴

Primary Sources

The development of the NEA can be pieced together from the annual volumes of its Proceedings, published since the inception of the organization. The Proceedings, since the establishment of the Representative Assembly in 1921, have carried a well-nigh verbatim report of all convention floor proceedings, and a summary of the actions of the various governing bodies. Consequently, they provide an invaluable source of information. The NEA Journal (now Today's Education), and various newsletters of the national

⁴³R. Bogen, "Organizational Change: Emergence of the Urban Movement Within the National Education Association," (proposed Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.).

⁴⁴These texts are available at the NEA Archives, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

NEA headquarters (usually referred to as NEA-Central news) also provide facts, supplemented by the news releases of the NEA Press and Radio and Television division.

Information emanating from NEA is also supplemented by the various state education association journals, and local affiliate newsletters (cf. the New York State Teacher Association's, Education, and the Ohio Education Association's, Ohio Schools.)

Various NEA units also publish their reports and findings. They do not relate, as a general rule, to the over-all organizational life of the NEA. Publications of the NEA National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, and the NEA Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, are of importance as they provide the background for policy decisions in their areas. The NEA's Research Division also publishes nationally respected reports. These highly competent statistical analyses on subjects such as school finance, teacher salaries, and state spending on public education comprise a list of subjects that have a priority in NEA organizational thinking. The NEA Research division also publishes monthly Research Bulletins, whose articles give indications of the topical concerns of the NEA, especially since the director of research was elevated (1968) to the NEA cabinet as assistant executive secretary. Furthermore, the Research Division now conducts opinion surveys based on views of NEA

members and other groups of educators, using competent polling techniques, representative samples, and NEA-owned computers. The results of the surveys are confidential but some were made available to the writer; at times, they are published in the Research Bulletin. This method of sampling replaced cruder straw polls of association leaders and rank-and-file members usually conducted in the past by the executive secretary's office or division heads.

Periodically, a team of management experts is called in to evaluate the performance and management of the NEA. A comprehensive management survey was done by a firm of outside consultants in 1957 and produced 534 recommendations for change in organizational structure or procedures.⁴⁵ This report was read by this writer. Another survey was conducted 10 years later, and the summary of findings published in pamphlet form by NEA under the title of Change and Renewal (1968), dealing again with changes in structure.⁴⁶

The NEA for a long time had no archives and after the establishment of an archives, did not hire a professional librarian to organize the great mass of materials. The

⁴⁵Cresap, McCormick and Paget, Management Consultants, "Management Survey of the NEA," (unpubl. MSS, 1957, in NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

⁴⁶NEA Development Project, Change and Renewal (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968). Also called the Hansen report.

archives hall of the NEA has been renovated in 1970, and there are hopes that a more scholarly classification of documents can now occur. Among the invaluable source materials now present are the verbatim records of EPC meetings, minutes of the NEA cabinet no longer current ("current" means files covering the present and previous five calendar years), and the official files of Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary of the NEA, from 1952 to 1964 (although Dr. Carr held the office until 1967, his "current" files are excluded.) The writer has had access to all of the above materials for limited amounts of time; the vastness of the material and shortness of time did not allow an exhaustive examination.

The writer has also had the privilege of interviewing most of the top leaders of the NEA;⁴⁷ attending a three-day Board of Directors meeting as an observer in October, 1968; attending staff meetings of sub-groups; and attending the NEA annual convention in Philadelphia in 1969.

Methodology

The principal methodology used in the present investigation is documentary research and content analysis.

⁴⁷Especially valuable were the interviews with Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary, 1952-1967, and with Dr. Lyle C. Ashby, deputy executive secretary, 1958-1969.

Time and resources have prevented the writer from doing more than bringing some order to a vast mass of information available to the researcher. As this work deals with a broad topic, efforts to present the materials gleaned more statistically or to attempt to construct more precise sociometric models and quantification of organizational variables was not undertaken. Nor was it the lot of this writer to work for the NEA as a staff member and thus take part in the changes thus described.

However, statistical tables dealing with the composition of Representative Assembly delegations, longevity of delegates and preliminary time-studies of annual conventions are presented in the Appendix and opinion survey results conducted by the NEA Research Division are given at various parts of the thesis.

Another major method, supplementing that of documentary research, was the employment of interviews. Heeding the warning of Selznick, care was taken to interview only responsible officials who had intimate knowledge of events they described. It may be relevant to refer also to Selznick's statement that although such interviews (and gossip) may not always result in preciseness, it remains a valuable tool for social science research if the facts gained by the interview are checked against available documentary records. The interviews were usually lengthy,

lasting for about an hour each time, and those interviewed included the top officers of the NEA.

A third method consisted of personal observation of a Board of Directors meeting, other staff meetings, and an annual convention lasting one week.

A start in research was made by an examination of the literature on the NEA, written from the point of view of various disciplines. At the same time, representative works on organization theory, decision-making, elitism and pressure groups were digested. In the light of hindsight, the most fruitful point of entry to organizational publications and documents is afforded by the NEA's annually published Proceedings. These volumes give accurate insights into organizational problems. They contain the condensed minutes of the smaller governing bodies and a verbatim account of the proceedings of the annual convention. Preliminary study along these lines should be followed by a study of the Research Division's publications and procedure and several interviews with its staff. Since the director of research is now an Assistant Executive Secretary, he will be able to counsel the researcher not only as a technician but as an organizational decision-maker. Gaining familiarity with the two major specialized role groups in the NEA--the classroom teachers and administrators--would be next in order. Their staff members are usually available for discussion and comment. The three major commissions--

legislative, professional rights and responsibilities, teacher education and professional standards--will illuminate the major external goals of the organization.

The knowledge thus gained should be implemented by a search for supporting materials in the archives, interviews with NEA officials, and personal observation of the decision-making and staff groups in action.

SECTION SIX: RESTATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This research attempts to fill a gap in political science literature by showing the main changes in NEA structure and policies from the 1950's to the late 1960's. The main agent of change was the Classroom Teachers Organization and the main vehicles of change, the Representative Assembly and the Executive Committee. Change in this context involved a major movement away from a commonwealth type organization toward a membership benefit organization, and the use of different tactics to defend and advance the teaching profession in this country.

The thesis follows the Blau and Scott concept of organizational change by showing the effects of a new--or modified--organizational clientele. It refines the Blau and Scott schema by showing that a substantial modification in the attitudes and actions of a major clientele group can also result in substantial organizational change, without

the substitution of new clienteles for already existing ones.

The present work does not extensively refer to environmental changes that have caused recent organizational changes. In this connection, the works of Heald and Moore, Bogen, Liebermann, Stinnett and Cole,⁴⁸ dealing with changes in the administration of school systems, the urban movement within the NEA, the union threat and the NEA's absorption of some union philosophy and tactics, the increasing pace of school integration, and the increasing number of male elementary and secondary school teachers, have been referred to above. Nor is the main emphasis on the new legislative stance of the NEA. The focus of inquiry, rather, is on the emergence of the NEA as an organization with significant membership-benefit characteristics, and the consequent changes in organizational goals, the reorganization of governing structures and offices, and consequences in the political economy of the organization.

⁴⁸See fns. 38, 43, 35, 28, 37, supra.

CHAPTER II

CHANGING GOALS AND PRIORITIES OF THE NEA

INTRODUCTION

The NEA, as any persisting organization, has certain orientations, an ideology that defines it. These essential indices are today the subject of continuing debate. Analysis and prognosis of the NEA must begin in defining the past and present goals of the organization, with the likely range of its movement in the future.

Definition is complicated because of the increasing osmosis between the American society of the 1960's and NEA organizational life. The past dozen years have seen significant mutations in NEA's traditional goals as a result.

Analysis is made difficult also because of the great complexity of NEA itself. The NEA does not speak with one voice, and is not a unity but a mosaic of parts. It is essentially an umbrella or peak organization: (1) It is a confederation of state and local affiliates, both represented directly in the NEA Representative Assembly. (2) It is an alliance of various semi-autonomous subject-matter or role groups, such as the administrators (AASA), classroom teachers (ACT), mathematics teachers, art teachers and so

on. (3) Its governing bodies are divided into four basic parts, the Assembly, the Board of Directors (oriented to the state groups and elected by state delegations to the Assembly), an Executive Committee (which is not a subcommittee of the Board, acting for it during its quarterly meetings) elected by and responsible to the Assembly, and a central Secretariat, presided over by an Executive Secretary who is powerful because of his control of research and administrative resources. (4) Within the NEA national headquarters structure, there are many committees, semi-independent commissions on legislative matters, professional standards and professional rights and responsibilities.¹

These various bodies and affiliates conflict at various times on issues and policies. These inter-structure conflicts are well known to NEA members and to management consultants.² They are ascribed the topsy-turvy, uneven growth of an organization trying to be all things to all educators. There have been especially serious splits on federal aid, integration, teacher boycotts and work stoppages, economic benefits to membership, and the like: any important issue will see opposing viewpoints.

¹NEA Handbook, 1968-69. Also, 1968 Organizational Chart in Appendix herein.

² Cresap, McCormick and Paget, consultants, NEA Management Survey, 1957 (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C., mimeographed), vol. One, Part A, Chapter III, pp. 10-12, 17-18, 13-14, Chapter V, 1-4, Chapter VI, 1-3.

For these reasons, the NEA has made only vague statements subject to varying interpretations and has shied away from setting priorities among goals. The goal statements of the various units and departments, each drawn up separately, add to the confusion. There is no central clearing office for these statements of purpose. Publications overlap considerably; there are myriads of them. To put it another way, goal-setting is difficult and confused at best. There is no central goal and priorities--setting structure although some efforts are being made to remedy this situation.

Working papers of NEA development projects, have put the situation in this way: (1) There is no agreement as to what NEA goals are or should be. (2) There is a lack of cooperative effort in goal setting since functions and responsibilities are not clearly defined and each unit sets up programs and services somewhat haphazardly, on an ad hoc basis, without adequate tie-in to Program Budgeting. (3) Goals lack specificity in deference to the multi-purpose of the association. (4) Responsibility for goals is not clear; no specific group is clearly charged with determination of Association goals. The charter, platform and by-laws make most of the NEA bodies responsible for some policy formulation.

Faced with the difficulties in clarifying its goals, setting priorities and introducing adequate program budget-

ing, the NEA has been forced to renew its "old image," (described in the next section) on the demands of the "militant" classroom teacher whose voice has become effective in the Assembly and the Assembly-dominated presidency and Executive Committee after the centennial of 1957. There has been "change and renewal" in goals in three policy areas: (a) NEA's public service goals, (b) NEA's membership benefit goals, (c) the modernization of NEA structure in order to make it more effective.

A. THE OLD IMAGE OF THE NEA

The general concept of the NEA is that it is "founded on" essentially white, middle class, small town and rural assumptions;"³ that it has "disregarded...the problems of social and racial minorities...oblivious to the substantial failure of the urban school."⁴ In addition to the characterizations, the following descriptions of the NEA are important: (a) The NEA has been, and still is to a large extent, an organization devoted to reasonings and voluntary action both in its external and internal policies; (b) Moreover, NEA members and NEA staff have long been "dedicated," or willing to run organizational activities largely on a

³P. Janssen, "NEA: The Reluctant Dragon," Saturday Review, vol. L, No. 24 (June 17, 1967), p. 56.

⁴Ibid.

"self-help" basis, without expecting economic rewards;

(c) Further, NEA has been an organization where the business demands for maximum efficiency have not operated. This is especially true for the research and development function, perfected for the profit-making organization;

(d) The spirit of the business-league or fraternal, membership-benefit organizations has taken hold only recently. Before, NEA's classification by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) type, or educational non-profit institution, made it eschew the quest for economic fringe benefits for members except at the level of lobbying for federal support of public school teachers' salaries.

Because of its nature as an educational public service, non-profit group, and because of its "white, middle-class and rural assumptions," the NEA was regarded as a conservative defender of the status quo, and as a part of the "establishment"--a normal image for an old, well-to-do and institutionalized system⁵--aiming for a monopoly position as the spokesman for public school education in the United States.

The Commitment of NEA to Voluntary
Action and Self-Help

⁵T. Dye and H. Ziegler, The Irony of Democracy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970, p. 81.

One fundamental point has been emphasized to this observer again and again by older NEA staff. This is the basic dependence on voluntary means of cooperation, of rational men striving together to reach consensus, in the spirit of the enlightenment tradition, mixed with the British sense of fair play. State groups are confederate units of NEA; they are not to be coerced. NEA Assembly resolutions are not automatically binding on the states; they are like U. N. General Assembly resolutions, and have to be re-enacted by the individual member states for full effectiveness.

In this area, national labor unions have a decided advantage over the NEA in that the former operate with a central secretariat and locals only, without the intervening layer of states. NEA State Associations play a vital role in the structure; yet persuasion often gets nowhere. Thus, for the southern states the idea of integration does not have a persuasive force, and practical politics tell them to go slowly on this issue. Other state associations which draw their strength from small and rural communities, are in touch with legislatures that are being reformed only now as a result of the Supreme Court's one man, one vote decision.

But traditional leadership of the NEA, exemplified in William Carr, has abhorred the use of force. Expulsion

and sanctions against affiliates have been rarely used.⁶ The use of these weapons have become celebrated cases. Thus, the Louisiana Teachers Association (white) has been expelled for failure to merge with the colored teachers association in Louisiana; but the process took almost a decade to complete.

There is also the comraderie and informality that pervades an organization that fights for a noble (professional) cause, not for money only (even if it does seek fringe benefits).⁷ This comraderie goes hand-in-hand with the voluntary character of the NEA which persists, though in a limited way, even today. There is the memory of pitching in and helping out under very bas conditions; for example, during the Givens secretaryship in the 1930's the staff did not get paid for weeks.⁸ Despite its sudden growth into a million-member organization, the remembrance of days when the NEA was still a "do-it-yourself" organization, operating out of the rented home of its executive secretary, still persists.

Its "good cause" has managed to hold many fine staff members of the NEA for 15, 20, 25, 40 years; Dr. Lyle Ashby

⁶Although this now could become a potentially strong weapon since members' investment in NEA life and accident insurance, mutual funds, etc., for which NEA membership is required as an operative condition.

⁷See "The Dedicated Teacher is the Teaching Profession's Greatest Enemy," Today's Education, vol. 59, No. 8 (Nov. 1970), p. 53.

⁸Footnote #8 listed on page 62.

deputy executive secretary, completed 40 years of service in 1968. This attitude is now being eroded slowly. This observer has noted that among the staff of the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission in 1969, younger staff refused to do rush work on their lunch hour, while older staff did not. Younger and minority group members of the staff, however, support the NEA Staff Organization (NEASO, a bargaining unit for lower-echelon employees), and have little patience when their salary raises are delayed (as they were in the Spring, 1969) on the grounds that NEA "must go on," with its dedication to work, frugality and idealism.

Representative Assembly resolutions in the 1960's, mandating classroom teacher majorities on NEA committees and commissions, as well as increased classroom teacher representation on the Executive Committee, may signal the end of the era of voluntary cooperation.

In the internal structure of the NEA-Central also, forceful methods may be displacing persuasion. The staff organization forced NEA-Central to recognize it as the bargaining agent of lower and middle-level employees despite the bitter opposition of Dr. Carr and other conservative officials. The latest NEA-NEASO bargain (contract), to

⁸See M. Fenner, "The National Education Association: 1892-1942" (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1942).

last for five years, providing for compulsory arbitration on certain issues, was signed this summer, using the services of an impartial management consulting firm for the establishment of new pay scales. Bargaining contracts mean the end of informal, good feelings between higher level and lower level staff and employees; strict measurement of performance replaces an "easy-going" attitude.

Finally, the ultimatum of 1968 given to affiliated special-role departments (Mathematics Teachers, Vocational Education, School Nurses, Higher Education, etc.) to choose a specific type of affiliation with the NEA by the summer of 1969 or leave the NEA's umbrella, was indicative of a new attitude for the "reasonable," NEA organization. So was the ultimatum of 1969 to white and Negro state affiliates refusing to integrate. The use of sanctions by NEA in the 1960's (such as teacher boycotts and walk-outs) have also signalled a lessening commitment to voluntariness, reason and comraderie.

NEA's Dominance by its Southern Faction

To a large extent, NEA's image as a "white, middle-class and rural" organization can be explained by the fact that for a considerable time now the membership in 11 southern and four border states have accounted for over 40 per-

cent of NEA membership.⁹ In the south, white dominance, the dominance and authority of principals and supervisors over teachers (with the cooperation of teacher education colleges), great numbers of women in the teaching profession, the preponderance of Protestantism, and the hostility to urban-based unionism were to be found. These attitudes and philosophies were reinforced to some degree by teachers in the Great Lakes and farm belt section of the American heartland, where the NEA has also been strong.¹⁰ The importance of the south for NEA explains to a large degree its former white, Protestant, rural, self-help image.

The southern region had long been dedicated to public schools as against private or parochial schools. Thus, NEA has traditionally opposed any federal aid to non-public schools (see next section). Southerners were able to form an alliance with mid-western states on this issue and maintain this position until the mid-1960's.¹¹ They were also able to fill most of the important positions in the NEA hierarchy.¹² Catholics did not fill any important

⁹NEA Handbook, 1968-69, p. 396.

¹⁰Ibid.; see K. Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969), p. 292.

¹¹See Ch. VII on NEA's stand on federal legislation.

¹²The present executive secretary's home state is West Virginia. In 1957-58, the Board of Trustees who elected the secretary and managed NEA's investment funds, included only one member (from New Mexico) who was not from a southern, border or farm belt state. The NEA's assistant executive secretaries have also come from the south or the Heartland, with very few exceptions.

staff position before the early 1960's, nor did Negroes before the late 1960's.

Urban teachers from large metropolitan areas have generally gravitated to the American Federation of Teachers.¹³ Except for the west coast where teacher unions have not been so strong, the AFT controls most major cities of the country. On the other hand, NEA has done well in medium sized cities and suburban areas (see section on Urban-Rural Divergence in the NEA, Chapter V.)

In the area of integration, NEA has recently moved away from its old image by enforcing the integration of southern state affiliates, by condemning the private schools set up in the south to evade the courts' integration decrees, by setting up a Human Relations Center, and by aiding Negro teachers in the south. An assistant executive secretary of the NEA, is a Negro, and the 10-member NEA Executive Committee has a Negro member. The Board of Directors has several Negro members and so does the headquarters staff. The erosion of the old southern and midwestern oriented image has been due not only to outside pressures but to the militant classroom teacher movement in the NEA (see section in this chapter on Teacher Militancy).

¹³Janssen, loc. cit.; T. Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching (New York: Macmillan, 1968), Ch. 3.

NEA's Championship of the Public School System

NEA traditionally has drawn its membership from public school teachers and administrators. The percentage of members from private school systems is minimal, and Catholic teachers have their own organization. Moreover, over 40 percent of NEA's members have come from southern or border Protestant states. This group of members has influenced NEA philosophy in an important way.

Consequently, NEA has traditionally stood for federal aid to public schools only. As will be shown in Chapter VII on NEA supported legislation NEA's adamance on this issue thwarted several efforts to pass a federal school aid bill before 1965.

The intransigence of NEA on this point, coupled with its defense of the states' claim to be allowed to spend monies unconditionally, without controls or ear-marking by the federal government, has caused doubts in the minds of some commentators about NEA's public service role.

The NEA position softened in the mid-1960's when it supported categorical aid and the child-benefit formula, and its 1970 opposition to aid to any non-public school system may be explained in terms of its distaste for new private schools in the south. However, its demand for unrestricted, federal aid to be spent as block grants at the discretion of the states has continued with full force.

The predominance of southern membership in the NEA has helped to account for its image as an organization opposed to integrated public schools. In the 1960's, however, this attitude of the NEA has gradually become more and more liberal to the point where in 1970 it is firmly committed to the opposition of segregation.¹⁴

The Urban-Rural Divergence in the NEA

NEA has traditionally done best in rural areas where the authority of the principal and superintendent usually members of the NEA, persuaded classroom teachers that NEA was the only organization they should turn to. In these rural areas the influence of unions flourishing in cities, was at a minimum. NEA developed, through its state affiliates, good relations with many rural controlled legislatures and chief state officers of public instruction.¹⁵ At the federal level NEA had the support and cooperation of southern congressmen.¹⁶

¹⁴See chapter on Executive Committee and integration on affiliates, Ch. III herein. Also Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 196-201.

¹⁵T. Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

¹⁶See Chapter VII on NEA backed bills; NEA favored the type of federal aid proposed by Repr. Barden of a rural South Carolina district.

The change in NEA's rural orientation may be traced to the challenge mounted in the late 1950's by the American Federation of Teachers whose New York City affiliate defeated NEA in the 1961 bargaining agent elections.¹⁷ After its defeat the NEA started projects to upgrade neglected urban locals and to combat union activity as much as possible. The result was that, although the teacher union continued to win in large metropolitan areas, the NEA held on to smaller and medium sized cities in addition to suburban and rural areas.¹⁸ By the end of the 1960's, the NEA had downgraded some of its rural education projects and had upgraded its urban education projects.¹⁹

NEA's "Monopoly" of the Public Education Field

NEA's public service efforts have been clouded by various charges. An accusation that is often reflected in NEA organizational literature contends that the NEA wants to preempt the role of spokesman for public school education in

¹⁷Stinnett, op. cit., Chapter 3.

¹⁸Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 68-73; see Chapter V on Urban Associations within Representative Assembly.

¹⁹NEA Handbook, 1968, pp. 102-103. Cf. NEA Proceedings, 1950, pp. 279, 285, 262.

the United States.²⁰ Many opponents of NEA, among them the Chamber of Commerce (opposed to NEA's public spending proposals on the federal level), other fiscal conservatives, many Congressmen and at least one U. S. Commissioner of Education, have charged NEA with attempting to monopolize this area. These charges have detracted from NEA's role as a public service organization.

The charges are sometimes made by political conservatives without considering NEA's lack of liberalism in other fields. These conservatives oppose not only NEA's willingness to spend federal monies but the efforts of NEA to establish UNESCO and to aid overseas teachers.²¹ They had also objected to Executive Secretary Givens' calls for drastic "social engineering" to help the country out of the depression in the 1930's.²²

²⁰Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 209-213. See also Russell Kirk in the Arizona Phoenix (Arizona) Gazette, July 17, 1963; Raymond Moley in the Oakland Tribune (Calif.), June 23, 1963, and in the Herald Tribune (N.Y.), June 22, 1963; letters between Dr. Carr and U. S. Commissioner of Education, Sterling McMurrin, referred to in Chapter VII herein (section on NEA influence on legislation).

²¹See speech of Rep. Ashbrook (R-Ohio), Congressional Record, vol. 109 (June 25, 1963, 88th Congress, 1st Session), pp. 10880-10881.

²²See Reece Committee Report, Report 2681, 83rd Congress (1954), especially pp. 141, 146, 149, 191, 194.

The charge of monopoly is more difficult to substantiate now that the NEA has lost preeminence by opposing categorical aid and child-benefit formulas in the early 1960's. At the 1965 White House Conference on Education, called into session shortly before the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) became law, "public-school personnel and the professional associations were definitely and obviously shunted to the sidelines,"²³ in favor of an integration-and urban-oriented U. S. Office of Education and leading foundations and universities.

TEACHER MILITANCY IN NEA

The indices of teacher militancy in the NEA must be found in such areas as the average age, sex, education and political socialization of public school teachers. NEA statistics show that the percentage of men on teaching staffs has increased, and the median age of all teaching personnel has dropped in the past fifteen years.²⁴ The total number of teachers has expanded during the same time and thus the number of men has increased significantly, even if their percentage strength has not climbed so sharp-

²³Stinnett, op. cit., p. 213.

²⁴NEA Research Division, Estimates of School Statistics (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968, Report 1968-RI6), pp. 13, 14; Stinnett, op. cit., p. 35.

ly.²⁵ Many of the additions to the teaching force are in socially mobile and restive city and suburban districts.

The education of teachers has also improved to the point where the percentage of public school teachers with no bachelor's degree is minimal.²⁶ The NEA, even in its administrator-oriented days, promoted teacher education, not anticipating all of its effects. In 1964, the NEA instituted a rule that new members must possess at least a Bachelors degree.²⁷ These better educated teachers are more aware of the economic and social ills of society.

Stinnett points out that in these years there was a significant trend toward the merger of school districts, reflecting practices of business corporations. The 127,422 districts operating in 1931-32 had dwindled to some 25,000 twenty-five years later. This trend contributed to the decline of paternalistic relationships between school administrators and teachers. In a more impersonal atmosphere, economic and social demands feed on dissatisfaction and frustrations.²⁸

²⁵Research Report 1968-R16 cited in fn. 23, p. 13.

²⁶Stinnett, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁷NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 119-124, 420.

²⁸Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

A realization of the inadequacies of the school systems, especially in urban areas, was coupled with a growing realization of the low economic priority not only of school district financing but of teachers' salaries. Ironically, the NEA Research Division had pointed out these inequities for a long time, without suggesting ways to remedy the situation. These economic shortcomings of teachers came out during the Portland and Philadelphia NEA conventions of 1956, 1957 when staff coordinators invited self-examination on part of the NEA membership in connection with the centennial celebration of 1957.

The 1956 and 1957 "discussion circles" marked the first attempt on the part of the NEA to involve all delegates in a thorough discussion of educational problems. These discussions contributed a referendum on NEA policies in the 1950's. Their results received much more publicity and visibility than periodic regional or staff conferences. NEA leaders found to their surprise that general membership demanded a much more aggressive policy along economic and social lines. The findings constituted a classical example of the discrepancies between leaders' and followers' perceptions. Delegates demanded membership benefits such as insurance policies and attention to urban schools, integration and school board-teacher negotiations. The militancy of classroom teachers was, perhaps unwittingly, made possible by the NEA "old-guard" staff itself to a great extent.

The post-Sputnik examination of U. S. education in general brought out further inadequacies. The rising demand for the implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation created further expectations and tensions.

The event which gave dissatisfied classroom teachers a ready-made cause for becoming "militant" and "activist" was the 1961 defeat of NEA in the New York City teacher bargaining representative elections. Stinnett claims that NEA was unwisely "asking for a defeat" by intervening in the New York City fight. Be that as it may, the NEA staff was put on the defensive due to the great amount of adverse publicity received as a result of this defeat, and the loss of other metropolitan areas in short succession.²⁹ The reaction by delegates at the NEA Assemblies was swift and aggressive. Sweeping aside the objections of NEA staff members oriented to the more leisurely, and blase attitude of the 1950's, they passed resolutions calling for

(a) urgent attention to urban problems;³⁰

(b) professional negotiations with school boards on salaries and working conditions, areas left to the authority of boards and superintendents previously;³¹

²⁹Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 40-41, 70, 72, 74-79.

³⁰NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 397 (Res. 17).

³¹Ibid., pp. 307-98 (Res. 18).

(c) the use of sanctions, particularly the boycott, against recalcitrant school boards;³²

(d) an expression of friendliness towards the American labor movement;³³

(e) "forceful action" to publicize the financial plight of schools;³⁴

(f) the support of categorical federal aid to education;³⁵

(g) elimination of part of a 1962 resolution that opposed any federal aid to private higher education institutions;³⁶

(h) a resolution that NEA attack the problem of "disadvantaged Americans at its roots," and help improve the "educational, economic and environmental status of disadvantaged Americans."³⁷ This marks the beginning of new types of public service for the NEA;

³²Ibid., p. 398 (Res. 19).

³³Ibid., p. 398 (Res. 22).

³⁴Ibid., p. 398 (Res. 21).

³⁵NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392 (Res. 3); Ibid., 1963, p. 460 (Res. 4).

³⁶NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392 (Res. 3); cf. Ibid., 1963, p. 460 (Res. 4).

³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 462 (Res. 8).

(i) action on part of NEA staff and Board of Directors to direct all local district and state associations affiliated with the NEA to take "immediate steps" to remove restrictive membership requirements dealing with race, creed or ethnic groups.³⁸ This is the first time that the Assembly mandated action in this field left heretofore to reasoning and persuasion;

(j) raising classroom teacher representation on NEA boards, committees and commissions to at least 50 percent;³⁹

(k) directing the NEA staff to recognize a staff bargaining unit for salary purposes;⁴⁰

(l) the taking of the power to select the Executive Secretary away from the Board of Trustees. The latter was abolished by charter revision and the selection of the secretary was made a function of the Executive Committee.⁴¹

These resolutions show the increasing domination of the Assembly by "activist" or "militant" classroom teachers

³⁸NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 444-45 (Res. 12).

³⁹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 417 (Res. 22).

⁴⁰NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 476 (Res. 24).

⁴¹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 476 (Res. 26).

in the face of opposition from state affiliates, administrative and staff personnel.⁴²

Another index of the militant teachers' ascendancy is the election of classroom teacher presidents in the 1960's with the exception, one woman president.⁴³ The Assembly resolution referred to in paragraph (j) above resulted in an Executive Committee whose majority was composed of classroom teachers and which was responsive to the Assembly.⁴⁴ Finally, the retirement of executive secretary Carr (in office 1952-1967) gave the Assembly and Executive Committee a chance to impress its demands on the new secretary, himself a former classroom teacher (also NEA research division and NEA Information Services chief who had written on the subject of teacher frustrations).⁴⁵

New orientations or failures in associations often bring about a search for scapegoats as added justification for changes of direction. In the case of the classroom teachers' ascendancy in the NEA, the scapegoats were (a) the superintendents and administrators in NEA, and (b) some mem-

⁴²See speech of NEA President Batchelder on teacher militancy, NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 7-14.

⁴³See Appendix herein.

⁴⁴See Ch. IV herein on Executive Committee.

⁴⁵See Ch. IV herein, section on Executive Secretary's office.

bers of the NEA headquarters staff. Topic (b) is discussed in the next chapter of the thesis. Topic (a) is echoed by teachers unions when they refer to the NEA as "administrator-dominated" or as a "company union."

The charge that NEA is "administrator dominated" has been discussed by writers such as Stinnett (from the NEA's point of view) and Lieberman (from the union's point of view).⁴⁶ Some surveys have reported that in past years as many as 15 percent of teachers felt pressured by superintendents to join the NEA; an added 16 percent reported that there was indirect pressure.⁴⁷

Whatever the situation may have been in the past, the classroom teachers now have a majority in both Assembly and Executive Committee and can pass any reasonable resolution. The administrators and superintendents can be of great assistance to the NEA and teacher members and hostility between teachers and administrators in NEA would only benefit the teachers union. Many teacher members of NEA recognize this. The administrators' group (AASA) was asked by NEA's staff not to sever its affiliation with NEA completely and was offered extra services by NEA headquarters.

⁴⁶Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 12-15, 218-223, 335, 341-343, M. Lieberman and M. Moskow, Collective Negotiation in Public Education (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

⁴⁷Stinnett, op. cit., p. 223.

As it was, AASA chose only a loose affiliation with NEA and the superintendents and administrators concede that the leadership of the NEA is with classroom teachers. Co-existence within the NEA is based on the reasonable hope that "teacher upsurge is grounded in idealism rather than selfishness."⁴⁸

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIORITIES IN GOALS

The discussion so far has demonstrated the complexity of the NEA and the divergences between sections of membership. Consequently, NEA goals and priorities have been difficult to set. Because of the difficulties and political dangers inherent in the situation, NEA may be said to have drifted in the 1950's until it was dragged into the 1960's with rejuvenating and decisive programs by classroom teachers and younger staff who were aware of the social problems of American society. In other words, the philosophy of ad hoc reaction to crises was replaced by a more comprehensive, political action-oriented policy by the 1960's. Put in another way, there occurred a reformulation of public service goals and the injection of some major new membership benefit goals into NEA organization, with increasing attention to the modernization of NEA structure. The impli-

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 15.

cations of this threefold change--in public service goals, membership benefit goals and modernization of structure is explored in the next four sections.

This section is designed to show the gradual evolution of goals, priorities and program budgeting over the course of ten years. Early efforts (before 1961) to set goals can be found in NEA's Victory Action Program (1946), a Centennial Action Program (CAP, 1951-1957)⁴⁹ and an Expanded Action Program (1957-1962), as well as in platforms of the NEA (1932-1969, when the platform was replaced by "continuing resolutions"), resolutions, ad hoc task forces, position papers, and statements of NEA presidents and executive secretaries (with frequent conflicts between these).⁵⁰ These efforts, however, consist of a mixture of ideal, never-attainable conditions, wishful thinking, and an unordered conglomeration of professional and pregrammatic considerations or projections. There was no thorough going effort to set priorities and relate these to specific actions and expenditures.

In 1961, a Professional Priorities project was authorized. This was to bring clarity and order to over 80

⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 82-87.

⁵⁰Cf. for example, speeches by Dr. Carr and NEA President Batchelder at 1966 NEA Convention. NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 14-27 (Carr) and pp. 7-14 (Batchelder).

goals listed in the NEA platforms of the 1950's. The project noted⁵¹ that since 1957 the Association had made no attempt to adopt a special goals program and that the organization needed a short statement of program goals. The project divided goals into two sets: basic continuing priorities (public understanding, stronger affiliates, stronger NEA) and current priorities. Of the five in the latter category, three were purely professional goals (teaching and learning, freedom to teach, professional standards and autonomy) and two were related to membership benefits as well (professional negotiations and school finance). In 1962 this ad hoc planning mechanism of the NEA did not reflect great concern for membership benefits.

By 1965, these benefits received greater attention.⁵² In a NEA Research Division listing of 10 areas of NEA services, only two dealt with purely professional goals (education and professional standards, curriculum and instructional services). After listing two other goals, ones which have not, traditionally, absorbed large amounts of NEA energy or money (higher education, international relations), the remaining six categories posit professional negotiations, legislative support for public schools, teach-

⁵¹Professional Priorities Project, Report (mimeographed, 1962), p. 3.

⁵²NEA Research Division, "Projected Program of Services" (mimeographed, 1965).

er welfare and working conditions and the like. The work of the NEA Research was submitted to the Board of Directors but shunted to the sidelines due to the operation of the NEA Development Project on Organizational Structure which had been launched some months previously.⁵³

A new, concerted effort was made to establish priorities with the inauguration of a new executive secretary, Dr. Lambert, in August 1967. The secretary, president and the governing bodies of the Association, cooperated with other groups to pinpoint priorities. The final conference of this joint effort took place on December 2-3, 1967.⁵⁴ Eight priorities, with an order of precedence as to the first four, were set up.⁵⁵ These priorities constituted a landmark in recognizing the new public service and membership benefit orientation of the NEA. The public service concept of the NEA has been expanded to include a proposal to provide leadership in finding solutions not only to problems of education, but to major "social economic and political problems." Legislative programs and building a unified NEA-led teaching profession received high priority, as well as the reorganization of the staff and NEA's political economy. Expansion of the personal and

⁵³NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 281.

⁵⁴See also, NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 333-334.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 370, 468-471.

economic benefits of NEA to membership was pledged in addition to professional benefits. Better services to affiliates were promised.

The formulation of these priorities also coincided with the beginning of program budgeting, where numerous individual entries became subsumed into eight categories. This procedure simplified the reading of budgets for the individual member and made spending more visible. It also served the staff to orient them toward effective spending. Although item by item funding of existing programs and offices was continued, the financial plans for 1968-69 gave a detailed summary of spending for each of the eight key goals or priorities.⁵⁶

The setting of new public service and membership benefit goals, and the introduction of program budgeting in 1968 undoubtedly mark a great step forward in the classification and implementation of goals. A powerful committee to study and implement goals and priorities still remains to be established.⁵⁷

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 468-471.

⁵⁷See Board of Directors Committee, NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 333-334, and Executive Committee's Committee on Planning and Organizational Development (CPOD), NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 388.

The Threefold Emphasis in NEA's Belief System

The recent goals of the NEA have centered on three strands in the belief system of the NEA. One is the public service function of the NEA, revised in the light of modern conditions. Another is the membership benefit orientation which came into its own after the Centennial of 1957 due to both environmental factors and a change of attitude on the part of large numbers of members. A third strand is the desire for effectiveness in civic life which cannot be realized without the modernization of NEA structure, both in the coordination of affiliates, the evolution of goal setting mechanisms, the establishment of priorities among NEA goals in terms of services and budgets, and in the restructuring of NEA headquarters.

The public service strand at one time encompassed only professional standards, education, curricula and ethics. A new generation in the 1960's sees it in terms of solving the important social, political and human problems of the day--integration, urban life, civic participation, fighting environmental pollution, and the like.

The membership benefits at one time were thought of in terms of receiving information and professional journals, as well as legal defense in case of unjust accusation. The above was the concept of "teacher welfare" until the late 1950's when the Centennial year, the post-Sputnik analysis

of education and NEA's defeat in New York City in 1961 focussed attention on the economic plight and organizational weakness of teachers. As a result a classroom teacher movement in the NEA, through its control of the NEA Assembly, instituted programs of economic benefit to members-- life insurance, annuity programs, mutual fund opportunities, car leasing--and shored up the negotiating power of teachers vis-a-vis public education systems by approving bargaining units for teachers (formerly thought to be fit for industrial relations only), the boycott of recalcitrant systems and, by 1968, the strike in drastic circumstances.

The modernization of the NEA structure has proceeded slowly, and will perhaps be solved only by the coming 1972 Constitutional Convention and Assembly. Although priorities in goals and program budgeting were introduced in 1968, there is no agency in the NEA structure that has the power, visibility and effectiveness to research, raise and clarify goals and get them adopted by the NEA governing bodies. The relationship of the NEA to affiliates and departments, although improved, is still in need of further unification and clarification. Finally the structure of NEA headquarters staff has not represented maximum effectiveness. Dr. Carr, secretary from 1952 to 1967, preferred a broad span of control and intimate supervision of operations; Dr. Lambert, who succeeded Dr. Carr in 1967, is still

experimenting with the best headquarters staff structure he can devise and is still feeling his way among the power blocks of the NEA.

New Public Service Goals of the NEA

Public services in the 1950's performed by the NEA in order to "promote the cause of education in the United States"⁵⁸ included (1) research activities, including statistical research and analysis of school finances; (2) promotion of public education through conferences, publications and the public media, and the promotion of federal legislation (to aid school construction and school program, to establish scholarships and loans, etc.); (3) the promotion of professional standards (including education and ethics); (4) the promotion of curriculum research and innovation, the search for adequate teaching materials and books; and (5) the promotion of international understanding through cooperation and international teacher groups. Some of the above activities are described elsewhere in this thesis.⁵⁹

The addition of new goals has occurred as a result of NEA's determination to help improve the "educational,

⁵⁸NEA Charter, sec. 2. See NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 491.

⁵⁹Ch. VII, NEA Influence, Ch. VIII, NEA's International Relations; cf. Ch. VI, Membership Benefits.

economic and environmental status of disadvantaged Americans"⁶⁰ and the determination to help improve the quality of life in these United States. NEA now has a Human Relations Center, supervised by an assistant executive secretary, to "protect and extend civil and human rights;"⁶¹ it has an Urban Education Task Force to plan possible improvements in urban curricula and help set up pilot educational projects. The NEA has publications on the problems of integration in schools, discrimination against Negroes in jobs and housing⁶² and urban problems. Recently it has focussed the nation's attention on the plight of Indian reservation schools.⁶³ The NEA has passed a resolution calling for a gradual end to the Vietnamese war and the allocation of more federal monies to the improvement of the quality of life at home. The NEA has supported programs and drives to combat the pollution of the environment and to

⁶⁰NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 462 (Res. 8).

⁶¹NEA Handbook, 1968-69, p. 106.

⁶²NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 190-191, 392, 442, 524-525. See Res. 23 of 1969, "Fair Housing."

⁶³George Fisher (NEA president 1969-70) has been a strong supporter of improvements in Indian reservation schools. See 1969 NEA Resolutions, no. 15, passed during his presidency.

promote conservation of natural resources.⁶⁴ It has made statements on and has initiated programs to combat drug addiction among the young,⁶⁵ partly by advocating more student involvement in community affairs.⁶⁶

In sum, the policies of the NEA now include a concern for the quality and conservation of human and natural resources in general. Such new policies now pre-empt about 10 percent of NEA's yearly budget of about fifteen million dollars, the greater percentage, or about 30 percent, goes to the older public service goals of the NEA, mostly statistical research, curriculum and educational materials research, publications and publicity for the promotion of education.

Membership Benefit Goals of NEA

These may be divided into three categories:

- (a) economic benefits for NEA members

⁶⁴See NEA Reporter, July 24, 1970, p. 6; Ohio Schools, vol. 48, No. 3 (Feb. 13, 1970), pp. 18-20; "What Schools Can Do About Pollution," Today's Education, vol. 59 (Dec. 1970), pp. 14-31.

⁶⁵See on this topic, "Teacher Opinion Poll: Drug Abuse in the Schools," Today's Education, vol. 59 (Dec. 1970), p. 7; NEA publications on special problems, Today's Education, vol. 59 (Nov. 1970), pp. 70-71.

⁶⁶"NEA's Youth Welfare Activities," Today's Education, vol. 59 (April 1970), pp. 48-52, 63; 1969 NEA Resolution No. 12 ("Student Involvement").

(b) improvement of the political status of membership

(c) improvement of the professional status of membership.

Category (a) will be described in some detail in Chapter VI, Membership Benefits. Economic benefits for members for the most part started in 1961, with the institution of a life insurance program. Accident insurance, annuity programs, a NEA Mutual Fund, car leasing program; home owners insurance followed in the next eight years. Group travel benefits and the opportunity to purchase books at discount had been instituted before.

An underlying principle of the economic benefits for members is to create savings equivalent to, or greater than, his yearly investment of fees of about \$85 a year to the "United profession" (local, state and national organization). This aim has been realized. The justification for these economic benefits is easy to find. It is an opportunity for the NEA to serve teachers using its large purchasing power; it makes NEA's large membership economically effective; it combats union claims of better service to teachers; it creates a groundswell for NEA's public service goals.

The creation of the membership benefit programs is to a large extent due to CTA (classroom teacher association) leaders working with executive secretaries of some state affiliates, committed to membership services. The

names of Richard Batchelder, NEA president 1965-66, R. Wyatt, executive secretary of the Indiana State Teachers Association and Cecil Hannan, executive secretary of the Oregon State affiliate, deserve special mention. The departure of Dr. Hannan, an associate executive secretary, from the NEA staff may cause a halt to the expansion of these membership benefits, but the existing ones are widely publicized and firmly institutionalized.

Economic services to members consume about 15 to 20 percent of NEA's budget.⁶⁷ To save NEA's tax status as an educational organization, most of the economic benefit programs are mostly self-supporting and have separate bank accounts from the NEA.⁶⁸ NEA still supplies staff, clerical help and office space for these services, and does extensive promotional work.

(b) The improvement of the political status of teachers includes programs to involve teachers in politics, such as TIP (Teachers in Politics), under the auspices of the NEA's Committee on Citizenship. The Committee in 1967-68 organized a "Clinic on Political Clinics;" a political citizenship clinic for 12 southeastern states; political clinics for classroom teacher regional conferences; and a national Teacher in Politics weekend.

⁶⁷NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 8; Ibid., pp. 431-432.

⁶⁸NEA Handbook, 1968-69, p. 117; NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 463-465 (secs. 4, 5, 7 of notes to Financial Statement).

The NEA has increased its coverage of important items of legislation in its news letter. The NEA Reporter, printed the education support record of Congressmen up for election in 1970, as to their support for education and endorsed publicly the nomination of Dr. S. Margrand (a NEA member) for U. S. Commissioner of Education. This use of legislative records and endorsements is characteristic of NEA's new attempt to socialize its members politically.

A part of this effort is the increased staff given to its Legislative Division, recently renamed the Office of Governmental Relations.⁶⁹

Political activity of membership was in the past discouraged, because of the fear that it would cost the NEA its tax status. Such fears have been evidently put aside and the NEA goes ahead with political problems regardless of the tax consequences.

(c) The NEA has mounted a strong drive to achieve for professional status for teachers through the passage of state laws allowing teachers to regulate the entrance into and standards within the profession.⁷⁰ Only through professional autonomy will the teaching profession approximate

⁶⁹NEA Handbook, 1968-69, p. 138.

⁷⁰Cf. Batchelder speech, NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 9.

the status of doctors and lawyers. Some success has been registered in this field.⁷¹

On the federal level, the NEA wants to establish federal professional negotiation machinery to be run by a board, similar to the National Labor Relations Board in its powers (attached to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare). This Board would supervise representative elections for teacher bargaining units, with a mediation service and appeals procedure. Although professional negotiations are distinguishable from industrial relations bargaining (mainly in that they do not envisage a strike),⁷² the NEA sees the desirability of a federal board that would institutionalize the right of public professional employees in the teaching profession to have negotiations by representatives in all school systems of the country.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE AND RENEWAL:

MODERNIZATION OF STRUCTURE

It must be admitted that the changes in NEA associational and internal structure have occurred in the last ten years. That these changes may not be far-reaching or efficient enough is signified by the fact that the Board itself (usually a conservative body) recognized the need for

⁷¹See Ch. VI herein on Membership Benefits.

⁷²Stinnett, op. cit., Chs. V, VI.

a constitutional convention by introducing a Resolution on this matter at the 1969 Assembly. This Resolution called for a study of the goals and the cost of a convention, which is now scheduled to be held in 1972.

It is further generally admitted that the NEA has inadequate ways and means to establish associational goals and priorities and has lacked adequate methods for long-range organizational planning. This point was made in 1957 already when the NEA Management Survey noted that both staff and members knew that the NEA "grew like Topsy."⁷³

Periodically, NEA ad hoc committees and projects have studied goals and priorities, as well as NEA structure. Basically, these efforts have been either (1) haphazard and superficial, or (2) by groups or individuals without an adequate power basis to make their proposals effective. Furthermore, mechanisms for the planning and implementation of changes have been notoriously absent in the NEA. The Research Division which could have performed the R & D function (as it does in other organizations) has not been clearly entrusted with the planning function. The Office of the Deputy Executive Secretary, set up in 1959 as a result of the 1957 Management Survey, is a staff position that

⁷³Cresap, McCormick and Paget, NEA Management Survey, 1957 (in NEA Archives, Washington, D. C., mimeographed, two volumes) Vol. One, p. II-3; see also pp. IV-5, IV-11.

has been in charge of research and development, but the coordinating responsibilities of the position have left little time for comprehensive planning. It was only in October of 1968 that the office of Director of Planning attached to the Deputy Executive Secretary's office was set up. But the director has had no staff and little power. He had to compete as well as coordinate with the Board of Directors Commission Planning and Organizational Development (CPOD), the planning agency on the legislative side of NEA structure.⁷⁴

Again, this area awaits the decisions of the 1972 Constitutional Convention and the approval of a new constitution by the 1972 constitution-making Representative Assembly.

Streamlining of NEA's National Headquarters Structure

The headquarters staff, is in a key position to initiate and carry out change. Not only do they supervise such important NEA functions as research, legislative activities, finances and administration of foundation grants, but they have daily contact with the urban, classroom teacher and administrator groups and the other departments. The

⁷⁴CPOD established in 1967, has 7 members appointed by the Board, subject to approval of the Executive Committee, NEA Handbook, 1968-69, p. 142.

secretariat of the state education associations' council is located at NEA headquarters, and the U. S. Office of Education is also in Washington, D. C. The governing bodies and officers, except for the Assembly, are housed at NEA headquarters. In other words, the NEA headquarters staff fulfills vital service functions for the NEA, and often proposes policies and guidelines for implementation. They constitute a major nerve center for the organization.⁷⁵

Proposals for the restructure of the NEA headquarters staff have again come periodically with mixed effect. The lack of a permanent and effective planning, research and development organization has already been referred to.

The best known studies for the restructure of NEA staff have been as follows:

(a) The Management Survey of 1957,⁷⁶ recommended the establishment of various new staff offices to lessen the span of control of the Executive Secretary. It also recommended the classification of functions of NEA divisions, committees and commissions. Perhaps the most important recommendations put into effect have involved the creation of the office of Deputy Executive Secretary in 1959 and a Convention Coordinator soon thereafter. The administrative assistants attached to the secretary's office were also increased in number.

⁷⁵The governing bodies, executive secretary and NEA president are discussed in Ch. IV herein; the Assembly in Ch. V herein.

⁷⁶Cresap, McCormick and Paget, NEA Management Survey, 1957 (In NEA Archives, Washington, D. C., mimeographed, in two volumes).

(b) The NEA Development Project of a decade later (1965-67) was composed of three outside consultants and NEA staff aides. The most important of their recommendations⁷⁷ to be put into effect so far was the establishment of the office of Director of Planning and Organizational Development (Oct. 1968), attached to the office of the Deputy Secretary. Their recommended Committee on Planning and Organizational Development (CPOD) was also put into effect, but under the control of the Executive Committee. A related proposal on the establishment of a Training Academy for NEA staff was also adopted (1969).

Other headquarters structural changes can be divided into five categories:

(a) New units or corporate structure to service membership benefits have been created without openly endangering NEA's tax status under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code as an educational organization. These structures include the Teacher Services Corporation, the NEA Educators (mutual) Fund, the NEA Life Insurance Trust, the Horace Mann Educators Corporation and the NEA Division of Special Services (on a self-sustaining basis), under the guidance of a Committee on Special Services.⁷⁸

(b) Recently, NEA has created a National Foundation for the Improvement of Education.⁷⁹ The foundation represents an effort to attract outside funds for the public service functions of the NEA, thereby releasing monies for services to affiliates and membership. There may be other such foundations in the future.

(c) The creation of new units to provide better service to membership groups or membership in general, such as the Division of Legal Services

⁷⁷See NEA Development Project, Change and Renewal (Washington, D. C.: The Association, a pamphlet, 1967). Also referred to as the Hansen report after its director for the most part of its three years' existence.

⁷⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 366-369; NEA Handbook, 1968-69, pp. 117-118.

⁷⁹"National Foundation for the Improvement (next pg.)

(1969), the Urban Division (1967), the Human Relations Center (1968) for the human rights of educators and students, operated mainly for the benefit of the Negro teachers, two new departments (1969) to service higher education administrators and faculty, and a new-in-house unit to service administrators in various ways (1969).

(d) The creation of new officers to lessen the span of control of the executive secretary. A major reorganization came in June, 1968. The Executive Committee approved a proposal to create two new associate executive secretaries, one for field services and membership activities, and another for legislation, public relations, professional development and human rights. In addition, two new assistant executive secretaryships were established. However, the associate executive secretaries provided competition for the secretary and lessened his control instead of assisting him; by the end of 1969, one associate secretary had resigned and the other had succeeded the retiring deputy executive secretary.

(e) A process of decentralization, begun with the establishment of a New England office in the late 1950's, has proceeded to the point where there are now 11 operative regional structures, making the NEA more visible and accessible in the states. It is hoped that these regional offices do not develop into power structures to rival NEA-Central.

In the areas of organizational processes, one may note the following:

(1) In the middle 1960's, with some opposition from Dr. Carr, budget procedures were institutionalized by the appointment of a Director of the Budget.

(2) The handling of membership records and accounts is being converted from manual to computer operations. This trend to computerization will extend to orders for publications and mailing in general.

(3) NEA-Central operations were made more visible by making a daily NEA-Central news-sheet ("What's Happening Today") available to all.

(4) Membership sampling techniques were established as a part of the Research Division in 1962, with a computer to handle statistics. The operations of NEA Journal division were greatly expended with the mailing of a NEA newsletter to all members (over Dr. Carr's opposition) beginning with 1965.

In sum, there has been staff reorganization to reflect organizational development and new concerns with goals and priorities.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has indicated how NEA's goals have evolved and become somewhat more clear over the past twelve years. Evolution has been influenced by environmental factors centered around the growing discontent with the unsatisfactory quality of life for some segments of the population. The segments made their demands felt not only to legislators but to teachers who were both sensitive to the handicaps of the poor, the disadvantaged and the socially immobile and felt deprived themselves in terms of economic and social power. The growing changes of attitudes by classroom teachers who were younger and better educated forced policy changes on a conservative NEA.

In an organization where reason and peaceful change were still respected to a considerable degree the new-found demands of 85 percent of membership (i.e. the classroom

teachers) did not tear the organization apart but resulted in a rejuvenation of the organization. This is contrary to the usual assumption of integration in an older organization. It is even more unusual that goals reflecting contemporary concerns were made in spite of the large southern membership of the NEA. Ironically, the competition from the American Federation of Teachers and the caution of Dr. William G. Carr, who eventually resigned as a result of policy orientations, acted as a catalyst for gradual but thoroughgoing change. Admittedly, the classroom teachers were lucky in having outstanding and skilled leaders during these years of change.

Thus, there has been a re-examination and metamorphosis of the public service and membership benefit goals of the NEA. The NEA now seeks solutions for the economic, social and political ills of society; through an increasingly politicized membership. Benefits for NEA members will be both an incentive and reward for public service. The process of change will be reflected in and supported by a streamlining of the NEA structure which has grown "topsy-turvy" over the past century. The NEA can no longer be haphazard and careless in its operations if it hopes to be effective in the field of public opinion and policy.

The increased sensitivity and a better level of performance of the NEA in the fields of public issues and

membership welfare should finally lead to the maturity and full viability of the NEA national structure which had in the past performed unevenly and had at times compared unfavorably with its aggressive state or local affiliates and the suggestions of some eminent individual NEA members.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

Both the public service and membership-benefit oriented groups in the NEA are interested in the goal of modernizing and streamlining organizational structure. NEA is basically an umbrella organization, with groups of most diverse character under its shelter. Due to its ambition to be the representative professional association in education, it chartered statewide and local groups and special groups of teachers (role groups, such as art teachers) in profusion, without adequately examining the consequences of haphazard action.

The NEA at one time was composed of state associations only, but with the coming of the Representative Assembly in 1920, it started the practice of direct chartering of local teacher groups, without coordinating its action with the statewide groups. As a result of direct affiliation of state and local groups, a complicated three-tier federal structure has evolved, with very little coordination between these levels until the 1950's. This chapter will deal with efforts to coordinate or unify to some extent these three levels of structure. The success or failure of these efforts will have a direct bearing on NEA's effectiveness in national, state and local policy-making.

A major area of difficulty for the NEA has been the lack of (1) standards for local affiliates and (2) coordination of state, local and NEA undertakings. Also, (3) the problem of representation for local affiliates has not been worked out to the satisfaction of some, especially the urban local groups. In addition, (4) national affiliates based on the subject-matter or role engaged in by members (called NEA departments, some 30 in number) did not coordinate adequately with NEA.

(1) Total there are no mandatory standards for the structure or operations of over 8,500 locals chartered by the NEA. There are two major structural formats: the all-inclusive local (administrators, teachers, para-professional personnel) with sections to take care of the specialty groups, and the pattern of separate locals for administrators and classroom teachers and para-professionals. Recent NEA studies have proposed all-inclusive associations wherever feasible. The guidelines, however, are not retroactive and do not affect great numbers of existing separate organizations.

Furthermore, the efforts to graft certain key committees on local structure such as a Professional Rights and Responsibilities Committee, Ethics Committee, etc., and standardize the number of meetings and elections is a slow process for the most part.

(2) The coordination of state, local and NEA efforts have involved three parallel moves:

(a) an effort to institute joint chartering of locals by NEA and state affiliates. The new local would be called a Local Association of the United Teaching Profession. This project started in the past few years, is still at the pilot stage. The effort again, is not retroactive, although the 1972 Constitutional Revision may decide to revoke local charters granted by NEA and thus necessitate rechartering. The whole problem arises by the NEA's direct chartering of locals up til recently, thus bypassing the state associations.

(b) an effort to coordinate the field services of local, state and NEA staffs. In the past, there has been a notorious confusion in this field, with state groups demanding that NEA go through state channels in providing services to locals. Finally, in 1970, the NEA Assembly approved a program called "UniServ" which will act as a "two-way communicator" ensuring that state and national associations pay attention to, and serve, local needs and that the latter bring their problems to the state and national groups.

(c) Most success in coordination has come in the field of "dues structure unification." This

program, begun after 1957, is aimed at ensuring that a teacher joins all three levels--local, state, and national NEA--simultaneously and that granting of membership at any level is preconditioned on membership at the other two levels. This is also called "vertical unification." The process has reached a stage where a great majority of states either have or are committed to unification. Thus, the local member has no choice but to take out both NEA and state group membership in most cases. Progress has been hastened by the institution of NEA economic benefits--life-insurance, mutual fund, car leasing, others insurance at low group rates--for which membership at all three levels has been made a fore requisite. It has also been promoted by NEA's growing financial commitment to state and local groups battling public education systems.

(3) In addition to the above problems of standards and vertical unification, the representation of locals in the NEA Representative Assembly has caused problems. The matter is unresolved and may only be solved as a result of the coming constitutional convention and the approval of a new constitution by the 1972 Assembly.

NEA in chartering locals from 1920 on, neglected the overlap of memberships in local classroom teacher groups

all-inclusive groups (administrators and teachers), county teachers, county all-inclusive, sectional, regional and statewide groups, existing side by side apart from the NEA state group. A member could thus be counted as many as 6-10 times for the assignment of delegates quotas for the NEA Representative Assembly. This has resulted in the unevenness of state delegates quotas and the overrepresentation of some states and areas of the country.

Moreover, local affiliates of NEA did not require all of its members to join the NEA.

As has been stated by Arthur F. Corey, until recently executive secretary of the California Teachers Association, "countless thousands of teachers who are not members of NEA vote on elections for members of the NEA representative assembly when such elections are held in affiliated local associations. A smaller, but still very significant number of teachers who are not members of state associations vote in elections for important state offices in local elections. On the other hand, many NEA and State Associations members are effectively disfranchised because they do not belong to local associations which conduct such elections."

Repeated attempts to reform the Assembly to eliminate the representational problem of overlapping groups has failed. The Bylaw provision requiring that a member indicate one organization group for his representation is very difficult to enforce, especially in view of the slow com-

puterization of NEA's membership records division. Amendments to eliminate statewide classroom teacher organizations which compete with the official state education associations have not passed. Many endeavors to cut down the size of the Assembly, which would have given a chance to restructure representation, have foundered because of the fears of classroom teachers, constantly underrepresented in governing groups.

(4) The special role groups were affiliated to the NEA from the very beginning; their number has grown to over 30. Here again, the NEA had no uniform policy on these groups (called departments); the degree of their independence from NEA, the number of their members who also took out NEA membership, the subsidies they received from NEA, all varied greatly. Only recently as of 1969 has the NEA succeeded in putting into effect a uniform policy on the department's subsidies, contributions to the NEA, and independence in policy.

The coordination of NEA and its departments (administrators' group (AASA), principals' groups, science teachers', art teachers', organizations, etc.) has now been resolved by forcing departments to choose one of three categories of affiliation with varying rights and responsibilities to NEA. Coordination in this area is called "horizontal unification."

In sum, there has been some movement in bringing order and uniformity into the affiliate field, where growth has been both impressive and topsy-turvy. Some major solutions may emerge from the 1972 Constitutional Commission and Assembly.

STATE RELATIONS:

As in the case of any middleman, the state organizations disturb the channel of communications between the apex (national organization) and the base (local groups) of the organizational pyramid in many areas, and are themselves subject to stresses from above and below.

Relation of State and Local Affiliates

The NEA has in the past affiliated both statewide and local affiliates directly, with a resultant three-tier federal structure of great complexity. The NEA did not and does not, create state and local affiliates, but leaves their formation to voluntary action. The NEA also admits the existence of reserved rights in statewide and local groups. There are now 50 statewide association and the overseas teachers group, assimilated to state groups in status; there are over 10,000 local affiliates. The division of powers between state and local affiliates in selected areas of activity is outlined in Table III-1.

TABLE III-1

INTERRELATION OF NEA STATE AND LOCAL
LEVELS IN SELECTED AREAS

<u>Area</u>	<u>Unit</u> State Assn.	Local Assn.
A. NEA Assembly representation ¹	Direct repres. Some on nomination of local units, some chosen by state governing boards.	Direct repres.
B. Repres. on NEA Board	State delegation selects at annual NEA convention	No direct participation
C. NEA Executive Committee	Two from Board, four elected at annual NEA convention at large	No direct participation

All footnotes listed at end of table.

TABLE III-1 (Cont'd)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Unit</u>	
	<u>State Assn.</u>	<u>Local Assn.</u>
D. NEA Convention state delegation	Composed of state association and local association delegates	
E. State Conventions	Arranges meeting place and date	Selects quota of delegates
F. State Association Presidents	About 1/2 elected by state convention, 1/2 by members at large	
G. State Executive Secretary	Selected by state gov. board	Not applicable
H. Local Urban Associations	Not applicable	Selected by local gov. board
I. State governing Board	Elected by state conventions	Not applicable
J. Local Governing Board	Not applicable	Elected by local membership
K. State dues ²	State decision	Follows state
L. Local dues ³	No jurisdiction	Makes decision
M. Unification (NEA membership obligatory with units membership)	Indep. decision	Indep. decision
N. Local structure standards ⁴ of affiliation	No jurisdiction	Makes decision
O. DuShane Fund assistance of NEA	State must clear local's application	Makes application
P. Research Division of NEA, aid of	Direct application	Direct application

All footnotes listed on next page.

TABLE III-1 (Cont'd)

<u>Area</u>	<u>State Assn.</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Local Assn.</u>
Q. NEA Field Staff Assistance	State must clear local's application		Makes application
R. NEA Assistance to Urban Local Association	State must clear local's application		Makes application
S. Special Projects, and special conferences on NEA goals and priorities	State carries on local discussion		Initiates grass-roots steps
T. Sanctions	State must clear local's application		Makes application

¹cf. however, 1967 Bylaw amendment No. 13 (NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 243) permitting local associations to transfer yearly delegate representation to state association. Also, Ibid., Bylaw Amendment No. 14, requiring that members designate one association for representational purposes. Enforcement of this Bylaw provision is uncertain.

²Necessary for state insurance benefits.

³Necessary for NEA insurance benefits.

⁴cf. Report, NEA Task Force on Local Association Structure (June, 1968; efforts to have joint state-NEA chartering and rechartering of locals approved before 1946 of locals); see also, NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 320.

It can be seen from the table that on important matters such as local structure, standards of local affiliates (in terms of research, field staff and communication with members), local dues, the local is quite independent. At one time, the locals could apply to the DuShane Fund of the NEA, field staff assistance of NEA, and assistance for local urban associations directly without clearing this action with the state associations. This situation resulted in confusion and differing quality and amount of NEA assistance. In the above three fields, locals must now go through state affiliates. State affiliates, in turn, maintain coordination with NEA through the Association of Secretaries of State Teacher Associations.⁵ In this way, a more efficient division of labor has been achieved.

It should be noted that recent attempts to unify this complicated structure have proceeded slowly. The joint NEA-state chartering of locals has not been solved. NEA, however, does not affiliate locals in states which have agreed to require NEA membership on the part of their adherents. The attempts to impose a uniform standard of structures and performance on locals has failed. Attempts to have the state associations decide on the locals' dele-

⁵Hereinafter referred to as NASSTA; the group later changed to the National Council of State Education Associations, hereinafter referred to as NCSEA.

gate quota to the NEA Representative Assembly have failed also.

The greatest advance to correlate federal structure has come in the field of dues requirements. About three quarters of the state associations now require that their members take out NEA membership, and NEA in turn requires membership in state groups before it grants NEA membership to locals or local members in a "unified state." Unification of the dues structure is, however, only one step in the tedious process to counteract a hasty, topsy-turvy evolution of the NEA national structure. Dues structure unification will be discussed further below.

The situation is further complicated by the NEA's chartering (up to 1946) of regional or sectional groups within a state. This practice introduced a fourth tier in the structure, although technically speaking such regional or area groups are deemed as "locals." The chartering of regionals has meant that some teachers could be counted at least three times for purposes of delegate quotas to the NEA Assembly: once by locals, once by regionals, and possibly once by the two or three sections embracing regional groups.

Further complications (straightened out by 1970) included the chartering of separate black and white affiliates in 13 southern and border states from 1946 to 1952. This problem will be discussed in more detail, below.

Historical Overview

NEA was founded by ten state associations in 1857.⁶ These state associations did not have an organized relationship to the NEA before 1921; until then, NEA was a direct membership association. The NEA's federal structure was developed in 1921, simultaneously with the institution of the Representative Assembly. Local associations were not affiliated until 1921,⁷ although institutional membership (colleges, learned societies) was relatively large. 1946 is an important date in the NEA treatment of state associations. At that time, regional groups were classified as local associations, and the Bylaws henceforth recognized only two affiliate groups: state and local. County and all other regional groups thus, have had the status of local groups since 1946.

Apart from NEA structure, local units preceded state associations historically. The earliest state group, the Rhode Island Education Association (formerly the Rhode Island Institute for Instruction) was organized in January, 1845 and was followed in July of the same year by the found-

⁶John Starie, "Relationships of Local, State and National Education Associations in an Age of Change," (mimeographed position paper, NEA Division of Affiliates and Membership, 1967), p. 16

"Facts About Unification" (Washington, D. C.; NEA, 1969, a pamphlet).

ing of the New York State Teachers Association.⁸ Local groups were first developed in the eastern United States, the earliest probably being the Society of Associated Teachers of New York City (1794),⁹ preceding state associations by fifty years.

For the first 30 years after the creation of the Assembly, the state associations controlled it most of the time, because of their strength. The latter were in turn largely dominated by administrators. During this period, NEA Central made common cause with the states; the latter were easy to reach and provided extremely valuable legislative support at state capitals. The NEA in turn supported the states in their search for the best statewide educational system.

The state associations during this time created divisions, zones or regional subdivisions for purposes of representation and ignored smaller local units. Attention came with increasing urbanization only, after World War II. Until the 1950's, New York State Teachers Association had no structural relationship with several hundred local associations in the state.¹⁰ Even when locals were recognized,

⁸NCSEA Information Report, vol. II, No. 6 (March 6, 1968).

⁹Mildred Fenner, NEA History (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1945), p. 13.

¹⁰Starie, op. cit., p. 9.

services to locals were at a minimum. Local associations were mostly classroom teacher organizations, since administrators tended to join the state association or NEA's administrator group. Consequently, the relationship between state and local associations tended to be very cool, if not at cross purposes.

Urbanization during and after World War II and NEA's increased services to locals after 1945 (Victory Action Program, Centennial Action Program, 1952-57) brought home to the states a realization that locals could no longer be ignored unless their own position was to erode. The Federal Government's increasing attention to urban areas hastened this attitude, as did the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. Slowly, state associations attempted to integrate locals into their structure, with varying success. Some locals joined the American Federation of Teachers as state associations forced the amalgamation of teachers and administrators into one all-inclusive group.¹¹

Although one sees the neglect of the local groups, it may be said that the NEA-state relationship held the NEA structure together in the face of such searing issues as integration, urbanization and the union threats, and even against the anger of militant NEA locals.

¹¹Starie, op. cit., p. 11.

Staffing

Employment of a permanent staff for state associations was a twentieth century development, as in the case of the NEA. By 1922, 24 associations employed a full-time executive secretary but Nevada, the last state to do so, did not employ such an official until the mid-1960's.¹² The executive secretaries have become very important, highly paid officers of the state groups. Their salaries (all but one in five figures) varies from \$9,540 for the Utah secretary to \$35,000 in California and \$36,000 in New York. The power position of the state executive-secretaries is often attacked, just as Dr. Carr's position was attacked for autocratic tendencies during his tenure. Dr. Howard Goold of New York, for example, executive secretary for over 20 years, has been compared to Dr. Carr in his strong hold on organizational power until the 1961 NEA defeat in New York City; since then he has gradually assumed a more liberal, teacher oriented position.¹³

State association structures differ from the NEA in that they have usually only one governing board, instead of

¹²Arthur H. Chamberlain and Richard G. Boone, Study of State Teachers Associations, (San Francisco: The Educational Press Association, 1922).

¹³Interviews with NEA state directors from New York by the author, October, 1968.

the Board of Directors and Executive Committee.¹⁴ Governing board sizes range from eight (West Virginia) to 42 (Texas) members; the median size is 18.¹⁵ Many associations (19) include representatives of affiliated state departments on their boards--similarly to the NEA, state association structure encompasses special role departments. The NEA director is not a voting member of the governing state Board in all cases; in 1965, he held voting rights in only 23 state groups,¹⁶ This number has increased since the drive for unification has accelerated in tempo. A small number of state groups also provides Board membership for the state superintendent of instruction. Statewide conventions of the state groups are held during various

¹⁴Boards, elected at state conventions, appoint the state executive secretary. This may bring the president of the State Association, if elected at large, in conflict with the executive secretary because of differing mandates; cf. positions of NEA Board and president. Many executive secretaries have long tenure. Among them may be mentioned as in office over 12 years, as of July, 1968, D. D. Cooper, Montana; Milton Raver, Maryland; Howard Gould, New York; Chas. R. Harris, Delaware; Frederick J. Hipp, New Jersey; Everett Keith, Missouri; Craig P. Minear, Colorado; Ferman Phillips, Oklahoma; C. W. Posey, Oregon; Phares E. Reider, West Virginia; Forest Rozzell, Arkansas; H. C. Weinlick, Wisconsin.

¹⁵NASSTA Information Report, no. 119, December 22, 1964.

¹⁶Ibid.

months of the year, with 19 groups holding their convention in September or October and 15 in March or April.¹⁷

Unification

Dual Affiliates. In 1946 the NEA established Negro state associations in thirteen southern and southeastern states, plus in the District of Columbia. These areas already had associations open only to whites. In 1964, when the Assembly passed Resolution 64-12 calling for the integration of affiliates, there were still 11 dual state associations. In 1965 the Assembly called for the merger of these associations, and thereafter in 1966, voted disaffiliation for noncompliance. Mergers were still proceeding in May, 1969 (with mergers completed in Arkansas and Alabama and Georgia). There has been noncompliance in three states: Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina. Both state groups in Louisiana, the white state association in Mississippi and the Negro group in North Carolina were suspended until December 31, 1969, when new compliance hearings were to be held.¹⁸

Vertical Unification. While the merger of the white and colored state groups may be referred to as "hori-

¹⁷NCSEA Information Report, vol. I, no. 9, July 12, 1967.

¹⁸Report of the Subcommittee on Compliance, Executive Committee, 1969 NEA Convention, July 2, 1969.

zontal unification,"¹⁹ an equally important streamlining movement in the NEA today is the drive for "vertical unification."²⁰

This type of unification means mainly the unification of dues structure, referred to above. State and local associations both have the power of independent action on this issue; thus, not all local groups may be "unified" in a "unified" state.

Benefits. State and NEA insurance benefits and other services have been made conditional on state and NEA membership. Thus, in a "unified" state the member of a local will be unable to purchase any state or NEA service benefits without paying dues on three levels--local, state and national. In other words, under terms of insurance contracts issued by NEA, the insured must be and remain a member of NEA and state associations and an appropriate local unit if there is one at insured's place of employment. Moreover, one cannot be a local delegate to the NEA Assembly from a "unified" state unless membership is maintained at three levels (Bylaws, Art. VII, sec. 5), and three-level membership is also required from all candidates for NEA office. (Art. II, sec. 2.)

¹⁹R. Joy, "The Meaning of Unification for the Teaching Profession," (paper presented at meeting of NCSEA, Las Vegas, November 19, 1968).

²⁰One of the early pioneers for unification at all levels was Charl O. Williams, NEA President in 1921/22. NEA Press release, 1921 NEA Convention. (Author's file.)

Trends. Until 1944, most memberships in national, state and local groups were independent of each other and usually non-concomitant. After the end of World War II, under the banners of "Victory Action Program" and "Centennial Action Program," the NEA began the long and arduous drive towards unification at state association level which is now moving toward completion. The first unified state was Oregon (1944), followed by four other Western states in the 1940's (Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana). Hawaii also became unified in 1945. Unification lagged badly during the quiescence of the 1950's, due partly to the pre-occupation of Dr. Carr with federal legislation, international affairs and the fending off of attacks on education during the years of Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950's. Another cause was low teacher salaries and the high dues that unification would have entailed. At that time only a single state, West Virginia, joined the ranks of unified states (1959). The tempo picked up again after the passage of various public laws aiding education (ESEA, 1965) scholarship and fellowship programs, tax deduction allowance for professional memberships (since 1967), due in part to vigorous leadership by Dr. Cecil Hannan, associate executive secretary in charge of field services. Thirteen states became "unified" during the period 1967/69, with a unified structure entering into force in two other

states in 1970; during the same time, 14 other states committed themselves to unification in the near future.²¹

With this greatly accelerated pace, only Southern and border states hostile to NEA's actions on integration remain out of line (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia) in addition to the states of Connecticut, Vermont and New Jersey. In the latter state, organizational politics and the opposition of Dr. F. Hipp, executive secretary, to some past NEA actions, have held up unification. However, "unification" can now be regarded as a successful NEA drive toward the streamlining and coordination of federated state units.²² It has been noted that a "unified" profession will be able to present a much more powerful and concise front in matters such as teachers' salaries, withdrawal of teacher services (strikes), and questions of ethics, human rights and federal legislation. Federal legislative activity and influence of the NEA has, in fact, picked up considerably in recent years.²³

²¹Fact sheet (mimeo), NEA Division of Affiliates (Washington, D. C.: June, 1969).

²²It is hoped that unified states will adopt unified names, such as Texas State Association of NEA. Some locals follow this practice already, e.g. "NEA-Wichita, Kansas."

²³"Information for Delegates, 1969 NEA Convention" (Washington, D. C.: The Association, a pamphlet, July, 1969) pp. 19-39.

It may be noted that a loss of membership normally occurs in the first years of unification because of a higher dues structure. However, this setback is soon overcome in most states.²⁴

The State Associations' Relations
to NEA-Central Structure

It will be indicated in the chapter on the Assembly that members at large often feel that state associations hinder rather than expedite NEA action, and that state associations are unjustly over-represented at the Assembly at the expense of local affiliates. These attitudes and feelings parallel the political climate on the national U. S. level, where cities, minority groups, social crusaders, champions of federal activity expansion have often felt that the "middle level" retards rather than expedites.

Dissatisfaction of State Associations

On the other hand, state associations through their executive secretaries have often felt uninformed or bypassed at the time of NEA action. At a NASSTA Conference²⁵

²⁴"Facts About Unification," (Washington, D. C.: The Association, a pamphlet, 1969); cf. also chapter on Legislation (infra).

²⁵National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Associations.

in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1958 there were numerous complaints that the state secretaries are not well informed, do not have a sufficient role in the nomination of NEA officials concerned with the states, that their views on mutual fields of interest such as insurance are not considered, that they do not have sufficient information on local activities of the NEA, and that the NEA wastes state dues by wide distribution of free materials.²⁶

It may be noted in answer that (a) NEA entry into the insurance field was delayed in deference to the states, (b) Allan West, executive secretary of Utah, was placed in charge of the NEA Urban project in 1961, (c) distribution of materials was reviewed, and (d) Dr. Carr set up a streamlined procedure for getting state nominations to the attention of the NEA president-elect half a year before the president-elect assumed office.²⁷

Ten years later, at a NEA Staff Conference the director of the NEA-Central based NCSEA still lists six areas of concern to state associations as follows:²⁸

²⁶Carr memorandum to NASSTA on NASSTA meeting (December 2, 1958, Carr files, Washington, D. C.).

²⁷Carr memorandum to Secretaries of State Associations, December 1, 1958 (Carr files, Washington, D. C.).

²⁸Elmer S. Crowley, "How Do We Relate to States and regionals?" Address to NCSEA Conference (Washington, D. C.: September 6, 1968).

1. The by-passing of state associations.

(One wonders whether any action not to the liking of the states is labelled as such). Specifically mentioned are the activities of NEA officials in a certain state, and the calling of conferences "ultimately" financed in part by state associations (this could refer to any NEA-initiated conference).

2. The development of "on-the-spot" policy by NEA officials in the field. (Again, will any show of independence on the part of NEA officials bring on this charge?)

3. Negative attitude toward state associations. The allegation is made that many staff members of NEA still think that state associations are anachronisms and talk of the desirability of their elimination. This kind of talk is labelled "unprofessional and irresponsible" especially in the light of unification.

4. More cooperative planning, especially for guidelines that the states are supposed to push.

5. More acceptable guidelines for hiring away staff members from state associations by the NEA Central. This apparently is a continuing source of trouble.

6. Fewer misconceptions about the membership of state associations. There are still those who regard state associations administrator-and-bureaucracy-dominated. These critics are often classroom teachers who are members of NEA local associations rather than state groups.

The differences are masked, however, by the euphemistic phrases that usually run as follows: "It is not important which is stronger. It is essential that our associations at every level be able to cope with the problems in their respective spheres of influence and that the total profession be organized from strength and wisdom rather than expediency."²⁹

NEA - State Affiliates: Coordinating Structure

History of the National Association of Secretaries of State Teacher Association (NASSTA). NEA papers indicate that the restiveness which affected classroom teachers (spurred on by union activity and economic stagnation, among other things), from about 1959 on, was manifested by the state associations somewhat earlier--around 1955-1956. The activities of NASSTA in Washington up to 1956 were still on a voluntary basis, but at this time they had become so

²⁹Ibid., Crowley address, cited on p. 23.

varied and diversified that a professional staff or a secretariat at NEA-Central was indicated. Under the pressure of preparations for the 1957 Centennial, old and new areas of inter-association cooperation were being examined.³⁰ In 1955, a special Committee on a Secretariat was appointed by NASSTA, chaired by their secretary Arthur F. Corey of California. The Committee's report proposed a secretariat at NEA-Central to handle coordination with NEA, the advertising in state education magazines, contacts with friendly voluntary organizations such as NSBA (National School Board Association) and PTA, and staff training.³¹

On March 6, 1956, Dr. Carr solicited the advice of the Executive Committee and the Board of Trustees in regards to the NASSTA Committee report. The replies were overwhelmingly unfavorable (11 against, 1 for, 2 undecided) since many feared duplication of efforts and diminution of the NEA prestige just before the Centennial.³² The reaction of NASSTA was to press forward with its proposals; specifically, it asked for the creation within NEA of a new Assis-

³⁰cf. Centennial Action Programs, adopted by NEA Board, February 14, 1954.

³¹Presented February 22, 1956 at NASSTA meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

³²Carr Memoranda to Committee and Trustees (March 6, 1956 and April 3, 1956).

tant Executive Secretaryship for State Relations to be filled by Dr. Carr after consultation with the NASSTA Board. The new Secretary would report to Dr. Carr but also be responsible for carrying out the wishes of NASSTA.³³ It was emphasized by the state groups that the appointed person must be responsible only to Dr. Carr and to the NASSTA Board (a confederate configuration). Corey was invited to meet with the Executive Committee before the 1956 Portland convention. At this meeting the Executive Committee capitulated to NASSTA except in the matter of the status of the person responsible for handling state affairs. The decision was formalized in a July 7 motion of the NEA Executive Committee, creating, at least for the 1957 Management Survey period, a special assistant for state relations attached to the Executive Secretary's office. NASSTA suggested names for Dr. Carr's consideration, among them Allan West, Utah, later to be in charge of NEA's Urban Project in 1961, and Phares Reeder of West Virginia, initially a foe of NEA entry into the insurance field and recently a NEA fact-finder for the merger of dual state associations.

By mutual consent, however, the office was placed by the October 9, 1956 action of the NEA Executive Committee under the nominal supervision of James L. McCaskill, former-

^{33A}. Corey, memorandum to Dr. Carr (April 25, 1956, Carr files).

ly Director of Legislative Services for NEA, who was appointed Assistant Executive Secretary for State and Federal Relations.³⁴ James Nicholson of Montana was appointed special assistant in charge of NASSTA services.

Although the NEA may be seen as capitulating to state association pressure in this matter, a very favorable by-product for the NEA was the upgrading of NEA federal relations. The state secretaries requested successfully that the NASSTA special assistant lobby also for legislation favorable to education in the states and that he receive the assistance of a new NEA staff member for federal legislation research and lobbying. In the process, the Division of Federal Relations of NEA was upgraded to an assistant secretaryship (filled by James L. McCaskill).³⁵

Areas of Conflict

Even with the institution of NASSTA, southern and southwestern state associations fought successfully to delay NEA moves to integrate and merge dual associations. They have fought successfully to have more coordination between NEA and states. NEA field representatives clear their actions with the state organizations. National sanctions

³⁴NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 293.

³⁵McCaskill was a strong opponent of federal aid to private or parochial schools.

against localities by NEA will not be imposed until state remedies are exhausted. Nationwide projects are usually coordinated with state associations. NEA regional offices have not, as a rule, competed with or offended states as have HEW regional offices. The power of the states, though in decline in some areas, is still very much felt in this important issue.

The NEA Membership Insurance Issue

Since the establishment of the NASSTA secretariat in 1956, the state education associations have scored gains and sustained losses vis-a-vis demands supported by members at large. A notable holding action, eventually resulting in the victory of membership, occurred in connection with membership services in the form of insurance. The state education associations and the Classroom Teachers Association (Dept. of Classroom Teachers, ACT, comprising some 85 percent of NEA general membership) were in conflict from 1956 on was the question of NEA entry into the field of insurance for membership. By the end of the 1950's the classroom teachers, their horizons and demands expanding with their numbers and problems, demanded new NEA insurance services. The 1956 Portland Assembly, in "circles" or unofficial discussion groups, gave a general indication of what it wished for these services; the NEA Board, responsive largely to state associations at that time, hesitated on the

issue. The Executive Committee of the time was also unwilling to push the issue (classroom teachers were regularly in a minority there too).

Finally a staff committee on Professional Problems began an exhaustive study of NEA insurance involvement in 1956; two types of plans were recommended to the NEA Board and Committee: a voluntary and an involuntary insurance plan. Both governing groups studied the report, but the Board decided in June, 1958 that the proposals needed further study during 1958/59.

The state associations were, of course, first on the insurance scene. In 1945, the Horace Mann Life Insurance Company was formed in Illinois and many other mid-western and Southwestern states (such as Iowa, Kansas, Ohio, West Virginia) joined in the enterprise. States with an interest in the Horace Mann Life Insurance Company spearheaded state opposition to NEA entry into the insurance field.³⁶

The issue was not resolved until the 1960 Assembly forced and won a referendum on the issue.³⁷ A voluntary NEA insurance plan was inaugurated in the fall of 1961.

³⁶By 1952, 18 states had some kind of insurance programs for members. NEA Research Division, "Services of State Education Assn., 1951-52" (Washington, D. C., 1952).

³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 200; cf. also pp. 98-109.

Thus, the state associations had delayed NEA entry into the insurance field by five years.³⁸

Nor was the battle over. The blow to the state associations was ameliorated when Phares Reeder of West Virginia, an executive secretary of a Horace Mann state, was brought into the drafting committee for the invitations to bidding. The committee tried to avoid duplication between NEA and state services as much as possible, and worked out a voluntary membership life insurance group plan with the Prudential Insurance Company of North America.

The Horace Mann Insurance Company was not driven out of existence; in fact records show that in 1964 as many as 44 states had some kind of insurance program supplementary to the NEA plans.³⁹ In fact, the NEA had to draw upon the resources of the Horace Mann Insurance Company in the organization and funding of the Teachers Services Corporation (organized as a separate entity, holding company) to safeguard NEA's tax status.⁴⁰ Thus, even a single issue such as insurance only increased the organizational tangle of the NEA.

³⁸cf. Chapter on Teacher Welfare, infra.

³⁹NEA Research Division, "Services to State Education Associations" (Washington, D. C., The Association, 1964).

⁴⁰NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 366-369.

Conclusions

Perhaps only a constitutional convention, now scheduled to take place in 1972, can streamline and untangle the various problems that have developed in NEA-state relations. (a) As noted above, in many cases the NEA Board director is still not a member of the state governing board. Thus, both NEA and state bylaw provisions are ripe for amendment. (b) The respective areas of NEA and state service are not clearly delineated, and NEA officials are still not absolutely required to clear their actions in the states with the state organization. Nor can this cooperation really be stabilized until there is, (c) joint NEA-state chartering of locals; locals chartered before 1946 are now asked to surrender their charters voluntarily, but a constitutional convention and a charter change could resolve this problem at one stroke. (d) If there is joint chartering the NEA will insist that the states provide services to locals on a permanent, regularized basis, not voluntarily, and in ad hoc fashion as now; the Starie report shows that states have too often and too long ignored locals. (e) Some sort of financial cooperation between NEA-state-locals, based on a unified dues structure, must be worked out, with possible loss of water-tight financial separation between states and states, locals and locals, locals and states; the quasi-feudalism prevailing

in this respect must be bridged by more than NEA special funds and drives.

NEA LOCAL RELATIONS

It has been said by the present NEA Director of the Division of Affiliates and Membership that NEA local affiliates differ in size, membership qualifications, in purpose, in structure; they have wide variations of financial strength; the nature, purpose and nomenclature of committees vary from state to state, as do the location of their governing power and their degree of independence from the school hierarchy.⁴¹

DEFINITION OF LOCALS

NEA Bylaws define a local association imperfectly.⁴² In addition to local professional educational groups in cities, counties or local school administrative units (categories set up by NEA Bylaws), since 1946 any regional grouping within the state is deemed a local. There are

⁴¹Starie, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴²"Any local professional education association located within a city, county, or other local school administrative unit of any state...any association recognized as a local unit by a state affiliate...whether its membership is open to all professional educators, or all classroom teachers, or all administrators within the jurisdictional boundaries of the organization, or to all members of a university or college staff." 1968 Bylaws, art. IX, sec. 4.

locals in political subdivisions other than cities and counties. "School administrative unit" refers to a group in a governmental system, although there may be local groups in private schools or universities. Classroom teacher organizations may be state-wide associations and listed as such in the NEA Handbook, yet be deemed local associations under NEA Bylaws and representational practice.⁴³ Basically, a local affiliate is any group of education professionals or paraprofessionals chartered by the NEA but not recognized by it as the official state association. All of the latter had been organized and recognized by the NEA by 1922⁴⁴ while NEA did not begin chartering locals until 1921.⁴⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCALS

Local affiliates developed for some thirty years (1920's to 1950's) fairly independently from state associations or the NEA. Their independence was often not a matter of choice but was enforced by the attitude of the states and NEA. Many states bypassed local associations

⁴³ cf. State-wide association of Dept. of Classroom Teachers in Colorado, 1968 Handbook, p. 227.

⁴⁴ NCSEA Information Report, vol. II, no. 6 (March 6, 1968).

⁴⁵ Starie, op. cit., p. 4A.

altogether: not until 1960, for example, did the Constitution of the Kansas State Teacher Association provide for direct representation from local associations to the state delegate assembly.⁴⁶ When the state associations found it impossible to continue with open membership meetings--as the NEA did in 1920--they often created their own regional subdivisions as bases for delegate representation, bypassing existing locals. Thus, until the 1950's, New York State Teachers Association governed itself through zones, with no relationship to locals. The situation in New Jersey today is still the same, with counties as representational units. Until recently, Illinois' representation in the state delegate assembly was based on Divisions. The California Teachers Association is still governed through six Sections, not by delegates drawn from locals.⁴⁷ In other states, only all-inclusive locals (i.e. groups open to classroom teachers, administrators and auxiliary professionals alike) were recognized by the state association structure. Consequently, in Pennsylvania for example, many all-inclusive locals, recognized by the state and restricted special role locals that were unrecognized existed side by side (as in the

⁴⁶C. O. Wright, One Hundred Years in Kansas Education (Topaka, Kansas: The Kansas State Teachers Association, 1963).

⁴⁷Constitutions of New York, Illinois, California, New Jersey; Starie, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

cities of Erie, Pa., and Pittsburgh, Pa.), debilitating the strength of the teaching profession. In other states such as New York, state associations and local associations--such as existed in New York City--worked at cross-purposes to establish a state education pattern according to their own lights. In such cases, the local groups often went over to the American Federation of Teachers (organized in 1919).⁴⁸

Finally, many state associations frowned on the attempts of classroom teachers to organize restrictive locals, even if this was allowed by the state, calling these "divisive" and "undermining professional strength." Consequently, many powerful locals and state associations were and in some cases, still are, hostile to each other. It has to be borne in mind that many state associations with state legislatures and state programs as their targets for influence, tended to listen to and lean on administrators as more powerful and worldly-wise than teachers who were more interested in their own economic advancement and improved social status. Many teachers remembered that state associations

⁴⁸Staris, op. cit., p. 9.

in 1921 advocated that NEA be a federation of state associations only.⁴⁹

NEA EFFORTS IN LOCAL AFFILIATION

Under the administration of James W. Crabtree, NEA service to local associations was performed by the Division of Classroom Service. A notable division director was Agnes S. Winn, a classroom teacher, who held the office for nearly 20 years between 1921 and 1940. Locals were encouraged to affiliate with NEA and the slowly-growing Department of Classroom Teachers was encouraged and given staff help. Some field work help to locals was developed as early as 1921. However, direct help to locals was relatively meager before the 1940's. More indirect aid was given by the Research Division, organized in 1922, whose reports on salaries and other pertinent issues proved valuable resource materials to local teachers. In 1938 the Division of Classroom Service was changed to the Division of Affiliated Associations, and record-keeping was transferred to the Division of Records. NEA's help to locals (field work, annual conference, teacher discussion groups, publications) intensified in the 1940's due to the efforts of Miss Hilda Maehling

⁴⁹Dorsie Baynham, "Spotlight on the Classroom Teacher," (Mimeo. Dept. of Classroom Teachers, March 7, 1963; not for circulation), p. 16.

(secretary, Department of Classroom Teachers) and the 1945 appointment of Dr. Karl Berns as Assistant Executive Secretary, Field Services. The involvement of local associations in NEA programs and leadership training, and increased communications between locals, state associations and NEA grew even further in the 1950's. Starting in 1950, NEA regional offices were established (they now number 11) to provide more on-the-spot aid to locals and to improve communications.⁵⁰

URBAN LOCALS

As early as 1953, perceptive members of the NEA staff saw that urban locals were to provide problems as well as opportunities for the NEA. R. B. Marston, Director of Membership Division, organized a conference of Big City Presidents in 1953 at Miami Beach, where representatives of urban locals identified problems facing teachers under the NEA umbrella. However, it was 1961 before the NEA Urban Project was created, and by that time the urban associations themselves had formed the National Council of Urban Education Associations (NCUEA). This Council has acted as a special interest group within the NEA, often advocating and lobbying for programs not quite in harmony with the rest

⁵⁰NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 235; Starie, op. cit., p. 28.

of NEA's policies, budgets and actions. Its moves have often been censured or resented by other segments of the NEA and staff. The NCUEA was a moving force in putting the issue of a Constitutional Convention before membership and the Board of Directors and gaining approval for it, at first in principle only; the convention is scheduled to be held in 1972. The attitudes of this Council and the problems it provoked were, however, not so much evidence of its destructive intent as of a justified indignation at the lack of coordination of services between NEA, state groups and locals. The NEA and states had failed to recognize the growing importance and position of urban areas, and the difficult position of classroom teachers therein.⁵¹ In many cases the NCUEA had acted before it was too late to solve these problems, and before urban teachers could leave the NEA umbrella for the more aggressive teachers union.

ROLE OF THE LOCALS

The position, powers, possibilities and demands of local associations especially those in urban areas continues to have a central role in three major continuing NEA processes: (a) unification, (b) joint NEA-state chartering,

⁵¹cf. "Organizational Change in the Profession," A Report by the Committee on Planning and Organizational Development (NEA, 1969, mimeographed), pp. 26-36.

(c) standards of affiliation and types of structure for local affiliates.

Unification

As the associate director of the Division of Affiliates and Membership (now the Director of the NEA Staff Academy) has said, "Unification does mean a mutual commitment to major goals and a joint responsibility in the cooperative development of programs of service and in our approach to problem-solving. Unity does mean reciprocity of membership and shared application of resources in ways which best serve members... I believe that the fragmented, disjointed, illogical, hodge-podge method of promoting and enrolling membership--even when resulting in some cases in one-hundred percent membership at all levels, has produced apathy and a chronic failure to recognize the interdependence of the association at all levels..."⁵²

Because of the independent and separate NEA chartering of state associations and local affiliates, unification must go the slow way of NEA efforts to unify with state associations. Many local units, anxious to get the financial aid available from NEA as a reward for unification,

⁵²Ralph Joy, "The Meaning of Unification for the Teaching Profession," (presented at Conference, NCSEA, Las Vegas, Nevada, November 18, 1968; mimeographed).

have already unified with NEA directly and have assumed joint names, such as NEA-Wichita, Kansas.⁵³ However, such piecemeal unification is extremely slow, costly and uncertain. Moreover, it does not take into account the relations of the locals and NEA to the state associations and is therefore unsatisfactory. Nor can state association benefits provide an irresistible incentive for unification with both NEA and the state group. Although there have been attempts to gain the locals' consent to surrender their charters voluntarily, this voluntary movement will yield very small and uncertain results because of local pride and prejudices. As has been noted only a constitutional convention, creating a new United Teaching Profession, creating an opportunity to recharter all affiliates, could solve this problem easily.

Joint Chartering

Recognizing the problems inherent in direct NEA unification with locals which bypasses the state associations, the NEA developed a program for the joint NEA-state chartering of locals in 1967. A NEA Staff Committee on the Joint Chartering of Local Associations was appointed, but the program is still in the initial stage.⁵⁴ The NEA Board

⁵³From the NEA Contingency Fund or NEA Field Services Division or NEA Affiliates and Membership Division.

⁵⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 12-13, 320, 331; NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 355.

of Directors is undecided on the issue, which obviously weakens its implementation.⁵⁵

This problem of chartering, also causes difficulties with member representation at the Representative Assembly. It is the general consensus that only a Constitutional Convention with subsequent rechartering of affiliates could solve this problem of overlapping representation in the NEA Assembly and cut its size as well. In many states a teacher can belong to a local affiliate as well as to a regional and to a statewide classroom teacher association, which results in his vote being counted three times for Assembly representation. Repeated attempts to make regional and statewide associations "associated affiliates" with no right of representation in the Assembly have failed because of the fears of classroom teachers who have traditionally had little voice in the governing bodies.⁵⁶ Although a recent Bylaw amendment (1968 Bylaws, Art. VII, sec. 5) now mandates that a NEA member designate one local affiliate for representational purposes, to check up on the compliance of this bylaw is more difficult. Furthermore, it does not prevent teachers of a small local not entitled to Assembly representation (i.e. groups of less than 50 NEA

⁵⁵NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 303.

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 262, 107-109, 250; NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 130-131, 243.

members) from transferring their votes to a regional or statewide association, thereby providing representation of these smaller groups. Efforts to have state associations transfer 80 per cent of their delegate allocation to local associations have also failed repeatedly.⁵⁷

A rechartering and unification of NEA-state-local levels could, as one executive director of a Florida local affiliate has pointed out, lead to the NEA local chapter being the bulwark of professional involvement and activity. It could lead to reform of the three-level structure whereby to be a state officer or state board member, one would have to be a local officer; to a system where members of NEA chapters would directly elect their state and NEA director (the latter is elected by state caucuses at NEA conventions and is at times afforded no place in the state governing structure); to coordination of services; to division of labor whereby the NEA and state groups would have the primary responsibility for lobbying, research and teacher supportive services at the national and state levels, and local chapters would decide on action programs at functional delegate assemblies; to the setting of national and state minimum dues where the NEA and state delegate assemblies would determine how much a local group must pay per annum for

⁵⁷ cf. NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 93-99, 258, 253-254.

each member to the NEA and to the state association.⁵⁸

A final report of the Task Force on Local Association structure, submitted June, 1968, was received and approved by the Board of Directors in October, 1968. The Task Force recommends that locals be either, (a) all-inclusive umbrella organizations, with joint as well as separate activities and discussions provided for administrators and classroom teachers (as well as other special role groups) either formally through a bylaw, or informally; or (b) separate special-role groups with a formally or informally established coordination council. The stress is on cooperation, not on hostility. However, no Bylaws revision or any other Assembly action has resulted.

Again it seems that only a constitutional convention requiring rechartering would solve the seemingly unsurmountable problem of setting uniform standards on local association structure and association standards (of activities and resources and classification accordingly.)

Standards for Locals

Finally, association standards and resulting classification of locals has been the concern of the NEA since the

⁵⁸"Restructure of the Urbanized Teaching Profession," Presentation to the Florida Education Association Restructure Committee, by R. Martinez, executive director, Hillsborough (Fla.) Classroom Teachers Association, 1968, (mimeographed, 1968).

early 1950's, when a Conference of top NEA officers, officials and members at St. Mary's Lake, Michigan (1952) recommended that local affiliates be required to increase NEA membership among their own members to a high percentage over a number of years.⁵⁹ The locals would also have had to certify that they held at least two executive committee meetings per year, and two regular or delegate meetings annually. Moreover, they would be required to maintain various essential standing committees and require dues of at least \$1 per year.⁶⁰ To alleviate the problems of representation, it was also recommended that the NEA assign each state a delegate quota based on one delegate for 125 or 150 NEA members in the state, with the division of state allotments by mutual agreement between states and locals. It was also recommended that locals having less than 50 NEA members should have no representation in the NEA Assembly, directly or via transferral. These proposals to set standards for small associations never gained the requisite support⁶¹ just as the proposals to eliminate state-wide and regional associations had failed.

⁵⁹St. Mary's Conference, June 24-27, 1952, Preliminary Report (Carr Files, 1951/52).

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹John Starie, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

Thus, the only real standards for local affiliates are (a) that they not be Communist-dominated,⁶² (b) that they pay their affiliate dues,⁶³ and (c) that they comply with the Assembly policy on integration and mergers,⁶⁴ (d) that they not be affiliated simultaneously with an organization, such as a labor union, that opposes NEA policy and goals,⁶⁵ and (e) that they do not violate the NEA Code of Ethics.⁶⁶ For representation to the NEA Delegate Assembly, they must have at least 51 active NEA members, and (f) that they hold meetings and elect officers. The NEA Executive Committee has disaffiliated a local which did not hold a meeting or an election of officers for at least a decade, although it continued to pay dues.⁶⁷

⁶²NEA Proceedings, 1950, pp. 132-133, 193-195; Severance of ties with teacher union local 555, New York City.

⁶³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 330.

⁶⁴cf. Suspension and eventual expulsion of DeKalb, Georgia affiliate, NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 307, 350, 360.

⁶⁵Las Vegas case: ruling of Executive Secretary Carr, September 11, 1958, Disaffiliating Las Vegas CTA, affirmed NEA Executive Committee October 3 and 4, 1958, NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 252-253, 256.

⁶⁶NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 133-142; NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 174-175.

⁶⁷NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 333.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen that the activation of the "grass-roots" to its furthest potential will not be accomplished by voluntary requests and NEA and state studies and reports, but only by a Constitutional Convention that would require rechartering of all affiliates. The NEA failed to establish standards in the 1920's because it was itself a growing organization, with a minimal secretariat. It could not devote the energies and the money to solve this problem. However, if it is to defend education and realize its potential political power, it must act to overcome the natural apathy, inexperience and localism of affiliates and to set standards leading to a powerful, United Teaching Profession.

NEA - DEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

STATUS OF DEPARTMENTS BEFORE 1969

In the NEA structure, a "department is an organized group of educators who are specialists in a particular field, such as administration, business education, journalism, languages, etc. There is also an organized department of retired teachers. A department can be created or discontinued upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors and a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly. A

formal application of the group for departmental status has to be filed with the executive secretary and presented to the Representative Assembly at the session preceding the actual vote. In 1968, the NEA structure contained 34 departments, with some new groups in the process of formation and some facing discontinuance.

It should be pointed out at once that the Department of Classroom Teachers (now called the Association of Classroom Teachers or ACT) enjoys a special status among departments. First of all, the category of "classroom teacher" cuts across specialized fields such as journalism or language education. Thus, an educator can be a member of the ACT and of a department with more specialized membership. In fact, membership in the ACT is automatic once the classroom teacher status of a NEA member is established; there are no dues for ACT membership. On the other hand, membership in the other departments is by application and some do collect membership dues. In 1968, the executive secretary of ACT, Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, was appointed NEA assistant executive secretary--the second woman to hold this NEA rank--as a recognition of ACT's importance in the organizational structure.⁶⁸

⁶⁸This appointment was made after Dr. Carr's retirement.

Before the 1968-69 streamlining of departmental status, the relationship of these groups to the NEA national organization was somewhat confused. First of all, there were various efforts to integrate departmental membership into NEA membership; the solutions for this problem ranged from mandating NEA membership for departmental members to a more permissive policy of requiring NEA membership for departmental officers only. As a quid pro quo, there have been different ex officio delegate quotas for the departments in the Representative Assembly. Secondly, the financial relations between the departments and the NEA were unclear; some department, notably the ACT and the Association of Higher Education (AHE) were almost totally subsidized by the NEA while others received secretarial, administrative and overhead allowances for free. It was unclear to the average NEA members why there should be heavy support for departments which provided a small percentage of NEA memberships; however, these critics were willing to have NEA subsidies for ACT since it comprises some 85 percent of NEA membership. Thirdly, the policy positions of departments at times differed with the stands of NEA; although an assistant NEA executive secretary or at times Dr. Ashby, NEA deputy executive secretary, was charged with coordination of policies, confusion of policies continued to exist. Some departments such as the powerful

administrators' group, the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) in fact insisted that they could formulate policy at variance with the position of the Representative Assembly. Fourthly, and finally, some departments urged a review of the whole area of NEA-departmental relations because they were uncertain about the degree of NEA control permitted to NEA under its Congressional charter.⁶⁹

NEA Membership Requirements for
Departmental Members

For a considerable period of time before 1960 the NEA had had a bylaw requirement that department members should be NEA members also if they met NEA membership requirements. This provision was never enforced strictly, since this would have created obstacles for the retaining of these groups under the NEA umbrella. Many members of departments had no sufficient incentives for paying NEA dues and could obtain the NEA Journal through other means. Therefore the maxim governing NEA-departmental relations was "hands off the membership issue."

⁶⁹NEA Handbook, 1968, p. 35, Sec. 2.

A major controversy arose in 1960 with the introduction of a bylaw amendment in the Representative Assembly requiring that the constitution of each department provide for the promotion of NEA membership and NEA membership for elected officers of the departments. As pointed out by leading members of the NEA, the amendments actually lowered the requirements since the mandatory dual NEA-departmental membership requirement was to be dropped. The departments pointed out, however, that the pre-1960 requirement was more honored in the breach than in the observance. The AASA in particular objected to this 1960 change, saying that it did not want to rest its membership requirements "on the whims of the NEA Delegate Assembly or the interpretation made by its secretary." In rebuttal, it was pointed out that the AASA could have appeared at hearings conducted by the Bylaws Committee.

These new requirements were written into the Bylaws.⁷⁰ It was also mandated in 1960 that departments seeking affiliation after 1960 should require NEA membership for their adherents through a constitutional provision.

⁷⁰Art. XI, sec. 4 of the 1960 Bylaws; for debate in assembly see 1960 Proceedings, pp. 82, 119-21, 200.

The changes passed in the Assembly by a vote of 3872 for and 917 against.⁷¹

The above situation continued until the Bylaw revisions passed by the Assembly in 1968.

The president of each department and one other elective officer continued to receive ex officio status as delegates to the Representative Assembly.⁷²

A table showing the results of random samplings of departmental members to indicate NEA membership (conducted for the executive secretary's office) in 1949, 1952 and 1956 is appended (Table II - 2). According to this spot check, NEA memberships in departments in 1956 varies from a low of 18.8 percent to a high of 86.7 percent. Again, the Classroom Teachers are not included since membership in ACT is bestowed automatically on NEA members who fall within the category of classroom teachers.

Financial Relations of NEA and the Departments

As mentioned above, two departments, the Classroom Teachers (ACT) and the Association for Higher Education (AHE) were wholly subsidized by the NEA. The latter wanted

⁷¹Ibid., p. 200.

⁷²Art. VIII, sec. 1 of the 1960 Bylaws, Ibid., p. 399.

TABLE III-2

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
 Sample Checking of Departmental Membership Against NEA
 April 10 thru May 10, 1956

	*No. Dept. Members	No. Checked	NEA Members	Percent of NEA Members		
				1956	1952	1949
Am. Assn. For Health, Phys. Ed. & Rec.	9,577	364	124	34.1	30.4	17.9
Am. Assn. of Sch. Adm.	9,765	373	273	73.2	71.9	76.1
Am. Ed. Research Assn.	900	36	23	63.9	78.3	67.6
Assn. for Super. & Curric. Develop.	5,858	242	177	73.1	69.7	66.3
Audio-Visual Inst.	2,200	116	60	51.7	47.6	37.1
Elem. School Prin.	10,472	469	377	80.4	78.8	77.5
Home Economics	1,631	62	37	59.7	58.7	n.a.
Internatl. Council for Except. Child.	4,655	259	128	49.4	n.a.	n.a.
Kindergarten-Primary	1,726	66	55	83.3	n.a.	n.a.
Natl. Assn. of Women Deans & Counselors	1,631	64	25	39.1	34.5	n.a.
Natl. Assn. of Journal- ism Directors	1,162	43	19	44.2	n.a.	n.a.

TABLE III-2 (Cont.)

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
 Sample Checking of Departmental Membership Against NEA
 April 10 thru May 10, 1956

	*No. Dept. Members	No. Checked	NEA Members	Percent of NEA Members		
				1956	1952	1949
Natl. Assn. of Public School Adult Ed.	2,457	96	18	18.8	n.a.	n.a.
Natl. Assn. of Sec. School principals	13,304	460	259	56.3	62.1	58.1
Natl. Council for the Social Studies	5,658	216	103	47.7	55.9	52.9
Natl. Council of Adm. Women in Education	1,001	38	28	73.7	n.a.	n.a.
Natl. Council of Tchrs. of Mathematics	9,093	350	199	56.9	n.a.	n.a.
Natl. School Pub. Rel.	1,174	45	39	86.7	74.5	n.a.
Natl. Science Tchrs.	5,798	221	120	54.3	43.6	39.8
Rural Education	1,194	48	38	79.2	81.7	70.4
United Bus. Ed. Assn.	4,381	168	65	38.7	40.4	38.1

*The number of members indicated in this column was taken from the machine count on addressing tapes.

the classroom teachers closely allied to its central structure; financial support was one means to achieve this. In turn, classroom teachers did not want separate departmental fees when their numbers assured them at least a potentially key position within the NEA. AHE members were almost exclusively instructors in teacher colleges or departments or schools of education; the NEA was willing to pay for the maintenance of close contact with this group.

NEA Financial Aid

Other departments were helped financially in a differing degree. NEA Bylaws provisions required that departments maintain headquarters at the NEA headquarters at Washington, D. C. unless exempted by the Board of Directors. This was a means of control and coordination but also financial aid. Because of the physical location of the departments within the NEA headquarters, most departments up to the 1968 revisions in their status, received:⁷³

services of the NEA purchasing department for departmental purchases of supplies and equipment

services of the NEA payroll division in connection with departmental employees

services of the NEA accounting division for purposes of servicing accounts receivable, accounts payable, cash sales and cashiering

⁷³1957 Management Survey, vol. I, part B, ch. IX, p. 2 ff.

custodial services in connection with departmental funds.

rent-free headquarters space

certain business services for which NEA is reimbursed such as addressing and mailing

public relations services

publicity for department activities

promotion of department publications

services of the Research Division

services of the personnel office

guidance on legislative matters

legal advice

library

convention exhibit space

The 1957 Management Survey figures show, moreover, that in 1956/57 cash subsidies to departments exclusive of ACT and AHE amounted to some \$250,000. (These figures cannot be gleaned from the official Proceedings of the NEA). Thus for an estimated total of 55,000 NEA members in 1957 (on the assumption that departmental members took out NEA membership, which in fact was not the general rule), presumably representing 7.8 percent of the total NEA membership of 703,000 in 1957, the departments received 6.5 percent of the NEA budget in cash subsidies. By comparison, the classroom teachers (ACT) comprising 85 percent of NEA

membership, received two and one-half percent of the 1957 budget.⁷⁴

If one considers the cash subsidies and the other NEA services together, one may conclude that the NEA contributed about 15 percent of the departmental budgets.

The rationale for this financial support has been that if the departments did not exist or became independent of the NEA, organizational units to carry out their functions would have to be created.⁷⁵ This is true at least for areas in which the NEA has taken considerable interest. This argument will be developed more fully below.

The 1957 Departmental Contributions Management Survey pointed out that departments, in addition to providing general support to NEA policy, contributed more specific assistance to the NEA as follows:⁷⁶

promotion of NEA memberships (how much?)
 contribution to the building fund
 publicity about NEA activities
 participation in NEA conferences
 program suggestions

⁷⁴NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 373, 375.

⁷⁵Dr. Lyle C. Ashby, deputy executive secretary, interview with the author (Washington D. C., March 13, 1969).

⁷⁶NEA Management Survey, 1957, vol. I, part B, Ch. IX, p. 2 ff.

participation in American Education Week
 service of staff on NEA Committees
 promotion of NEA publications
 support of NEA through field work
 free exhibit space at departments conventions
 support for the NEA legislative program

Coordination of Departmental Policies with NEA

Although a liason office between NEA Central and the departments has always been planned, the relationship has not always been worked out carefully. In 1957, for instance, according to the Management Survey, three assistant executive secretaries had some responsibility for liason with departments. However, one official carried the major weight of this burden: the Assistant Executive Secretary for Education Services, responsible for liason with 25 departments. The Management Survey observes, however, "the variety of duties he carries, permits him to spend only about 10 percent of his time on this responsibility."⁷⁷ This state of affairs encouraged lack of information or misinformation, and resentment on both sides. The conclusion of the survey was that "the degree of support given to departmental liason is not commensurate with the

⁷⁷NEA Management Survey, 1957, vol. I, part B, ch. IX, p. 5.

importance of departments in the association."⁷⁸ Even the fact that the principal officers of the departments were given ex officio status at the NEA Representative Assembly, did not guarantee that the information gained there was passed back to the departments.

The Management Survey also observes that some divisions and departments have overlapping functions, resulting in wastage of money and effort. Thus, there is Rural Service Division and the Department of Rural Education; the Audio-Visual Instruction Service Division and DAVI (Division of Audio-Visual Instruction); the National Association of PSAE (Public School Adult Education) and the Adult Education Service Division. As of 1968, these overlaps have been partly ameliorated. However, there is still a tendency to obscure the distinctions between departments and divisions.

In addition to the problem of coordination and the overlap between departments and NEA divisions with departments, there have at times been sharp divergences between the policies of a department and NEA policy as enunciated by the Representative Assembly. For example the administrators group (AASA) has opposed, and is still basically opposed, to teacher strikes. The Assembly and the NEA

⁷⁸Ibid.

secretariat have, on the other hand, taken the position that teacher strikes (called, to be sure, the withholding of professional services) are at times justified and should be supported with money and staff when proper and necessary.⁷⁹

THE POSITION OF DEPARTMENTS WITHIN THE NEA STRUCTURE

One of the most enlightening arguments on the status of departments under the NEA Congressional charter occurred in 1961, when the administrators (AASA) demanded classification of their departments a relationship with the NEA. In an off-the-record presentation to the Executive Committee (not included in the Proceedings for 1961), Dr. Carr ably defended NEA control and the possibility of total control over the departments.⁸⁰ He pointed first of all to the Charter which lists groups that shall be included within the NEA structure.⁸¹ Another charter clause states that "the powers, and duties and the numbers and names of these departments and of the National Council of Education may be changed or abolished at the pleasure of

⁷⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 526-27 (1968 Resolutions Nos. 17, 18, 19).

⁸⁰Carr memorandum of March 10, 1961, to Joint meeting of NEA-AASA Executive Committees; AASA memorandum to NEA March 14, 1961, both in Carr files.

⁸¹NEA Charter, section 2.

the corporation, as provided in its Bylaws."⁸² Thus, as Dr. Carr pointed out, departments, in law, are not allies, partners or co-equal units; they are included within the NEA. Hence, any statement that the departments may act autonomously would be contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Association's Charter.

Since the departments are a part of the NEA, it is necessary that the powers and duties of NEA officers stated in the Bylaws extend to departments. Thus, the Bylaws Art. III, sec. 8 (1961) requiring that the executive secretary supervise and coordinate the administrative, financial and professional activities of the Association and direct to staff, must apply to the departments also. Nor does the amount of NEA support appear relevant.

It does not follow, continued Dr. Carr, that the association is obligated to exercise the rights granted under the Charter and Bylaws; especially it does not follow that these should be exercised arbitrarily. However, to grant autonomy to the departments would have grave implications and could be held invalid by the Board and Assembly (the two bodies responsible, under Art. X of the Bylaws, for the creation of new departments and the supervision of their constitution and Bylaws). A series of bilateral partnerships, destructive of the unity of the NEA, could

⁸²Ibid.

not serve the strength of the profession. The resolution of this relational conflict is discussed below.

CHANGES IN NEA-DEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

After considerable prodding by the Representative Assembly, the Executive Committee authorized President Alonso in 1967 to appoint a special Task Force on NEA-Departmental Relations, chaired by Monroni Jensen of Utah and assisted by Deputy Secretary Ashby, who had been in charge of departmental relations for a long time, (and is even now in charge of departmental relations under Dr. Lambert.) Dr. Ashby, the "man Friday" for the NEA, performed the task with his usual quiet efficiency.

The Task Force report in effect challenged some departments to secede if they wanted to, and at the same time offered them a graceful way out of the membership requirement. It drafted for the 1968 Assembly's approval a new bylaw amendment.

The Amendment provided for three categories of association with the NEA with different duties and responsibilities. The three categories were "departments," "national affiliates" and "associated organizations." It did not claim the full powers granted to NEA by the Charter provisions (as interpreted by Dr. Carr), but it did provide for a certain amount of supervision.

The constitutions of departments would have to be consistent with the NEA constitution and would be subject to review by the NEA. A part of NEA's budget would be allocated to them, or they could have separate dues. Departments would have their headquarters at the NEA and be provided with office space and services available to other NEA units. They would file annual reports of their official actions and other information as required.

The responsibilities of national affiliates and associated organizations in four fields--constitution and membership, finances and dues, headquarters space and services, and reports---would be less. While national affiliates would have constitutions consistent with NEA's, associated groups' would be compatible only. Affiliates would probably receive subsidies from the NEA, but the associated group could only negotiate for help on a contract basis. The latter would also negotiate for space and services while the affiliates would have their principal office at NEA Central. Both would have to file information upon request.⁸³

This Task Force proposal took away the thunder of another proposal before the Assembly which would have required all department members to be NEA members also; a

⁸³"NEA-Departmental Relations. A Dilemma and a Proposal." NEA Journal (April, 1968), pp. 26-29.

past requirement that would have again precipitated a crisis.⁸⁴ Another proposed amendment on the floor would have mandated two categories only--departments and educational societies, with NEA paying \$3 per member subsidy to the departments. The educational societies would not have to require their members to join NEA; only their officers. Departments would be reduced to six groups organized primarily by their educational or administrative role: the AAHE, AASA, ASCD, ACT, DESP and NASSP.⁸⁵ Educational societies would have been groups organized on the basis of special interests, such as art and music, or of special service required, such as Adult Education.

The task force proposal was a fine piece of draftsmanship and a highly diplomatic step. As Dr. Ashby confirmed on March 10, it gave something for everybody; it was the quintesse of statesmanship. It was moved as a substitute motion by a signer of one of the alternative amendments. There had been "conflicts" about the amendment involving the creation of just six departments with compulsory NEA membership.⁸⁷ The Chair at this point announced

⁸⁴A similar proposal was offered in Minneapolis in 1967; it received a majority but not the 2/3 vote required.

⁸⁵For abbreviations, refer to Glossary.

⁸⁶NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 100.

that 16 out of 34 departments were in favor of the Task Force amendment. The proposal was thereafter overwhelmingly adopted.⁸⁷ The existing departments were given until July 1, 1969 to opt for one of the three categories created.⁸⁸

The expectation on the part of the NEA leadership was that most departments would not move very far away from the NEA.⁸⁹ For some of the groups that did move away, the NEA was ready to form substitute in-house groups.

Reaction of Specific Groups

Higher Education

Two groups, especially important to the NEA, were the cause of embarrassment and disappointment by choosing associate status. First, the Association of Higher Education (AHE) Executive Committee refused to continue as a wholly subsidized department. Previously the AHE had received a grant equal to the dues received from the approximately 24,000 NEA members in higher education posts. By

⁸⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 258.

⁸⁸1968 Bylaws, Art. X, Sec. 1, paragraph 3. See also Ibid., Art. X, Sec. 2, for rights and duties of the three new categories.

⁸⁹Interview with Dr. Lyle C. Ashby, Deputy Executive Secretary, by the author March 10, 1969 (Washington, D. C.).

TABLE III-3

The reorganization pattern as of Late
June, 1969 was as follows:*

DEPARTMENTS

Classroom Teachers (ACT)
Driver Education
Rural Education
School Nurses

NATIONAL AFFILIATES

Administrative Women
Adult Education
Art Education
Audiovisual Instruction
Educational Secretaries
Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Education
Health, Physical Education, and Recreation
Home Economics
Industrial Arts
Mathematics Teachers
Music Educators
National Retired Teachers Association
Social Studies
Student Teaching
Supervision and Curriculum Development

ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Business Education
Educational Data Systems*
Exceptional Children
Higher Education
School Administrators (AASA)
School Librarians
School Public Relations
Science Teachers
Secondary School Principals
Speech Association
Women Deans and Counselors

*Educational Data Systems sought approval as a new NEA unit at the Philadelphia convention (July, 1969).

TABLE III-3 (Cont'd)

NOTE: The Foreign Languages and Vocational Education units were in "inactive" status; VE was considering becoming independent of NEA. The status of the Journalism Education Association was indefinite.

changing its status, the AHE lost this annual grant. In any case, the NEA subsidy would have been substantially less. AHE was probably annoyed by NEA spending on a special project, the Junior Colleges Faculty Association (NFA). AHE's announcement to seek associated organizational status was soon followed by an announcement of the NEA that it would create its own higher education group.⁹⁰ The comprehensive nature of the NEA was to be maintained at all costs. The loss of an in-house higher education group would have compromised or weakened NEA resolutions on higher education, as well as lobbying activities in this field. Moreover, with campus disturbances in the spotlight, the NEA would have had to abandon its position vis-a-vis the AAUP. Thus AHE left the NEA umbrella, to be replaced by a new NEA subsidized group, the National Higher Education Association (NHEA).

⁹⁰The new unit is called the National Higher Education Association. It has three component parts: a) National Faculty Association for Community and Junior Colleges; b) National Society for Professors (for 4-year college and university faculty); c) National Association of College and University Administrators. This new unit replaced the AHE within the NEA structure. -- See Higher Education Forum NEA, Vol. I, No. 2 (July, 1969), p. 3.

Administrators

The AASA also chose associate status. The AASA mail balloting on this issue may have resulted in a closer affiliation with the NEA, had it not been for an unforeseen and unfortunate interview that the newly inaugurated NEA President gave in Omaha, Nebraska in January, 1969. George Fisher labelled the NEA as a basically teacher-oriented militant organization and openly said he "couldn't care less" for administrators.⁹¹ This produced a furious reaction from the AASA group in Atlantic City in February.⁹²

Yet, the administrators are of vital interest to the NEA, especially in non-teachers-union territories such as California and Texas. In these large states the membership has recently lagged very badly, because the administrators have been less than friendly to ACT strategy within the NEA. The NEA decided, as a gesture of goodwill, to form a special service division for administrators (now called the NEA Office of Supervisory Administrative Services), at which very important NEA personalities balked. Dr. Hannan, an associate executive secretary and perhaps the most dynamic "young Turk" in the NEA staff, suddenly

⁹¹Interview with George Fisher, NEA President, in the World-Herald, Omaha, Nebraska, (January 22, 1969).

⁹²Atlantic City Highlights of the 1969 Annual Convention, February 15-19, 1969," The AASA Convention Reporter (February, 1969), p. 4.

resigned.⁹³ Teacher services are teacher services, he maintained, and the administrators could handle their own problems without the aid of a special in-house division. The Executive Committee, however, overrode opposition on this issue.⁹⁴

Yet, despite the recent offers of the NEA to provide services for administrators, the fact remains that this group insists on independence in its policy-making. It is also true that the Assembly, controlled by classroom teachers, has driven the administrators to weaken their affiliation with the NEA and thereby weaken their position of power within the NEA.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown the efforts of the NEA to streamline its federal structure and set a firm policy for its relations with organized role or specialty groups.

In the field of coordinating state and local affiliates, the trend is to require the locals to clear the matter with their state organizations when applying for NEA assistance. This is now done for NEA field staff assis-

⁹³March 24, 1969.

⁹⁴Executive Committee, February, 1969 meeting. Unofficial minutes: "Development Report--Higher Education in NEA," (Washington, D. C.) February 20, 1969. (mimeographed).

tance to urban groups, sanctions imposed by locals, and DuShane fund assistance.

However, the plans for joint NEA-state chartering of locals, standards of performance of locals, and assigning to the states the determination of local delegate quotas for the NEA Representative Assembly have not been implemented. Some of these problems may be solved by the coming 1972 Constitutional Convention.

The most progress has been in the field of unification of dues structure: about three-fourths of the states and the locals therein now require their members to take out NEA, state and local unit membership simultaneously. The NEA sparked unification by making the availability of its insurance benefits and car rental opportunities contingent on such three-level membership.

Another spur for unification has been the availability of extensive DuShane defense funds to the NEA. These funds have been used as a NEA level to further unification as a condition of NEA aid to striking statewide or local affiliates.

In 1969, specialty or role groups were given the opportunity to choose one of three categories of affiliation with NEA: department status, affiliate or associate status. The rights and duties of each were clearly spelled

out, and the compliance of the specialty or role groups mandated. This move brought some order into a hitherto confused area.

The NEA must continue with efforts to unify or **tightly** coordinate its diverse federal structure; it must keep its affiliated role groups in line. Otherwise, its policy efforts and will be hampered and its voice on educational matters confused and incoherent. Perhaps the basic choice is one of size vs. cohesion; the greater the NEA "umbrella," the less the cohesion. The NEA must construct an advantageous balance between these two factors.

CHAPTER IV

NEA'S EVOLVING GOVERNING STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

Considered in this chapter will be the important officers and governing groups of the Association. They may be listed as follows, in order of consideration:

(a) the Executive Committee. This body, with four out of its ten members elected at large by the Representative Assembly, has been emerging as the nerve-centre of the Association. The Committee has appointive, fiscal, disciplinary and supervisory powers;

(b) the Board of Directors, hereinafter referred to as Board. This governing group is elected at the annual convention by the various state delegations. It is charged with managing the general policies and interests of the Association. The Board has had a conservative reputation over the years. Each state affiliate and the Overseas Education Association (OEA) is entitled to one seat at least, and additional seats for each block of 20,000 NEA members. Since the Directors as a rule meet only three times a year, on long week-ends,

their deliberative powers and influence have waned as the complexity of NEA issues and the frequency of Executive Committee meetings have increased;

(c) the office of the Executive Secretary, hereinafter referred to as the Secretary. The Secretary until 1968 was appointed by the now defunct Board of Trustees and now, by the Committee. Four year terms are usual. Specific reference will be made to the secretaryships of Dr. William G. Carr (1952-1967) and Dr. Sam Lambert (1967-). One observes a gradual reaction in the 1960's to the "virtual" leadership exercised by Dr. Carr. The present trend in the office, under Dr. Sam Lambert, is technocratic leadership more intent on mending political fences at home, than on glory abroad;

(d) the office of the presidency. The president-elect of the NEA after one year's apprenticeship, takes office for one year and manages one convention. At one time, the president was little more than a public relations person for NEA causes. Recently, it has grown in political influence under such presidents as E. Turner, R. Wyatt, R. Batchelder, Mrs. I. Applegate, E. Alonso, Mrs. L. Koontz, and G. Fisher.¹ The appointment of the latter to

¹For a list of recent NEA presidents, see Appendix herein.

the Nixon sub-cabinet as the director of the Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor, in February, 1969 perhaps shows also the increased stature of the office; many former man and woman presidents had less appeal and fewer qualifications. The increased political stature of the presidency is also shown by the fact that Mrs. Libby Koontz was the first Negro president of the NEA;

(d) the Board of Trustees until their recent abolition in 1968, controlled two vital functions: (1) the election of the all-important executive secretary, and (2) the operation of a Permanent Fund which by the Congressional charter is to be used only for the "maintenance of the organization" and publishing the annual Proceedings. The former has been interpreted to mean spending for buildings necessary to house NEA headquarters. The Trustees' operations also involved investments in various securities and Washington, D. C. real estate. The Trustees will be referred to in this chapter only in passing.

The discussion of these groups is at the same time a socio-metric study, showing how these various groups and officers have gained or lost influence.

A. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Present Status

The Committee at the present consists of 10 members,² two of whom are elected by the Board, four by the Assembly, and four of whom are NEA officers (president, vice-president, past president, treasurer).³ Of members elected by the Board and Assembly, one half at least must now be classroom teachers.⁴

The Executive Committee, like any corporate finance or steering committee, or like the politburo of a presidium, "shall represent and act for and on behalf of the Board...on all matters affecting the general policies and professional interests of the Association between meetings of the Board."⁵ It also has appointive, fiscal, disciplinary and supervisory powers.⁶

Expansion and Classification of Powers

The Committee has recently (1968) acquired control of the Permanent Fund used to maintain the NEA organization

²It was an 11-member body before the abolition of the Board of Trustees, whose chairman was a member ex officio.

³NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. V. Sec. 1.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., sec. 3(a).

⁶Ibid., sec. 3(b) to 3(i).

at the demise of the Trustees.⁷ Control brings important powers of investment.⁸ The Committee also acquired the power of selecting the Secretary which forces the Secretary to cooperate with a broadly-based, younger, dynamic group, rather than a small group of older men, who were established in their professions as early as the 1930's.⁹

By transferring the responsibility of the secretary's election to the Executive Committee, the Assembly also wished to change a situation where the Executive Secretary was responsible to a group of five trustees elected by a Board of Directors chosen by state groups, and not to the Assembly's representatives.

During most of the Carr secretaryship, the Executive Committee met for a few days prior to the Board meetings (held twice, then three times a year). Consequently, it was reduced to a status much like that of the Board, with little time for discussion of a vast array of facts that accumulated between meetings. Moreover, until the presidency of Mrs.

⁷See on demise of Board of Trustees, NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 88, 258.

⁸Should the NEA invest in the Mutual Investment Fund, a new undertaking, or in an established bluechip security? Does "maintenance of organization" involve support for pilot projects such group life insurance projects, Du Shane Fund contributions and funds for teachers involved in job disputes?

⁹See section in this chapter dealing with the office of Executive Secretary.

I. Applegate (1966-67) there was no systematic attempt at execution of Representative Assembly resolutions, which in theory at least, were the laws of the Association.¹⁰ From the presidency of R. Batchelder on (1965-66), the Executive Committee started demanding more meetings from the Secretary and insisting on its right to do this.¹¹ It criticized the Secretary's editing of the Executive Committee minutes.¹² Its members from the early 1960's on (the more aggressive members or "young Turks") did not hide their philosophical differences with the Secretary. Finally, during the Alonso presidency at the 1967 Stone Mountain, Georgia Conference, the Executive Committee discussed comprehensively its powers, rights and responsibilities with the recently inaugurated Secretary, Sam Lambert, and carved for itself a dynamic, aggressive path similar to that of a politburo.¹³

The Executive Committee took the initiative to find solutions to the continuing imbalance and uncertainties in

¹⁰Interview of Dr. Carr by the author, Washington, D. C., March, 1970.

¹¹NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 304, 313, 320.

¹²Interview of B. Alonso by the author, Washington, D. C., February, 1969.

¹³NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 342-343.

the interrelationships of officers, units and departments.¹⁴ It may be noted here also that although the Committee acts when the Board is not in session and thus may be regarded as a committee of the Board,¹⁵ the Executive Committee has always claimed that it was independently constituted in 1920¹⁶ with their mandate derived by a majority vote of all delegates at the Convention. In contrast, the Committee has said, the Board's members are elected by the various state delegations and thus have a narrower basis of support. The Committee's attitude has important ramifications on its policy role especially in the 1960's.

Appointive Powers

The rule of thumb in the NEA is that the Executive Committee appoints the members of the permanent commissions, and that the president appoints members of committees and task forces.

The Committee before 1965 seemed to exercise only ministerial functions as to appointments. The practice of

¹⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 322-323, 333, 305-306 on the establishment of NEA-Development Project. See summary of NEA Staff Conference on NEA Development Project, Memorandum by NEA Development Project, Oct. 6, 1965 (mimeo.). The project submitted its final report, "Change and Renewal," in 1968.

¹⁵NEA Bylaws, 1950, Art. III sec. 6(a); cf. Ibid., 1968, Art. V sec. 3(a).

¹⁶At the same time that the Representative Assembly was created.

Dr. Carr was to make a survey of available candidates whom he then recommended to the Executive Committee for action. Many of the appointments came in wake of a mail ballot, allowing only a yes or no answer.¹⁷

In February, 1965, before the annual Convention, a subcommittee of the Board started to study the procedures for the appointment of NEA Commissions.¹⁸ Their recommendations came up before the July 3, 1965 meeting of the Committee and again at the October, 1965 meeting.¹⁹ The procedure as evolved in October, 1965 is a highly complicated and technical machinery, involving full consultation of the Executive Committee. This compares with the ease and directness with which previous appointments had been made by Dr. Carr.²⁰

¹⁷A case in point was the appointment of members of members of the Legislative Commission, a key commission of the NEA in terms of political influence in 1957. A mail ballot was circulated by Dr. Carr, his secretary collected the ballots which she then tallied in pencil, and notified the appointees. The Executive Committee was formally given the chance to write in names, but because they had already been given a choice of names, and time pressed for the return of the ballots, the Executive Committee followed the recommendations of the Secretary.

¹⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 261.

¹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 309; Ibid., p. 310. After the 1965 Resolution on classroom teacher representation had been passed.

²⁰NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 319-20; NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 354.

The directive of October, 1965, still followed today substantially required that a memorandum be sent by the executive secretary to, (a) state executive secretaries; (b) NEA directors; (c) NEA departments; and (d) NEA staff contacts for commissions, requesting them to submit nominations. At the same time the Committee, overruling the less precise Board recommendations,²¹ mandated a memorandum of information on vacancies to state association presidents, and local association presidents and secretaries. Nominations made by groups (a), (c), and (d) above would be submitted to the state secretary who would verify the nominee's membership in the national, state and local associations, and secure the endorsement of the latter groups. The nominations were to be in by December 31, prior to the year of the appointment, and a biographical sketch was to be released during January. Thus, since 1965 the nominations for commission (and committee) memberships have been completely open and institutionalized. This was not the case before 1965.

It may be noted here that the Committee's power to appoint is circumscribed by the Assembly resolutions of 1965 and of 1968²² which mandates that on all appointive

²¹This move itself could be called an extension of the Committee powers.

²²1965-22 and 1968-26. NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 417; 1968, pp. 528-529.

boards, commissions and committees, classroom teachers shall have majority representation, i.e. over 50 percent of membership. The 1965 resolution imposed a "should" type obligation in this regard, but the 1968 resolution specifically says "shall."

Financial Powers

The Committee, in addition to the recent acquisition of control over the Permanent Fund, has assumed more and more the direction of finances, especially in the case of special funds which so vitally affect NEA direction.²³

The DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights, originally established in 1949 by the Representative Assembly, has been one of the best-known and most successful endeavors of the NEA.²⁴ The administration of this fund, by a special staff committee, was under guidelines approved by the Executive Committee nor was the Board called upon to approve these, although the latter determines "fiscal policies."²⁵

It may be noted here that the supervision of the present DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights remains one of the

²³DuShane Fund for teacher assistance, work stoppage assistance, special funds to assist the urban fight against unions, special projects.

²⁴See Chapter VI on Membership Benefits, infra.

²⁵NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 224; NEA Bylaws, 1961, Art. IV, sec. 4(e).

key functions of the Executive Committee, whereby they can do much to determine the attitude and the image of the NEA nationally.

For example, the Fund aided the Overseas Teachers in their salary fight against the U. S. Defense Department, which culminated in teacher victory in 1966 with the passage of the Udall bill.²⁶ It has helped Negro teachers in Mississippi in the late 1960's, fired when county funds were cut off by federal agencies because of non-compliance with desegregation guidelines. All of these varied and expanding activities necessitate an expenditure of some \$5 million, although the 1968-69 budget only appropriated \$1 million from income in addition to the voluntary contributions to the Fund.²⁷ To offset this picture, the January, 1969 meeting of the Executive Committee authorized a fund drive and application for a \$5 million loan.²⁸

In increasing its importance in this field, the Committee has taken powers from both Board (a) and Secretary (b).

(a) To illustrate the operation of the Committee in the special fund field vis-a-vis the Board, one may point to

²⁶P.L. 86-91, (1959); cf. Stinnett, op. cit., ch. 11; NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 330.

²⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 470, 473, 478.

²⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 380, 385.

the uses of three important special funds, the Million Dollar Fund (now amalgamated with the DuShane Fund), the Contingency Fund and the Special Fund for Future Contingencies. The Million Dollar Fund for Teacher Rights was launched at the 1965 Convention by the Board.²⁹ Since the fund was from the beginning linked with human and civil rights of education, Board members from southern, rural or conservative states were not too eager about it; in fact, a special motion was required in 1966 to put the Board on record as committing itself to the promotion of the fund.³⁰ Supervision of the collection and disbursements from the fund, as well as establishing policies for the use of the fund were turned over to the Executive Committee from the outset.³¹ Thus, the Executive Committee, because of the unity on civil rights within the board, acquired new powers and added limelight.³²

In the use of the combined Million Dollar and Du Shane Funds, the vast sum of over two million dollars was allocated from these Defense Funds for the relief of Florida

²⁹NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 279, 294.

³⁰Ibid., p. 294.

³¹Ibid., p. 279.

³²See for Committee development of guidelines, 1966 Proceedings, pp. 291, 316, 295-296; NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 324; NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 346, 384.

teachers.³³ This obviously constituted a very important involvement by the NEA, even if its precedent-making implications have been repeatedly denied. Moves to replenish the Defense Funds and moves to raise dues have been supported by the Committee.

Turning to the NEA Contingency Fund and Special Reserve Fund for Future Emergencies³⁴ one notes that the Executive Committee has controlled the Contingency Fund for some time.³⁵ By 1965 various calls on this fund had reduced its balance to near zero.³⁶ Consequently, the Executive Committee started to make dispositions over the surplus in the General Fund.³⁷ These dispositions were made at a fast rate, with the consent of the Board assumed more and more routinely. Thus, for instance, in February, 1967, the Committee recommended to the Board an expenditure of \$65,000 from the General Fund Surplus account; this was approved

³³NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 324; NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 380, 381, 385. See Ch. VI Membership Benefits, infra.

³⁴The Special Fund was started in 1957-58. NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 367, 375.

³⁵For examples, see NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 270; NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 314.

³⁶See, e.g. NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 314, showing a balance of \$8,100.

³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 198; previously, surpluses in the General Fund went into the Permanent Fund at the control of the Trustees. See also NEA Bylaws, 1967, Art. IV, sec. 4(e); i.e. consists of NEA income and unrestricted assets, which had come under the control of the Board, by a bylaws revision, in 1958.

without any discussion.³⁸ In November, 1967 and January, 1968 various large sums were proposed for spending by the Committee, which the Board approved without any discussion in February, 1968, noting in passing that the General Fund Surplus now supported the 1967-68 fiscal budget to the score of \$1,029,724. All of these additional monies were to be spent as determined by the Committee. At the same February, 1968 meeting the NEA borrowing authority was upped from \$2 million to \$5 million. Some of these sums asked for were actually spent in anticipation of the ratification of the Board.⁴⁰

The net result of this has been that the Board acts more and more as a ratification agency, with policy initiation shared by the Executive Committee and the Budget Committee (a sub-committee of the Board). The Board's members still include financial conservatives, to whom the concept of a balanced, prefixed budget is dear. The proceedings show however that the progressives on the Board, led often by "young Turks" such as R. Batchelder, have been able to beat attempts to impose a balanced budget.⁴¹ Sympathizers

³⁸NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 294.

³⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 238, 275, 355.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 362; a sum spent in December is approved by the Board next February.

⁴¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 299.

of the Committee among Board members have been able to place on the Board's record the understanding that the General Fund surplus is indeed subject to transfers, at the Committee's initiative, though formally conditional on Board approval.⁴²

(b) The Secretary, during most of Carr's tenure, had control of a fund for Special Annual Projects which was in the neighborhood of \$200,000. This he dispensed after getting the advice of his cabinet. He also was in charge of special ad hoc crash projects. The recent Urban Project founded in the wake of the NEA loss in New York City in December, 1961 and inaugurated March, 1962, was attached to the office of the secretary, and vast sums were spent.⁴³ The project has since been institutionalized as a permanent division, under Executive Committee supervision.⁴⁴ Annual special projects, formerly under the secretary's control, have been gradually phased out,⁴⁵ and ad hoc special projects are not more visible and the subject of regular discussion by Board and Committee.⁴⁶

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³T. M. Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching (New York: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 67-68.

⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 277, 305.

⁴⁵cf. Ibid., p. 440, NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 466.

⁴⁶NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 305; NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 298; e.g. project to organize faculty in junior colleges.

Disciplinary Powers

The Committee, in discharging this function, acts in a judicial capacity as well. In so doing it has extended its claim to being the chief arbitrator of association affairs. It has no rival body⁴⁷ to interfere with its judicial functions. There are indications, however, that these actions, important as they may be, take away too much from the Committee's precious time, since they involve hearings.⁴⁸ However, the situation remains unchanged.

Individual Members

In 1963 the Representative Assembly adopted a completely revised Code of Ethics for individual teachers, and made its acceptance conditional for NEA membership.⁴⁹ The Executive Committee was given authority to review any decision reached by the Committee on Professional Ethics, whether it be censure, suspension or expulsion. Appeal to the Executive Committee must be filed with the Executive

⁴⁷Cf. the American Medical Association's Judicial Council.

⁴⁸These hearings may be the basis of far-reaching decisions involving NEA affiliates' rights. Recently, the Committee has been assisted by the establishment of a NEA Legal Division.

⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 134-36. Cf. also Ch. VI on Membership Benefits herein, infra.

Secretary within 60 days of the Ethics Committee's judgment.⁵⁰

There is no record of an appeal to the Executive Committee under the 1963 Code of Ethics, which speaks highly of the abilities of the Ethics Committee.⁵¹ An appeal to the Executive Committee was scheduled for February, 1969 but was called off. This was to have been the first such case and was looked upon with some apprehension by the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities.

Action against Group Affiliates

A more serious case, because of the greater numbers involved, arises in the case of affiliates. Here, the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee is original, under procedures developed by the Assembly on the advice of the Board of Directors.⁵² Since 1957, Board of Directors procedures for disaffiliation were prepared on June 26, 1958; what is strange is that these were not submitted to the Assembly by either Board or Committee, until 1963, when the

⁵⁰NEA Bylaws, 1965, Art. I. secs. 11; NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 391. Prior to 1963, The Executive Committee had original jurisdiction.

⁵¹"NEA Committee Acts on Ethics Complaint," Today's Education, Vol. LVIII (Nov., 1969), pp. 34-35, 79 (on superintendent of DeKalb County, Georgia).

⁵²The Board's advice is required by Art. IV sec. 4(f) of the 1957 Bylaws.

deputy executive secretary admitted that "through some oversight," the guidelines had not reached the Assembly.⁵³

Meanwhile, the Executive Committee had operated to impose sanctions on affiliates in several cases. The Assembly finally approved basic procedures in 1964.⁵⁴

In 1964 the issue was becoming pressing because of mounting impatience with the slowness of the NEA on integration. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought the problem to a head. The Assembly passed its first integration resolution at New York in 1954, but it was no mandate for action but a plea for nationwide fairness, intelligent approaches and sanity.⁵⁵ Dr. Carr had opposed a stronger resolution.⁵⁶ The 1964 Representative Assembly, however, taking a firm stand for the first time, set a 1966 deadline for affiliates to remove racial barriers from their constitution and by-laws. This is the famous 1964-12 resolution.⁵⁷

The Executive Committee took note of this question immediately after the passage of the resolution, on July 4,

⁵³NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 271; possibly to avoid a floor fight on segregated affiliates in the south.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 169-70.

⁵⁵See discussion, NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 192-197.

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 255.

⁵⁷NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 179-190.

1964.⁵⁸ There were strong supporters of this resolution on the Committee at the time, among them George Fisher, a newly elected member, R. Batchelder, B. Alonso, and R. Wyatt, president for 1964-65.

Efforts in the desegregation area had been few, within the organization; there were only two projects both through the Classroom Teachers group (ACT).⁵⁹ Now, prior to the 1965 convention, the Executive Committee supervised a plan for the ceremonial merger of the NEA and the all-Negro American Teachers Associations (ATA), with which they had maintained committee liaisons since the 1930's, and sent on the plans for Board approval. The merger ended an existing arrangement whereby since 1946 separate colored teacher groups in twelve southern states had been given representation in the Assembly.

Compliance with the 1964 resolution, however, may be termed token before the 1966 Assembly. As late as February, 1966 in a dilatory step, an advisory panel was set up by the Executive Committee to bring in recommendations on implementing Resolution 66-12.⁶⁰ At this time, the "young

⁵⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 270.

⁵⁹The Civil Rights Project for New York City and the Continuing Education of Negro Teachers Project, administered by the TEPS Commission.

⁶⁰NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 318.

Turk" classroom teacher members of the Committee were engaged in a power struggle with Secretary Carr about the status of, and agreement with the NEA staff collective bargaining unit, NEA-SO.⁶¹ A discussion of 66-12 promised by Dr. Carr at the February meeting never materialized, mainly because of this conflict.⁶²

In an unusually strong statement the 1966 Assembly, growing more militant, and without any recommendation of the Board, ordered the suspension of affiliates in non-compliance with the 1964 resolution.⁶³ It mandated the Executive Committee to report its findings in the December issue of the NEA Journal. This mandate to the Committee was an unprecedented directive, but it reflected the mood explicitly affirmed in 1967⁶⁴ that the Assembly was determined to be the "policy-making body designated by the Charter and By-laws." Resolution 66-12 further ordered that merger plans between dual associations be carried out by June 1, 1967, unless merger plans approved by the Executive Committee before July 1, 1966, allowed otherwise. The 1966 Assembly gave final approval to the NEA-ATA merger.⁶⁵

⁶¹Ibid., p. 320.

⁶²Ibid., p. 318.

⁶³Res. 1966-12, ordering compliance with Res. 1964-12 as amended in 1965.

⁶⁴Res. 67-28.

⁶⁵NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 80-85.

On July 2, 1966, the Executive Committee⁶⁶ "temporarily" suspended Louisiana for continuing its "lily-white" charter clause.⁶⁷ The action was without precedent; a state affiliate had not been censured or suspended before. The Committee also ruled that NEA services to the Louisiana group should cease.

Louisiana was the most likely and logical candidate for suspension. Since October, 1961, under a ruling of the Louisiana Attorney-General, membership in the NEA had been prohibited for Louisiana public school teachers because of NEA's advocacy of desegregation.⁶⁸ Even so, at the Executive Committee meeting of October 13, 1966 the NEA was prevaricating, placing the temporary suspension in abeyance after a "show case" hearing.⁶⁹ The Louisiana group (LTA) pointed out, perhaps belatedly, that the annual meeting of the LTA in November 28, 1966 was being asked to remove racial barriers in its constitution. An automatic expulsion clause was put into the NEA resolution holding suspension in

⁶⁶With the ex post facto approval of the Board for resolution 66-12.

⁶⁷NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 275. See also P. Jansen, "NEA: The Reluctant Dragon," Saturday Review, Vol. 50 (June 1967), pp. 56-57 and 72-73.

⁶⁸NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 254. NEA membership in Louisiana had declined from 7,009 in 1961 to 1,375 in 1962.

⁶⁹NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 515.

abeyance, to take effect on November 28, 1966 without further action of any kind, in case no constitutional changes were voted by the LTA. The Executive Committee also recommended to the Board that each member ask his state to submit reports by January, 1967 on merger plans of local affiliates.

Tackling the problem more frontally, the February, 1967 Committee meeting mandated merger plans for state associations, after stating its belief that "the purpose of Resolution 66-12 is to bring about merger of dual associations in each state." The Executive Committee threatened to institute disaffiliation proceedings if joint merger plans, jointly approved by the dual state associations, were not approved by the Committee before June 1, 1967; the same would apply to locals in merged states. The position of the Committee had, it seems, the effect of watering down the 1966 resolution, since that called for disaffiliation of noncomplying affiliates on June 1, 1967. The Executive Committee decision used the language of moderation, i.e. "a decision will be made regarding status," "disaffiliation proceedings will be instituted." Caution had been urged on both the Assembly and the Committee by representatives of southern and border states, pointing out NEA membership potential: roughly 40 percent of NEA members were said to come from the south.

On May 20, 1967, a hearing was held with representatives of the six southern "core" states resisting integration--Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama. These six states had a total NEA membership of about 105,000 at the end of the 1967 membership year, a substantial number. The Committee took the following action:

Louisiana--merger plans approved, temporary suspension will be lifted as soon as dual boards ratify merger plans; no merger date. The target date was set for December, 1969.

Mississippi--merger plans approved, to be ratified by dual boards; no target date set.

North Carolina--merger plans approved, with a clarifying statement added thereto, to be ratified by dual boards with the clarifying statement; and to be ratified also by the colored association's Delegate Assembly. No target date set.

Georgia--merger plans approved, to be ratified by the dual board by June 10, 1967.

Arkansas--merger plans approved with exception of target date for two items of merger plan; AEA board requested to approve merger plan with changes by June 10, 1967.

Alabama--merger plans approved.⁷⁰

It was further decided that any changes in the above plan would have to have Executive Committee approval. In effect, these actions determined that the above six states were in compliance with Res. 66-12; but they had to proceed by submitting plans to their Boards for ratification and

⁷⁰NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 348-349.

submitting a full progress report by June, 1967.⁷¹ Meanwhile, to effect compliance with Res. 66-12 which had set a June 1, 1967 deadline for completion of plans, a public statement was issued on that date detailing progress. The 1967 Assembly was content to recommend these steps and mark time; it charged the Executive Committee to "complete the task"⁷² but set no further deadline.

The Executive Committee's Compliance Committee did not again make a merger report until March 2, 1968 when it was time once more to prepare for the yearly accounting before the Assembly. It was noted that North Carolina and Mississippi were questioning the desirability of the merger; Louisiana had an unsettled question of representation; Alabama found it hard to agree on the role of the Negro ASTA executive secretary in the new organization. Hopeful reports came from Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas. The situation still left much to be desired. Basically, separate associations were finding it hard to provide adequate jobs for their staff members and to agree on the joint use of their assets and the scope of their services.

Did implementation lag behind? In answer to this, the chairman of the Executive Committee Compliance Committee

⁷¹Cf. NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 337.

⁷²Res. 1967-12. NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 498-500.

announced that the Committee would, by October, 1968 establish guidelines for the merger of the six segregated associations. The guidelines mandated first of all, ratification of new constitutions by the 1969 Delegate Assemblies of the six states as outlined in their plans submitted in the summer of 1967. Failure of an assembly to do so would bring on suspension.

The Executive Committee suspended both white and Negro statewide teacher groups in Louisiana, the white teacher group in Mississippi and the Negro group in North Carolina by the 1969 Assembly, suspension to be continued to the end of 1969. The other three states involved completed the merger.⁷³ Eventually, the white teacher groups in Louisiana and Mississippi were expelled on May 1, 1970.⁷⁴

The record shows a very painful and slow evolution on integration since 1954, and does not show great haste by the Executive Committee; indeed, it shows extreme deliberate speed in spite of the efforts of such NEA leaders as Irvamae Applegate, Elizabeth Koontz, Braulio Alonso and George Fisher. The political fact of life, is, however, that the six states slowest to integrate command a total of some 105,000 members, and that the total of southern and

⁷³Report of the Executive Committee's Subcommittee on Compliance to the 1969 Assembly, July 2, 1969 (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C., mimeographed).

⁷⁴NEA Reporter (May 22, 1970), pp. 1, 5.

border states slow to force mergers of local affiliates contain over 200,000 members--or about one-fifth of NEA's membership. And there are many who still believe, in high and low places, that the NEA is a strictly voluntary organization and that to operate by mandates would be disruptive.

Meanwhile, disaffiliation of locals under the integration plans is also proceeding. In 1967, the Executive Committee set the policy that local affiliates must be merged one year after the merger of the state affiliates. Thus, records of the April 22, 1967 meeting of the Committee show that some locals were slow in replying to compliance questionnaires. Yet, Mr. Alonso, president-elect, sought leniency for the Hillsborough County Education Association in Florida, his home state, which had apparently not complied with the one-year requirement. The request was granted.⁷⁵ No local affiliates were disciplined by the 1967 Assembly, and delegate credentials were granted to all state and local affiliates.⁷⁶ The same situation prevailed for 1968. It is unlikely that locals will be proceeded

⁷⁵NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 344, 350.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 350.

against until the merger of all of the statewide affiliates has been completed.⁷⁷

Serious deviations are committed by affiliates if they try to establish liaison with both NEA and the teachers' unions (AFT). Two well-known cases within the past ten years involve the Duluth Teachers Association in Minnesota and the Las Vegas Teachers in Nevada. On March 8, 1946, as part of a general restructuring of policy on locals, the Executive Committee had resolved that no charters would be issued to local affiliates which "advocate or support principles" at variance with those of the NEA. One of the elements of the NEA line, although never clearly announced as such, came to be that affiliation with both the NEA and the AFT were incompatible. Both offending groups were denied further affiliation with the NEA.⁷⁸

Yet, another area of contention concerning affiliation arises when an affiliate-to-be is challenged by older

⁷⁷Disaffiliation can also result from the non-payment of affiliate dues. In March, 1968 Secretary Lambert reported to the Executive Committee that dues arrears of affiliates amount to some \$2 million. In February, 1963 the Committee heard that 143 local affiliate charters were up for cancellation (out of 7,858 or about 2 percent) because of non-payment of dues, for two years, mergers or other reasons. NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 294.

⁷⁸NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 305; Ibid., 1959, pp. 252-253. See also files of NEA Membership Division on Las Vegas case.

organizations on the ground that teachers in the prospective affiliate are already properly represented and serviced. In a number of cases, older all-inclusive associations operating in the area oppose the establishment of a (militant) exclusively special-role group (i.e. classroom teacher group). The general policy of the NEA, as confirmed by recent statements of the Secretary, has been to favor all-inclusive associations, although this position has shown serious signs of strain. Thus, in a representative case, in October, 1965 the Committee placed the request for affiliation by the Montgomery County Classroom Teachers Association in abeyance due to the opposition of the all-inclusive Montgomery County Education Association and of the Maryland State Teachers Association. On the other hand, where there are three NEA affiliates operating in an area, including a very powerful Classroom Teacher Organization,⁷⁹ then the efforts of a new inclusive group to gain affiliation would be denied.⁸⁰

Sanctions

In addition to the negative aspect of supervising affiliates, i.e. censure and expulsion, there is the posi-

⁷⁹Case of Dade County, Florida Classroom Teachers Association, NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 327.

⁸⁰NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 297, 322.

tive role of the Executive Committee to safeguard and protect NEA groups both state and local. A maintenance function is the Committee's continuing concern with various possible structures for local associations.⁸¹ A possibly more vital function concerns the extension of help through the NEA DuShane Fund, to the local and state groups in their fight against recalcitrant local boards and state systems.

The concept of professional sanctions was brought sharply into focus by Arthur Corey, executive secretary of the California Teachers Association, at the 1962 Denver Assembly. His speech, although planned before, served as a reply to James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO. Carey in a now-famous and blunt speech, told the Assembly that teaching was an industry, not a profession; that teachers, without the support of unionism, were in a predicament, exploited and cowed.⁸² On the motion of a delegate from Oregon and aided by the motion of R. Batchelder of Massachusetts, president in 1965-66, the Assembly proceeded to pass a professional sanctions resolution as its answer, requesting NEA to develop guidelines.⁸³ "Professional sanc-

⁸¹See Report of Task Force on Local Association Structure, October, 1968 (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C., mimeographed).

⁸²NEA Proceedings, 1962, pp. 46-52, 121-122, 142-150.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 174-184 (Resolution 1962-19).

tions," in the context of the resolution, meant teacher measures against school or education authorities short of a strike, and was intended as the ultimate step in "professional negotiations" with education authorities.⁸⁴

The application of sanctions, pending writing of guidelines by a NEA Commission, was left to Secretary Carr.⁸⁵ Carr, seeing the sanctions policy as a means of embroiling the NEA, requested that the guidelines make perfectly clear that there must be an investigation (similar to the doctrine of exhaustion of legal remedies) before the NEA would apply sanctions.⁸⁶ With this revision, the guidelines were presented to the Board of Directors, and ordered distributed, October 19, 1963. The determination and implementation of Res. 62-19 by the Board rather than by the Executive Committee is explained by the fact that the guidelines were ready for discussion at a time when both Board and Committee were in session. In such a case, Board takes precedence.⁸⁷

Implementation, however, under the 1963 guidelines, now fell to the Executive Committee. Under them, the guidelines have been used in many celebrated situations since

⁸⁴Stinnett, op. cit., p. 116; the concept and application of sanctions is discussed fully in Ch. VI herein, "Membership Benefits."

⁸⁵NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 312.

⁸⁶NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 286.

⁸⁷NEA Bylaws, 1967, Art. V, sec. 3(a).

1963.⁸⁸ The most famous applications have been in Utah, and Florida, where the NEA won a costly and somewhat indecisive struggle with Republican Gov. Kirk.⁸⁹ Numerous local sanctions have also been invoked, causing anxiety about the financial position of the NEA as a result. Yet, "sanctions," however reluctantly they were faced by some NEA staff members, many administrators and fiscal conservatives, have placed the resources of the NEA unequivocally behind troubled local and state associations for the first time in its history, and therefore are of great significance.

SUPERVISORY POWERS

The Executive Committee has, since the New York City defeat of NEA in 1961, taken an increasingly hard look at NEA internal structure in order to hone its efficiency. At first, management of the internal structure was claimed by Dr. Carr as his own proper domain, and he resented the Committee's supervisory activities in this field.⁹⁰ A major cause in his resignation which was communicated to officers in the Spring of 1966, some one and one-half years prior to the expiration of his contract, was the involve-

⁸⁸Stinnett, op. cit., Chs. 11-13; see Ch. VI herein.

⁸⁹NEA Reporter (April 19, 1968), pp. 1-2.

⁹⁰Dr. Carr had undertaken a reorganization of NEA structure in 1955 largely on his own.

ment of the Committee in the salary grievances of NEA headquarters employees of lower echelon and intermediary rank. When the NEA-Service Organization (NEASO) took its case to the Executive Committee, going over the head of the Secretary, and the Committee assumed jurisdiction, Dr. Carr was appalled and angry at the Committee.⁹¹ His reaction was increased by the Committee's refusal to allow his key staff and cabinet members to attend a Committee discussion of the issue.⁹²

Finally, under the guidance of a Committee subgroup headed by George Fisher, a contract between NEA and NEASO was negotiated and approved by the Committee.⁹³ Although this action seemed in the Board's competence also as pertaining to the "general policies and interests" of the Association, no Board approval was requested or given.

The Committee's assumption of jurisdiction in this matter, Dr. Carr's anger, and the snub given the latter by the 1966 Assembly in its discussion of the matter, rank as a cause celebre and a psychological landmark in the Asso-

⁹¹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 321.

⁹²Ibid., p. 320; cf. NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 335.

⁹³NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 351 ff; May 20-22, 1967.

ciation's development, one benchmark of an altered direction taken by the NEA.⁹⁴

Likewise, the Committee was deeply involved with the 1965-68 NEA Development Project initiated by a resolution of the 1964 Assembly.⁹⁵ Here again, the Board began consideration of the project with a wobbly stance, when a powerful (though unsuccessful) move was made to defer consideration of the project until the board "could discuss the materials with officials in home states."⁹⁶ The Executive Committee welcomed this resolution mandating a study of the whole structure of the NEA as a lever for increasing its influence. The project began its work in 1965.⁹⁷ The Executive Committee's contention that it should be in charge of the project was left unchallenged by the Board.⁹⁸ Committee control was set up through a permanent Committee for Planning and Organizational Development (CPOD) with

⁹⁴Yet, as far back as March 1958, the Committee was asked by the Secretary to consider the recommendations of the 1957 Management Survey, NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 260.

⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1969, p. 219 (motion seconded by Mrs. Bain, NEA president 1970-71). This was headed by K. Hansen of Western State College, Gunnison, Colorado, after the latter's somewhat unexpected departure, by S. Jacobson, a NEA staff member.

⁹⁶NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 299.

⁹⁷NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 305-306.

⁹⁸NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 299-302.

seven members, to be appointed by the president, five of them to be Board members, subject to the advice and consent of the Executive Committee. The executive secretary, who was to appoint a director of planning and organizational development to work with CPOD.⁹⁹

The special Urban Project, attached to the office of the Executive Secretary from 1962 on, was converted into a visibly controlled NEA Central division ~~through~~ the action of the Committee. In June, 1964 the Committee created the post of assistant executive secretary for local association services, to be responsible for the Urban Project and field operations, and so informed the Board.¹⁰⁰ The Board demurred at the new assistant secretary's title, but the president bluntly told them that "the Executive Committee normally determines the structure of the staff."¹⁰¹ Dr. Carr demurred also as to the new title, yet the Board referred the whole matter to the Committee "with freedom to act."¹⁰² The name finally adopted was "Field Operations and

⁹⁹This occurred in October, 1968 but the new director had only one typist as his entire staff. The new position was moreover seen as a threat by the Deputy Executive Secretary who had been in charge of planning for NEA and continued to do so.

¹⁰⁰NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 265, 242.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 242, 245, 247.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 247.

Urban Services," an improvement from the Committee's point of view.¹⁰³

The Committee was also responsible for the creation of new structure to service membership benefit functions.¹⁰⁴ In June, 1969 it set up a new Legal Division under a General Counsel to handle the increasingly complex affairs of the association.

Thus, the Committee is now acknowledged as the decision-maker in matters of organizational structure. Although the creation of new posts, staff titles and staff appointments remained the primary domain of the Secretary, and he could still recommend changes in structure, the control over internal dynamics had passed from him to the Executive Committee without much challenge from the Board of Directors.

B. THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Powers of the Board

The members of the Board are deemed officers (but not executive officers) of the Association.¹⁰⁵ Since re-

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 268.

¹⁰⁴See Ch. VI herein on "Membership Benefits."

¹⁰⁵NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. II, sec. 1.

cently, membership on the Board has been limited to three consecutive terms, as a counter-conservative measure.¹⁰⁶

The Board shall meet in connection with the annual convention and may meet at other times as determined by the president or the majority of the Board.¹⁰⁷ The latest guidelines as to dates, times and places of meetings under this Bylaw section were passed on July 1, 1967 and in October, 1968.¹⁰⁸

The Board is in charge of the general policies and interests of the Association, subject to the direction of the Assembly.¹⁰⁹ It will be seen how this mandate has been modified through constitutional practice. The Board also elects two members of the 10-member Executive Committee. It determines the time and place of the annual convention. It is in charge (through its subcommittee, the Budget Committee), of the preparation and submission of the budget to the Assembly, and of the policies governing the General Fund (unrestricted income) and any budget surpluses. It is in charge of policies relating to the publication of reports by units and receives annual reports from all units. It is

¹⁰⁶NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 243, by a vote of 4,679 to 878; p. 125, "even good leadership can become tired."

¹⁰⁷NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. IV, sec. 3.

¹⁰⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 285-286, mimeo minutes.

¹⁰⁹NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. IV, sec. 4(a).

charged specifically with establishing guidelines for affiliation and the discipline of local and state teacher groups. It can create or discontinue NEA permanent units, both actions subject to Assembly approval.¹¹⁰ Up to 1968, it elected members of the now defunct Board of Trustees.

Under the NEA standing Rules¹¹¹ the Directors are given the important power of introducing new business and causing this to be debated and acted upon, at any business session of the Assembly, without the observation of deadlines and notices required otherwise. They have taken advantage of this power several times to take care of urgent business.

The Board has been the subject of various proposals, both from the 1957 Management Survey and the 1965-68 Development Project. The 1957 Survey recommended that there be a limit on the terms of directors. This was adopted in 1967.¹¹² More importantly, in February, 1967 the Executive Committee adopted the proposal of the NEA Development Project for the creation of an Executive Board chosen from the Board of Directors, to replace the existing Executive Com-

¹¹⁰NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. IV, sec. 4(b) to (f).

¹¹¹1968 Rules, Rule 6(k).

¹¹²NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 243, Management Survey, vol. I, p. III-9.

mittee.¹¹³ The recommendation was approved by the Directors, placed before the Assembly, but failed of adoption.¹¹⁴

Influence of the Board

The influence of the Board has of late been on the decline. The Board until the Bylaw revision of 1968 elected the Board of Trustees who in turn selected the Executive Secretary; since 1968 this power has been given over to the Executive Committee. The latter, as has been shown elsewhere in this chapter, has been assuming more and more control of the internal organization, financial and general policies of the Association; the Board is being reduced more and more to legitimation functions--initiating resolutions needed to allow the Association to move in compliance with membership corporation and internal law, and approving reports of groups and agencies over whose activities they have little actual control.

A prime example of the Board's decline is shown in the recent well-known 1968 incident when the Committee rejected the merger bid of the American Federation of Teachers the night before the Board was to meet, without making any move to consult the Board. This move brought on an angry

¹¹³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 340.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 258.

executive meeting of the Board (October 11, 1968) denouncing the unilateral move of the Committee; long-time members of the Board, such as James Cullen of New York, who had been a director since 1948, were especially bitter, as was a "young Turk," Donald Thomas of Illinois. Later on, the members of the Committee elected from the Board promised better cooperation between Board and Committee, but the Board's decreasing position could not be concealed.

The major causes of the Board's loss of influence in recent years are capable of analysis.

(a) For one, the Board's members are elected by state delegations at the annual convention, while all Executive Committee members, except the two elected by the Board, are elected by the whole Assembly. (Note: in unified states, directors may not be elected at a state convention; this will become more and more of a pattern.) Consequently, the mandate and base of support of the Board's members is not so wide as that of Committee members.

(b) Some state delegations, as has been pointed out in the Assembly chapter, are suffering from inequalities of representation; the state quota, as distinguished from the locals' quota, is often controlled by the state executive secretary who loads the state delegation with administrators, principals or state central officials. In other states, dele-

gations may elect administrators as Directors because they can afford the time and money required for board meetings. In this way, the elected state director is very often a moderate or a conservative. An examination of the 1968-69 Handbook reveals the following:¹¹⁵

TABLE IV-1

		Percentage of Total
Number of directors	86	
Principals or administrators	36	42.0
State association officials	6	7.0
Classroom Teachers	31	36.0
Others	13	15.0

Thus, the percentage of the classroom teachers in the Board is presently about 36 percent, while of total NEA membership the classroom teachers comprise about 85 percent.

(c) The Board meets but three times a year for two or three days, while the meetings of the Committee have increased in frequency. The Association's business has increased in complexity to the extent that a three-day Board meeting (which the

¹¹⁵NEA Handbook, 1968-69, pp. 11-15.

writer attended in October, 1968) is a nerve-wrecking and exhausting experience. Reports and motions are brought in with alarming rapidity, with little time or energy for intelligent or extensive discussion. Moreover, an explosive issue (this time the union bid to merge) always materializes, consuming valuable energy and time. By the time Sunday afternoon (the third day) comes, many state directors are ready to fly out of the city where the meeting is, and cannot fully pay attention. The net result is that the meetings produce more frustrations than solutions.

(d) The recent Bylaw amendment limiting the Board of Directors membership to three consecutive years of three years, (Bylaw Art. IV, sec. 2) though not intended to do so directly, also saps the Board's powers, since it takes about three to four years to acquaint oneself with the workings of the NEA and the structure of the NEA Central if one spends but three long weekends and a convention week at this task. By the time the member's education is complete, the Bylaws prevent his re-election.¹¹⁶

The grandfather clause built into the limitation to

¹¹⁶It may be noted that critics of Congress who proposed limitations of terms for Congressmen have not been successful.

three terms only, protected very few members; only five directors holding office in 1968-69 were elected before 1960.¹¹⁷

It is the common opinion of most progressive commentators that the Board is a conservative body protecting state interests with too much rigidity; it opposes dues increases, or delays them, for fear of imposing new burdens on state members; it delays action that would put the NEA in an arena of contention and financial involvement, such as civil and teacher rights, and urban organization; it fights for balanced budgets and a mortgagefree headquarters building rather than giving pay increases to staff; it prevaricates on the directions NEA should take on membership economic benefits, not being able to make up its mind whether the loss of NEA status under IRC 501(a)(3) is desirable or not. There was and is in their meetings still, an air of senatorial courtesy which would not let them take stringent action, for example, against segregated southern affiliates.

The Board sustained a serious loss with the removal of Dr. Carr who had tended to sympathize with the Board's position on many issues. Dr. Lambert is closely allied with the Executive Committee and tends to find Board meetings

¹¹⁷NEA Handbook, 1968-69, pp. 11-15.

"difficult."¹¹⁸ It is more than probable that Dr. Carr would not have issued an important Committee statement on the eve of a Board of Directors meeting.

It has been mentioned above that the one critical proposal of the Development Project where the Board was proposed as the electing body for the Executive Committee, failed before the Assembly.¹¹⁹ Failing this proposal, both Board and Committee continued as independently constituted agencies, with the initiative passing to the Committee. Thus, it is incorrect to assume, as the casual observer would, that the Committee proposes and the Board adopts or disposes policy matters.

The Committee's unilateral action as to the union bid pinpoints the Board's waning power; but many illustrations may be found to the effect that even in areas specifically entrusted to the Board by the Bylaws, the Committee and in some cases, the Assembly, has seized the initiative.

To illustrate:

(a) The Bylaws make the Board responsible for the general policies and interests of the Association. However, the body most responsible for the identification of NEA goals and priorities in 1968

¹¹⁸Interview of Dr. Lambert by author, Washington, D. C., October, 1968.

¹¹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 258.

was the Executive Committee, which after several conferences formulated eight priorities.¹²⁰ It was assumed that the Board would approve these without any ado and it did so.¹²¹ The approval came about with a minimum of discussion, with a weak assertion of its right to discuss or modify the matter later (the subject was not brought up again).¹²²

(b) In the matter of Guidelines for Professional Sanctions, a vital issue in the light of state-wide teacher impasses such as in Florida, the Executive Committee passed a motion that the Guidelines be rewritten so that they no longer appear to be a "unilateral statement adopted solely by the NEA Board for NEA guidance," but a consensus of NEA, state and local associations.¹²³ The Board agreed to the rewriting without any discussion.¹²⁴

(c) The Bylaws state specifically that the Board "shall establish policies governing the pub-

¹²⁰On Board initiative in 1962, cf. NEA Proceedings, 1962, pp. 245-247.

¹²¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 370, 366; 317-320.

¹²²Cf. NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 101, when the Board recommended to the Assembly the adoption of eight Guiding Principles.

¹²³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 336.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 282.

lication of...proceedings of the Association."¹²⁵
 In 1968, the Assembly mandated, as an item of new
 business, that the Proceedings include additional
 material.

(d) The Bylaws make the Board specifically
 responsible for the chartering and disciplining of
 locals.¹²⁶ Sanctions guidelines, as seen above,
 have become the business of the Committee. Joint
 chartering by NEA and states of local association,
 a very important issue in the drive towards unifi-
 cation, has become, again, the concern of the Execu-
 tive Committee.¹²⁷ Decisions whether to oppose or
 concur in a certain Bylaws amendment proposing the
 creation of a new class of associates is made, es-
 sentially, in the Committee; the Board "concur."¹²⁸
 Thus, important functions have passed to the Com-
 mittee under Resolution 67-12 affecting this field.

(e) The discontinuance of the Educational Poli-
 cies Commission was decided solely in the Committee,
 despite Bylaws provisions for the Board to play a

¹²⁵Art. IV, sec. 4(f).

¹²⁶Art. IV, sec. 4(f).

¹²⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 331, 283, 320.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 281.

role in the discontinuance of a commission.¹²⁹

(f) In Resolution 67-12, the important resolution on Desegregation in the Public Schools, the Executive Committee was given explicit responsibility for the implementation of this principle. Before that time, up to 1964, the resolutions dealing with integration requested "the officers and directors" of the Association to "plan and initiate action."¹³⁰ In other words, before 1964, the Assembly had looked to the Board for action in this matter. In 1965 and 1966, the Executive Committee was given judicial powers to determine affiliate compliance.¹³¹ Thus, there has been a growing feeling that the Executive Committee was the body to provide the needed action in this field.

C. THE OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Powers

According to the Bylaws the Executive Secretary is an officer as well as an executive officer of the Asso-

¹²⁹The fact that the EPC was started by the Executive Committee seems irrelevant. See NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 326.

¹³⁰Res. 64-12; NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 445.

¹³¹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 414, Res. 65-12; NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 472, Res. 66-12.

ciation.¹³² He is also an ex officio delegate to the Representative Assembly and can obtain the floor to speak on issues. The Executive Secretary is secretary to the Assembly, Board and Executive Committee. According to the Bylaws, he renders his advice and assistance in the preparation of the Budget as the chief administrative officer. He has the mandate to coordinate and supervise not only the administrative and financial, but the professional activities of the Association as well. He is the director of NEA staff and a resource person for committees and commissions. He is the recorder and the reporter for various NEA activities, and also bears the title of Keeper of the Official Seal. All of these powers, positions and titles make him a separate power center in competition with the office of the president and with the governing groups.

Many authors have pointed out the importance in an organization of those who occupy high managerial posts and possess the "know-how" to run organizational machinery effectively. Truman has pointed out how such managers enjoy an advantage over rank and file, and become part of the "activity minority" in control of the group.¹³³

¹³²NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. II, sec. 1 (officer); Art. III, sec. 1 (executive officer). See on powers, duties and rights, Art. III, sec. 8; Art. IV, sec 4(d); Art. VII, sec. 1. Cf. Appendix herein for a complete text of the current Bylaws.

¹³³David Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 126-152.

The NEA secretary's contacts and professional expertise make his position similar to that of the Commission of the European Common Market in relation to the Council of Ministers (cf. NEA Executive Committee), the heads of State (cf. NEA President) and the national Assemblies (cf. NEA^A Board and Assembly.) Looking at the experience of the European group, one sees that it has tended to go along with the Commission's implementations of the Economic treaty under a general guideline. Although the Commission (or its president) could incur Ministerial wrath (as Hallstein incurred the wrath of France), it could operate with impunity so long as its course was cautious and reasonable. The analogy of the Commission to the position of the NEA Secretary is a close one.

Until 1968, the Secretary's appointment and tenure depended on the five-member Board of Trustees who selected him and wrote his contract, including the clause on compensation.¹³⁴ Since the 1968 Bylaw amendment, however, the Secretary is picked by, and must be responsive to, the Executive Committee.

An interesting Bylaw change affecting the secretary, passed in 1957, may be pointed out here. Under the Bylaws operative before then, the Secretary was the keeper of

¹³⁴Since 1964, the Secretary's compensation has been \$50,000 a year, making him one of the highest paid educational administrators in the world.

records of the governing groups, and was charged with conducting the business of the NEA as prescribed in the By-laws. In all matters not so prescribed by bylaws, he was "under the direction of the Board," or when it was not in session, of the Committee, or, in the absence of directions from Board or Committee, of the president.¹³⁵ In 1957, the bylaws were changed to make the secretary the supervisor and coordinator of the administrative, financial and professional activities and the director of staff, as well as the official reporter, for the governing bodies. This may have been to conform prescription to procedure, not to extend Secretarial powers to new areas.

Michels' Postulates

Roberto Michels in his Political Parties,¹³⁶ basing his conclusions mainly on the experience of European socialist parties, but generalizing nevertheless, postulates that,

(a) every solidly constructed organization will become complex, and the more ramified the apparatus, the less efficient becomes the control exercised by the rank and file; (Page 71.)

¹³⁵NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 354; Art. III, sec. 3.

¹³⁶Robert Michels Political Parties (Translated by E. and C. Paul. New York: The Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, 1962). See in this connection, David Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 126-152.

(b) in a complex organization, the duties of the leader are so specialized that they can no longer be visible; (Page 71.)

(c) the leader must possess skill in written, but especially spoken words. He must be a great orator. He must also radiate conviction, and have will-power verging on arrogant self-sufficiency. (Pages 98-100.) It helps if he also has a "goodness of heart and disinterestedness." (Page 100.) It is also very important that he have the prestige of celebrity; (Page 100.)

(d) if the leader has the above qualities, he will become indispensable and have a security of tenure. (Pages 109-110.) Moreover, he will have long tenure since it is impractical to give officers short terms of tenure; (Page 124.)

(e) the majority, is really delighted to have found a caretaker since they cannot take care of themselves. Consequently, a cult of veneration develops for the leader and he receives the gratitude of the masses; (Pages 88-89, 92, 96.)

(f) nominally, however, the leader continues to act subject to the criticism of the rank and file; (Page 71.)

(g) formally at least, the leader must act in unison with the crowd; "he must follow the will of the masses in order to guide them." (Pages 172-73; 96.)

(h) long, secure tenure represents dangers to democracy. The leader will as a rule represent the past rather than the present, and will defend what is already constituted. (Pages 120-122.) He will also require high remuneration; (Page 146.)

(i) the press will remain in the hands of the leaders and will never be controlled by the rank and file; (Page 152.)

(j) the masses revolt from time to time, but their revolts are always suppressed. (Page 170.) That is, if the leaders remain united. (Page 168.) (The implication is that if they are disunited, they will be dismissed, but Michels offers no examples.)

Thus, in summary, who says leadership says autocracy, and who says organization, says oligarchy. Democracy is threatened by oligarchy and autocracy, but never quite dies and continues to obviate the most open forms of tyranny; it continues to act as a yeast in the leaven. (Pages 365, 368, 370.)

It has been a fascinating task to gage the NEA Secretary's office against Michels' contentions for the period

of Dr. William G. Carr's tenure (1952-1967).

The Carr Tenure

Dr. Carr, (in office 1952-67 is an internationally known educator who, at the present time, is secretary general of the international organization servicing teachers (WCOTP).¹³⁷ His articles, books (some for the Educational Policies Commission), speeches, news releases have been numerous, running into the hundreds.¹³⁸ He has a great facility to express an issue in clear, fluent English geared to a mass audience rather than a group of scholars. Yet, as a researcher for the California Teacher Association (in the 1920's) and as a past director of research of the NEA, he is capable of excellent work. His oratorical skills are admired by many, since his fluency of expression, shored up by strong convictions, carry over into his oratory; many remember his speeches at the NEA Assembly.¹³⁹ He has firm convictions about basic issues affecting teachers: unionization, professionalism, professional standards, federal aid to education, separation of church and state. He had

¹³⁷Carr became president of WCOTP in 1970, retiring from the secretaryship.

¹³⁸Carr Bibliography List (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

¹³⁹Interviews with NEA staff members by author, 1968-1969.

basic convictions about the NEA and the secretaryship. He believed in the federal structure of the NEA, the competence of NEA units to do educational research, the need for NEA income through memberships, in the secretary's autonomy to run the NEA staff, and his competence to guide Board and Committee and other non-governing units.

Dr. Carr's self-confidence was immediately evident in an interview with him by the author. Carr pointed out that when he was selected for the secretaryship of the NEA, he was told that he was moving into the "No. 1 educational job in the country."¹⁴⁰ This was to remain his conception of his position. His manner, as interviews and Cabinet minutes show, was to speak to the point; he heard everyone out, then issued a judgmental statement disposing of the issue. In councils of the NEA he expected respectful audiences and little contradiction. Consequently, the Assembly manœuvres opposing his policy on teacher strikes, civil rights and urban affairs surprised him. The "discourtesy" of the Assembly in following rigid parliamentary procedures and at one point denying him the right to speak at the Convention of 1966 has become a cause celebre to him and the NEA staff. The incident still rankles.¹⁴¹ He has

¹⁴⁰Interview of Dr. Carr by author, Washington, D. C., March, 1969.

¹⁴¹NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 217, 225.

also resented the decision of the Executive Committee not to allow him to bring aides to certain Committee meetings.¹⁴² He has shown not one iota of hesitation about his hostility to unions, about his support of general federal aid to education and separation of church and state in the schools. He has been, and is, a very self-assured man who thinks of his opposition as akin to supporters of Sen. Eugene McCarthy who took to the streets after the 1968 Chicago convention.

He has chosen to stand for law and order in a basically orderly country and to make common cause with the United States Government, openly admitting, indeed proud of, the fact that Government and Central Intelligence Agency funds supported the World Conference of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) (through the Vernon Fund). This common cause with the Government has increased his respectability, self-confidence and stability.

Dr. Carr is a hard worker, a man who could keep confidences and make decisions on his own. He is an organizer of the old school, with a fine memory for detail. In spite of the institution of the Secretary's cabinet in 1955, (informal weekly meeting of his department heads),

¹⁴² Interview of G. Fisher, NEA president by the author, Washington, D. C., April, 1969.

his span of control remained too wide.¹⁴³ He continued to supervise NEA internal affairs, the works of committees and commissions, special projects, foundation grants, financial affairs,¹⁴⁴ as well as the work of the Committee and the Board, with only one administrative assistant and three typists. It was 1959 before the post of Deputy Executive Secretary (a staff, not a line position) was created. He helped to maintain most of the NEA's outside relations with the U. S. presidency, with Congress and other national organizations, and was active in international teacher affairs. In so doing, he approximated the style of such world leaders as Churchill and DeGaulle, and differed from that of Eisenhower.

Dr. Carr himself is capable of kindness, courtesy and charm.¹⁴⁵ His will power and self-confidence as secretary were reinforced by a talented wife, a native of Tennessee, who maintained social contacts with NEA officials and staff, and was not afraid to have her own say and her own political convictions. The Board of Trustees approved this stance by making his salary for the final years of his office

¹⁴³"Management Survey of the NEA," (unpubl. MSS, 1957, mimeo., in NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.), Vol. I, Part A, pp. IV-1 to IV-14.

¹⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 331.

¹⁴⁵Interview of various NEA staff members by the author, Washington, D. C., 1968-1969.

\$50,000 per year, making him one of the best paid educational administrators anywhere.

In other words, the stature, the capabilities and attitudes of Dr. Carr conform to Michels' ideal leader, characterized in points c, d, e above, except for his lack of a good group of organizational streamlining.¹⁴⁶

Turning to the security of tenure cited in (d) above, Dr. Carr during his tenure was dependent on a five-member Board of Trustees which had selected him and controlled his tenure and salary.¹⁴⁷

The Trustees were chosen by the Board of Directors, composed of state group representatives who did not necessarily reflect the concerns of local groups or general membership. There was a trend to appoint past presidents of the NEA, men and women who had worked closely with Dr. Carr previous to their selection. This situation evidently made the most important officer of the association remote from Representative Assembly control. The way of putting the case was that the secretary "only had to keep three old men on his side."¹⁴⁸ To substantiate this statement, one may point out that:

¹⁴⁶The status of departments was never cleared up under Dr. Carr; see Ch. III, supra.

¹⁴⁷Dr. Carr's salary from 1964 was \$50,000 a year. Its mentioned above, the Board of Trustees was abolished by the Assembly in 1968.

¹⁴⁸A majority of the five-man Board of Trustees.

(a) In 1950, when Dr. Carr was associate secretary, the Board of Trustees' membership included A. C. Flora (chairman from 1947-61, NEA president in 1943). Dr. Flora had additional contacts with Dr. Carr through his membership on the EPC in the 1950's. Dr. Flora was associated with Dr. Carr throughout the 1950's, and was still there as emeritus in 1963, when Dr. Carr's contract came up for renewal.¹⁴⁹ His presence would influence the Board when it voted the Carr contract.¹⁵⁰

(b) Another Board of Trustees member of long standing, who moved the renewal of the Carr contract in 1964, April, was Andrew D. Holt. Holt had been NEA president in 1950, an ex officio trustee in that year, and was elected to the Trustees for a four year term in 1952. Holt was on the Board when the Carr contract was renewed, and retired in 1965. As a president of the University of Tennessee, he was friendly with Dr. Carr and saw the importance of Carr's work for the Educational Policies Commission.

(c) A third important ally of Dr. Carr, and who still speaks highly of him, was F. L. Schlagle,

¹⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 230.

¹⁵⁰NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 305.

NEA president for 1945 and 1946. Dr. Schlagle was a Carr associate both at the San Francisco Conference and at the Endicott Teacher Conference in 1946.¹⁵¹ He also attended several WOTP¹⁵² conferences. An ex officio Trustee in 1945, he was elected a regular member after the completion of his term, and served until July, 1967 for a total of 22 years, eight of them as chairman.

(d) The Trustees were willing to let Dr. Carr serve beyond the accepted retirement age of 65 when they gave him his fourth contract in 1964 for four years. Dr. Carr turned 65 in 1967, about a year before the end of his contract. In 1927 the NEA established a retirement system and set the retirement age at 65. Dr. Carr's predecessor, Dr. Willard E. Givens, had retired promptly at the age of 65 on August 1, 1952. Dr. Carr himself enforced the retirement age rather strictly, in fact unnecessarily, as in the case of a high NEA official, Dr. Stinnett, who came out with a dynamic and fighting book some years after his early retirement. Consequently, the Trustees were ready to risk political

¹⁵¹Cf. material on Teachers' World Confederation, infra, Ch. VIII.

¹⁵²World Organization of the Teaching Profession later to become WCOIP (World Conference of Organizations of the Teaching Profession).

comment with this move, yet took it.¹⁵³

From 1952-57, Dr. Carr met with little internal opposition. The Board and Committee met but three times a year for long week-ends, and Dr. Carr was in charge of the preparation of the agenda. The classroom teachers were quiescent, partly because of the Korean War situation, and partly because during these years most elementary and secondary teachers were women.¹⁵⁴ The school administrators were busy fending off attacks from conservatives during the Sen. Joseph McCarthy years. The NEA itself was frequently attacked, by such commentators as Fulton Lewis, Roger Freeman and others, and had to hold its ranks together. There was not yet an intensification of the AFT to unionize teachers; this started only around 1960.¹⁵⁵

In addition, President Eisenhower had been a member of the EPC, and maintained friendly relations with the NEA. Dr. Carr, despite a growing irritation over Eisenhower's weak support for federal aid to schools, was often consulted. Arthur Flemming, Eisenhower's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare maintained a close liaison with the NEA. The NEA had a large part in the organization of the 1955 White House Conference on Education and participated exten-

¹⁵³Eventually, the step contributed to their own demise under the 1968 Resolution of the Representative Assembly. NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 88, 258, Resolution 1968-28.

¹⁵⁴Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 34-39.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 25-27.

sively;¹⁵⁶ sending at least 40 delegates officially connected with the NEA. The publicity given to NEA's position at the Conference was reinforced by the publicity issued in ever increasing volume for the 1957 NEA Centennial. For this event, preparations were being made on local, state and national levels. The celebration itself was an extensive and prestigious event which earned Dr. Carr the respect and gratitude of the membership. This gratitude was increased by a very successful drive for life memberships in the 1950's; the drive was largely responsible for NEA's decision to build an imposing headquarters building on a Washington, D. C. street ten minutes' walking time from, and allowing a view of, the White House. The headquarters building was opened in time for the 1957 Centennial celebrations. A relatively small mortgage was soon paid off (possibly at the cost of foregoing staff salary increases).

The more point (i) may be referred to here. Michels had stated that the leader will tend to control the press. This was certainly the case of Dr. Carr who went so far as to allow the use of only certain bulletin boards in the Central building and the mailing of organizational news to a selected 10 percent of leadership and membership. Dissemination of information was also made an issue by the activists pushing for increased welfare programs. ACT (Associa-

¹⁵⁶Cf. Ch. VII herein for details of both Legislation and the White House Conference.

tion of Classroom Teachers) President Turner started a campaign as early as 1958-59 for an expansion of organizational news reports. He pushed the idea further when he became NEA President in 1962. At the Board of Directors meeting of June 26, 1961, Turner moved that the NEA News, then distributed to a selected 100,000 NEA leaders and key members, be given to a wider distribution and that \$110,000 be added to the 1961 budget for this item; the motion was lost.¹⁵⁷

At this juncture, the mistakes of this remarkable man, and the political consequences thereof, will be analyzed. The discussion will center on points (f), (g), (h) and (j) above. Contrary to Michels' pessimism, NEA "masses" (i.e. the classroom teachers) did rise, organize and did score substantial and permanent gains.

The discussion of Dr. Carr's political battles must begin with the remark that the European situation analyzed by Michels in his study does not fully obtain. Here, democratic tendencies have been nurtured for a long time. Moreover, the "masses" spoken of in the context of the NEA, although often apathetic, are well educated teachers; they are persons who know what "problem-solving" is and can plan an intelligent course of action.

¹⁵⁷NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 235; cf. Ibid., pp. 259, 355, 359; 141, 194.

It must also be pointed out again that in the late 1950's the type of person entering and remaining in the teaching profession changed.¹⁵⁸ This changed atmosphere has been well described by Stinnett.¹⁵⁹ The profession was becoming more aware of economic injustice and the economic neglect of teachers. In addition, the level of preparation continued to rise.¹⁶⁰ This meant that more and more better educated, better paid, younger men were entering the teacher ranks. Not only were the younger, aggressive teachers looking for advancement and benefits for themselves, but they were also ready to share the nation's goods with mem-

¹⁵⁸This was due partly to the Sputnik scare and to the NDEA, as well as to the increasing prosperity after the Korean War.

¹⁵⁹Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 31-39. Stinnett points out that recently teaching has become a man's job also, in contrast to the past. In 1955-56, some 26 percent of the public-school teaching force was male; now, according to latest figures issued by the NEA Research Division, 14.7 percent of the elementary school classroom teachers and 53.5 percent of the secondary school classroom teachers are men, for a combined average of 31.9 percent. Moreover, the median age of teachers in public schools has decreased from 42.9 in 1955-56 to 39.9 in 1963-64. The percent of graduates of teacher colleges who enter classrooms immediately following graduation has also increased (in high school, from 55.7 percent in 1954 to 66.0 percent in 1965). In 1958-59, almost 50 percent of classroom teacher salaries were below \$4,500 per annum; the comparable percentage in 1962-63 was 22.0 percent and in 1968-69 it is only 1.1 percent; in the latter year, 50 percent of teachers will receive over \$7,500 per annum. NEA Research Division, Estimates of School Statistics, 1968-69, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶⁰ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 35.

bers of minority groups, such as Negroes and Catholics. (Thus, they supported the civil rights movement and were not dogmatically opposed to some sort of aid to parochial school children.)

In the light of the above, Dr. Carr made a number of moves which revealed a political inadequacy and stubbornness in the NEA head. According to Michels' position (point f), the leader must follow in order to lead. In a number of respects, Dr. Carr was unwilling to temporize, compromise or take ambiguous stands; his ideological position was firm. The opposition was, moreover, handed a ready-made weapon by Dr. Carr himself, who while forcing into retirement a colorful NEA executive (Dr. Stinnett) when the latter reached the age of 65, broke a long-standing tradition and policy by accepting a four-year contract in 1964 to terminate when he was 68.¹⁶¹

Dr. Carr's opposition began to mobilize against him during the early years of the Expanded Program (1957 on) when he was unwilling or unable to deliver on two key issues: (a) membership benefits and (b) civil rights. These issues continued to harass both the NEA and the Secretary. This latter issue

¹⁶¹Dr. Carr relinquished office August 1, 1967, a year ahead of the contract termination. NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 282.

did much to impair his standing--the leader must comply, at least outwardly, with the laws of the organization.

The civil rights cause within the NEA is described elsewhere.¹⁶² Briefly summarized, the NEA had, for a long time, been an organization based on rural, more than urban school districts in which the southern states provided some 40 percent of membership. The dilemma of colored teachers was resolved by setting up dual associations--white and black--in 1952. The colored associations received little help from the NEA, however; most received a routine allocation of some \$2,000 per year for conferences. Most of the NEA's energy went into projects that affected the white teacher most, and did not in fact help the Negro teacher (raising teacher certification standards, for example). Inside the staff, the first Negro staff member of any decision-making stature was not hired until the 1960's.¹⁶³ In 1959, the Board of Directors made the resolution that "the staff be instructed to prepare a careful review of all available studies of educational problems involved in integration."¹⁶⁴ The question may be asked why such studies had not been made

¹⁶²See also section on Executive Committee in this chapter.

¹⁶³Catholics were also excluded from leadership positions before 1960, because of their possible stand on private schools.

¹⁶⁴NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 195.

before; Brown vs. Board of Education was decided in 1954. Further, the Secretary delighted at the approval of a weak resolution sponsored by the Resolutions Committee, which did not commit the NEA directly but said integration was the concern of every state in the Union, appealing for a sense of fair play and good will in the solution of this matter.¹⁶⁵ The Secretary's given pledges that the Association would accept no shadow of discrimination among its membership did not stand on firm ground; in 1965 the Assembly had to mandate that the dual associations submit plans to merge.

The Secretary's prevarication on this issue can be understood; the potential financial drain, legal and staff involvement, the loss of southern membership were threatening. In fact, Louisiana had declared the NEA to be a subversive organization even on the basis of its weak integration resolutions. Yet, not even the sympathies of the association were furnished by the Secretary; this lack of even token gestures marked the Secretary as a man not in touch with the spirit of the times. Since Dr. Carr's departure, a Center for Human Relations has been set up, a Negro assistant executive secretary appointed, and extensive DuShane Fund assistance has been extended to the south; the 1969 Assembly as a matter of course, with full concur-

¹⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 186, 204.

rence of staff, resisted President Nixon's tentative move to slow the integration of southern schools.¹⁶⁶

On the issue of teacher welfare, the Secretary again prevaricated for fear of offending NEA states groups that had their own insurance programs and opposed NEA's entry into the group life insurance field and the various annuity programs. The fight to obtain NEA involvement in this field has been detailed elsewhere.¹⁶⁷ Again, the Secretary did not concentrate his full attention or efforts on this problem so important to teachers, a problem that would have won him praise and caused little political embarrassment had other incentives been offered to the five or six state groups with the greatest stakes in this issue. Moreover, the Secretary was unwilling to give voice to those classroom teachers who wanted to push this issue; his hand had to be forced by Assembly resolutions to open up more space for classroom teacher representation. The appointment of Dr. Cecil Hannan to push welfare programs came too late and looked like an admission of weakness rather than a progressive gesture.

In the matter of welfare again, this time concerning NEA headquarters staff, Dr. Carr again took a politically unwise step in refusing to allow lower and intermed-

¹⁶⁶NEA Proceedings, 1969 (forthcoming).

¹⁶⁷See Chapter VI herein on Membership Benefits.

iate echelon staff members to bargain as a unit. Bargaining agencies he regarded as completely out of line; and preferred individualistic negotiations with a laissez faire viewpoint. This rigid adherence to old philosophies was unrealistic not only because it went against contemporary trends but because the NEA was paying its employees much less than the comparable Federal Government rates. This situation brought on a deterioration of NEA services in Central. No longer was the Association a do-it-yourself, idealistic organization as in the days of old. As Michels has pointed out, idealism cannot be maintained for long or expected from people of lesser motivation. The NEA Staff Organization--NEASO--was forced to bypass Dr. Carr in its bid to negotiate, and to go to the Executive Committee over his head. Dr. Carr was angry when the Committee, in an executive session, insisted in taking over jurisdiction of this "internal management" issue.¹⁶⁸ It was partly due to this incident that Dr. Carr made known his decision in 1966 to retire prematurely.¹⁶⁹ To the last, he and his deputy, Dr. Ashby, argued that negotiation agreements with staff were not feasible and were against NEA philosophy.¹⁷⁰ A

¹⁶⁸NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 297, 320-321, February 11, 1966.

¹⁶⁹Interview of NEA President George Fisher by the author, Washington, D. C., April 1969.

¹⁷⁰NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 333-335.

contract was finally signed with the staff bargaining team in May, 1967; a new five year contract, with liberal provisions, was signed by the parties again, in the spring of 1969.

Dr. Carr's position in the 1960's was also weakened by a conflict with the Kennedy administration over federal aid to education. The adverse reaction to this conflict may have lessened Dr. Carr's hold over and usefulness to the NEA. The NEA had traditionally taken the position that federal aid to education should reach public schools only.¹⁷¹ Ignoring the new trends in public opinion, it opposed President Kennedy's proposed aid to higher education in 1962 since this would have given indirect benefits to private and church supported schools.¹⁷² As a result of a celebrated and memorable Carr telegram sent to every member of the House-Senate Conference Committee on September 18, 1962 (after both houses had passed an aid to higher education bill), the Congress failed to give aid to higher education in 1962. Consequently, the low level of support that the NEA enjoyed in higher education circles around the USA diminished even further. The American Council of Learned

¹⁷¹Reaffirmed specifically in 1962, including a section on NEA's opposition to federal aid to private institutions of higher learning. NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392.

¹⁷²This issue will be discussed in Chapter VII, NEA Influence, infra.

Societies administered an open, public rebuke. Many NEA members questioned the wisdom and necessity of this opposition. The Kennedy administration was quietly furious at NEA.

Dr. Carr's defense that he was but carrying out the wishes of the 1962 Assembly did not make up for the adverse reaction NEA received from higher education, sections of membership and from the Kennedy administration. Perhaps a Machiavellian policy is not out of line when the masses have committed themselves to a potentially embarrassing position-- indeed, this was one time when the membership would have wished for, and appreciated adroit leadership. It appears that Dr. Carr's personal feelings entered the picture also, preventing more flexibility on the issue. Alarmed by the reaction to NEA's policy which was more bitter than anticipated, Dr. Carr quoted to his Cabinet Cardinal Newman's text about the ideal university looking to a combination of the secular and religious elements. He then warned that this was the aim of American Catholic institutions also. The passage from Newman, however, did not necessarily apply to American life in the second half of the twentieth century.

Dr. Carr's position dashed hopes that the Democratic administration would be more able than the Eisenhower administration to enact school construction and salary aid bills to public schools. No important educational bill

passed Congress during the Kennedy administration. Moreover, the action of Dr. Carr imperiled the traditionally close and good relations that had existed between the NEA and the U.S. Office of Education. Pent-up frustration of the Office of Education burst into the open in the criticism levelled at NEA by Sterling McMurrin, who resigned after the failure of the higher education bill.

Dr. McMurrin accused the NEA of a "conspiracy" to control American education.¹⁷³ Dr. Carr retorted that this ex-Commissioner had less knowledge of the NEA than any of his predecessors. Leaving the verbiage aside, the relevant point is that Dr. Carr did not relish the reaction to the NEA position which contributed to the demise of the higher education bill. Although not fully aware of the extent to which higher education controlled the educational coverage of the serious national dailies, Dr. Carr was certainly alarmed at the loss of the good-will of the Office of Education and of the White House and hastened to woo the next Commissioner, Harold Howe II. However, at the 1965 White House Conference on Education the NEA was given no role in planning; and although at the signing of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act President Johnson offered Dr. Carr one of the presidential pens, this was more a plea for cooperation than a reward for working for the Education Act.

¹⁷³See Chapter VII herein on NEA Influence for details.

The general picture that emerges then, is that Dr. Carr appeared to follow "mass sentiment"--as exemplified in the Assembly--either too little (civil rights, membership welfare, representative role of the Classroom Teachers) or too much (federal aid). Thus, the average member did not feel that he was adequately led; he was either impeded or pushed. Consequently, he did not feel grateful, and Dr. Carr's claim to special treatment (in connection with his retirement) lessened his appreciation. Leaders from the ranks of the classroom teachers group (ACT) arose to oppose him; one may point especially to the "young Turk" triumvirate of Batchelder, Alonso and Fisher, all NEA presidents, all talented in various ways, all alienated from Dr. Carr philosophically and on personality grounds.

Because of the difference in the pulse of the leader and the led, Dr. Carr's self-confidence and idealism and convictions were misconstrued into something else--autocratic, almost aristocratic aloofness. The discord that finally developed, that eroded in him the good feelings of many useful years of service to the NEA, may be summarized in the epigram that is often said and echoed in the halls of the NEA; "Dr. Lambert is Sam, but Dr. Carr was always called Dr. Carr."

The Lambert Secretaryship

Dr. Lambert, a blunt, somewhat terse West Virginian, former mathematics teacher, past Director of NEA research, and assistant executive secretary for Information Services, has worked hard to achieve the goals he advocated to the 1966-68 Development Project for NEA: the streamlining of the organization, the satisfaction of the militant younger teacher who wants more status and economic security, and the relevance of NEA research for today's situations. Perhaps because in 1968 he still had a daughter of high school age, he was less isolated from the new directions in social climate than the much older Dr. Carr. Perhaps because he had neither the international experience, the writing ability and the oratorical delivery of Dr. Carr he was drawn closer to the political pulse of the association and the power plays occurring within it. A few weeks after taking office, he agreed with the powerful Executive Committee, bouyed by the resignation of Dr. Carr, to clear as much as possible the deadwood blocking NEA's path to nationwide influence and legislative success, hoping to pull the rug from the rival teachers union in the process.

Actions Taken

At the famed Stone Mountain (Georgia) conference in August of 1967, the compact between Secretary and Committee

was made, signalling the end of the rivalry and bitterness between elected and appointive leaders, and creating a new sense of unity and purpose.¹⁷⁴ The Committee was granted rights it had wanted from Dr. Carr: the right to control its own agenda, to discuss new items, to meet often, and to exercise internal and financial supervision of the NEA. The President, as a member of the Committee, was supported in his demands by the Committee, and was given more independence in the scheduling of his time.¹⁷⁵ He was given more secretarial help and the half-time of an administrative assistant, so that one can now speak of the "office of the president." Furthermore, it was agreed that Assembly resolutions would be promptly and vigorously executed.

In return, one may surmise that the Committee decided to go along with the abolition of the Educational Policies Commission, whose close ties to Dr. Carr, and employment of a rival candidate for the secretaryship, (Dr. James Russell, son of a president of Columbia Teachers College), threatened Dr. Lambert's authority. In November, 1967 it was decided that EPC would be promptly abolished, with practically no notice to the EPC at all.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 342-343.

¹⁷⁵The secretary's office no longer controlled the president's itinerary as in Dr. Carr's time.

¹⁷⁶See Chapter VII on NEA Influence, infra.

The Stone Mountain conference assured that the NEA would work actively to remove discrimination in its ranks--both among staff and membership. Green light was given to the Executive Committee's Compliance Committee to push the mergers of separate southern state associations, using the threat of expulsion for non-compliance. Membership was given more direct economic benefits in the form of life insurance policies, auto-leasing programs and plans for a teacher credit card.

Internally, Dr. Lambert proved a good administrator by reducing his span of control. (a) He created, in July, 1968, two associate secretaryships, one in charge of field operations and the other in charge of Central services.¹⁷⁷ The appointments were politically balanced. One went to the popular, dynamic and young Dr. Cecil Hannan of the State of Washington who was well-known and respected in the field services area. The charge of internal services was given to Dr. Allan West of Utah, who had been a rather moderate executive secretary of Utah State before being called upon to head the 1960 Urban Project under Dr. Carr. (b) Dr. Lambert favored a NEA decision allowing departments to make up their minds, once and for all, whether they wanted to maintain close, semi-independent or loose administrative

¹⁷⁷NEA Handbook, 1968-69, pp. 28, 29.

ties with the NEA.¹⁷⁸ The issue had been a thorn in the side of the NEA for decades, with mutual recriminations--especially frequent between the NEA and the powerful administrators' groups (AASA). (c) Dr. Lambert, with the support of Committee and Board, took all necessary steps to acquire new buildings in order to move some units and departments to regional offices or out of the Central NEA building in the Capital. (d) Dr. Lambert also took all the necessary steps to ensure smooth operations if the Internal Revenue Service withdrew the grant of educational corporation status from the NEA.¹⁷⁹ (e) Dr. Lambert proved a hard bargainer with staff, not yielding hurriedly to staff demands, pleading lack of money due to membership losses, and finally getting staff to accept in 1969 the salary recommendations of the management consulting firm of Cresap, the same firm that had done the Management Survey of 1957.

At the same time, Dr. Lambert wished to assure consolidated power for himself. Dr. Cecil Hannan, younger than he, popular and dynamic, a great orator and a charismatic personality, was a political threat to the Secretary. It is surmised that Dr. Hannan may have been one of the three finalists--along with Dr. Russell of the EPC--selected

¹⁷⁸Discussed in full in Chapter III herein.

¹⁷⁹Those not in frequent contact with the public. See Chapter VI herein on Membership Benefits; also, "National Foundation for the Improvement of Education," Today's Education, Vol. 59 (November 1970), pp. 24-25.

by the Trustees for the secretaryship in early 1967. Dr. Lambert used the demands of the staff organization, NEASO, to his own ends. After calling a mass meeting of employees in March, 1968 to explain why the salary demands could not be granted, he took care to emphasize that membership--the domain of Dr. Hannan--had dropped off dangerously during the year, creating an acute financial crisis. The latter barb implied that Dr. Hannan's credit card schemes and pilot auto-leasing programs had been draining off too much money from the NEA. Ignored was the Budget Committee prognosis that dues raises effective in September, 1968 would cause a seven percent loss in members usual after each dues increase.¹⁸⁰ Dr. Hannan followed Dr. Lambert to the podium in a somewhat agitated manner. After going through state statistics in a whirl-wind fashion, conceding that statistically membership was lagging, he stated that the problem of membership was not insurmountable. The new computers of the Membership Division were not working properly and were registering figures a month behind time; there were still two months to the end of the membership year (to May 31, 1969), and membership drives were being mounted throughout the country. Dr. Hannan personally assumed responsibility for California, where membership in 1968-69 was

¹⁸⁰NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 467.

lagging some 40,000 behind 1967-68. However, he was clearly on the defensive.

Dr. Lambert further announced that Hannan was taking advantage of his authority--customarily given to the Secretary by Budget Committee, Board and Assembly--to decrease monies for budget items by 10 percent if necessary by increased spending on membership benefits. Soon thereafter, however, the formation of a new unit to provide more services for administrators was announced. All this seemed too much for Dr. Hannan; this step meant a loss of face for him as well as financial cutbacks in his own programs. Soon thereafter his resignation was announced. Dr. Lambert was in no hurry to fill the Hannan post, indeed elevated one of the subordinate offices under Dr. Hannan to an assistant executive secretaryship.¹⁸¹

Power Problems

In the creation of a new service division for administrators, Dr. Lambert astutely attacked two problems again; one, the Hannan rivalry, and the other, the administrators' discontent. The latter group was disturbed by a member of the "young Turk" group, George Fisher, by then president of the NEA. In an interview published in an Omaha,

¹⁸¹The appointee was Gary Watts, Field Services, in June, 1969. The other associate secretary, Dr. West, has since been promoted to deputy executive secretary and the two associate secretaryships have not been filled.

Nebraska, paper, he flatly declared he did not care about the administrators and that the NEA did not care about them. The reaction of the administrators at their customary February Conference was a furious one.¹⁸² Dr. Lambert had to go out of his way specifically to assure the AASA that the NEA intended to remain an umbrella organization. The Board of Directors, at their February meeting, allegedly entertained a motion calling on George Fisher to resign. The action and speech of Dr. Lambert, in turn, angered George Fisher, who ventured the view to this writer in private that the power of the Secretary ought to be clipped.

In sum, Dr. Lambert's chief problem--and a dangerous one according to the Michels hypothesis--was, and is, dissension among elected and appointed leadership, a rift he had hoped to cure by the Stone Mountain Conference. Since that time, he has removed one rival, the consequences of which remain to be seen, and he had had altercations with an incumbent critical NEA president who would be in office--due to unusual circumstances--until July, 1970.¹⁸³ Thus, the classroom teachers group (ACT) was not too pleased by Dr. Lambert; he had attacked their man, President George

¹⁸²Sam M. Lambert, "NEA-AASA Relationship" (AASA Convention, February 17, 1969, mimeographed).

¹⁸³Fisher's predecessor, Mrs. L. Koontz, resigned prematurely to accept a Nixon appointment as head of the Women's Bureau.

Fisher, and had removed a staunch ally, Dr. Hannan, from his position in power.

The situation is unclear, however. The ACT scored a major victory with the Assembly approval of a NEA Constitutional convention, to be held in 1972. At that time, the powers of the governing bodies and urban representation and civil rights could be discussed and restructured again. Then on one hand, the president-elect for 1970-71 was a moderate lady from Tennessee, Mrs. Helen Bain; yet the leading president-elect candidate for 1971-72 was a progressive, Donald Wilson of California, friend of triumvirate member and California official, Richard Batchelder.

Another event which may turn to Dr. Lambert's advantage is the resignation of Dr. Lyle Ashby, a veteran of 40 years service with the NEA, at the end of 1969. Dr. Ashby was succeeded by Dr. West, one of the associate executive secretaries selected in the 1968 reorganization of structure. Dr. West's elevation and Hannan's resignation left two associate secretaryships vacant, to be filled by Dr. Lambert.

On the whole, Dr. Lambert has maintained his position well during the two years of secretaryship. Provided that no nucleus of opposition forms around George Fisher among the sympathizers of Dr. Hannan, he will probably be able to continue his "balancing act." Hannan may, according to recent indications, prefer to remain quiescent in

order not to tear the NEA apart. Nor does George Fisher want to promote dissention. Dr. Lambert's moves, then, may have consolidated his position, and may have left him free to proceed with the modernization and the streamlining of the NEA, making its impact more effective.

However, the main test of Dr. Lambert's influence and skill as a politician-leader may well be the preparation and conduct of the coming NEA Constitutional Convention of 1972.

D. THE PRESIDENCY

The president of the association is both an officer and an executive officer of the association.¹⁸⁴ He is elected by the Assembly at the annual Convention.¹⁸⁵ The term of the president and of the vice-president is one year running from Convention to Convention.¹⁸⁶ Since 1922, male and female presidents have alternated in the office.

Succession

Before the Centennial Convention of 1957, the NEA had in addition to the president, a first vice-president

¹⁸⁴NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. II, sec. 1, Art. III, sec. 1.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., Art. VII, sec. 3.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., Art. III, sec. 3.

(often the president whose term had just ended) and 11 vice-presidents. Occasionally, but not usually, the president would be elected from the ranks of the first vice-presidents or vice-presidents. In 1957, the office of the presidency was changed by the elimination of all but the presidency and one vice-president who at the same time was president-elect and would succeed automatically upon the expiration of the president's term at the conclusion of the annual Convention.¹⁸⁷ This Bylaw change became operative on July 1, 1958.

The vice-president assumes office when there is a vacancy in the office of the president. The first such succession, when a vacancy occurred apart from the convention when the Assembly would be in charge of the situation, took place in February, 1969.¹⁸⁸ President Libby Koontz had been appointed by President Nixon to head the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, and president-elect Fisher succeeded her.

In case the vice-president had been ill, incapacitated or dead at the time of the Koontz appointment and resignation, the NEA would have faced a constitutional ques-

¹⁸⁷ NEA Bylaws, 1957, Art. II, sec. 1, Art. III, secs. 1, 5; NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 150-155.

¹⁸⁸ President Cooley offered to resign due to illness in March, 1908, but his offer was rejected by the Executive Committee.

tion similar to that resolved by Amendment XXV of the United States Constitution. There are no similar provisions in the NEA Bylaws, a matter that may receive future consideration. Presumably in such a case there would be an emergency meeting of the Board of Directors which would set guidelines for the Executive Committee until the next NEA convention; the Executive Committee would exercise the president's appointive powers on a temporary basis. If the problem of succession did not become pressing until the convention, the Assembly would assume jurisdiction over the problem and would, under the guidance of a chairman pro tempore, elect a new president and president-elect. This procedure as well as the position of the chairman pro tempore is provided for by the Bylaws.¹⁸⁹ Although this is not spelled out in the Bylaws, the chairman pro tempore would probably be the immediate past president. There is historical precedent for this: in 1908, the first vice-president who was at the same time an immediate past president, chaired the 1908 Convention in the absence of the elected president.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. III, secs. 1, 5.

¹⁹⁰The ill president was Edwin G. Cooley, who offered his resignation in March 31, 1908, which was rejected by the Executive Committee. Past President Nathan C. Schaeffer chaired the 1908 Cleveland Convention. NEA Proceedings, 1907, 1908.

Powers

The most important powers of the president are his chairmanship of the Committee, the Board and the Representative Assembly and his appointive powers. He participates in permanent committees officially or ex officio.¹⁹¹ In recent times, he has usually been a member of the Executive Committee before his election as president (Presidents Batchelder, Alonso, Fisher, Bain, Morrison) and has, until the abolition of that body, usually been elected to the Board of Trustees upon the completion of the presidency. Miss Kline, Mrs. Edinger, Messrs. Schlagle, Eschelman, Buford, Ginger were so elected.¹⁹²

Rising Influence of the Presidency

During most of the Carr administration, there was no effective office of the presidency. The president had no administrative assistant; his typing was done by the Secretary's staff. His schedule and itinerary were prepared by the Secretary and he was usually sent on long journeys to spread the NEA message. He conducted Committee and Board meetings according to the agenda drawn up by the Secretary

¹⁹¹Pres. Fisher secured his election to the presidency partly by promises to make certain appointments. NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. III, sec. 4.

¹⁹²Messrs. Turner, Batchelder and Alonso were not so elected due to either unwillingness to take the post or a reluctance by the Board to elect them because of their militancy.

and drew upon the latter's experience to prepare and manage the convention. At times, he did not take a leave of absence from his regular job and commuted to Washington when the need arose.¹⁹³ In other words, his position, like that of the treasurer, did not seem to be that of an "executive officer" but more of a ministerial or public relations nature. The Secretary or his department heads testified before Congress, maintained liaison with the White House, and gave counsel whenever exigencies demanded that the president make a public statement of importance.¹⁹⁴

However, a change of climate developed in the wake of the NEA defeat in New York City in 1961, December. A progressive, Ewald Turner of Oregon, took office as president at the NEA Convention in 1962, and during 1962-63 year partly succeeded in lifting the veil of secrecy from NEA operations by putting an item in the budget providing for the mailing of NEA News to many more members.¹⁹⁵ His vigorous stand on this issue was supported by the classroom teacher group (ACT) and president Batchelder to the extent

¹⁹³See, for example, from a speech of 1958-59 President Ruth Stout: "...on one of my brief stays in Washington...", 1959 Proceedings, p. 34.

¹⁹⁴Joint statement in Utah by NEA Secretary and President, NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 21.

¹⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1962, pp. 259, 355.

of suggesting the amalgamation of NEA News with the ACT newsletter, an idea successfully opposed by the Secretary and the Trustees.¹⁹⁶

From this time on the presidency became an increasingly political and active office, and "young Turk" presidents Wyatt, Batchelder, Alonso, Applegate, Fisher, and Koontz are leaders as well as representatives and salesmen for the NEA. This resurgence in the office was fostered to a great part by a resurgence of the policy role of the Assembly.

During the presidency of Richard Batchelder (1965-66), the president spearheaded a movement to take control of the Executive Committee's agenda and schedule from the Secretary.

During the chairmanship of Mrs. Applegate (1966-67) the president took the initiative (with Executive Committee support) in the area of integration and other policy questions, and made, for the first time a comprehensive review of Assembly resolutions a program item in the Executive Committee.¹⁹⁷ Thus she moved to exploit the connections of the Executive Committee and the President with their basis of support, the Assembly.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁹⁷Interview of Dr. Carr by the author, Washington, D. C., March, 1969.

¹⁹⁸The review was geared to policy application.

Furthermore, the hand of the president in dealing with NEA organization was strengthened greatly by the 1965 Assembly resolution calling for majority classroom teacher representation on NEA commissions and committees, and by a Bylaws resolution providing that of Executive Committee members elected by Board and Assembly, at least one-half must be classroom teachers.¹⁹⁹ Since the presidency in the past years had been predominantly a domain of the classroom teachers, the president was now assured of heavy classroom teacher support in the Executive Committee.²⁰⁰

The president became a leader in the Committee, and scored jurisdictional victories against the Secretary and Board of Directors.²⁰¹ The political strength of the president, if he could carry the Executive Committee with him, was now assured. Moreover, he had gained Committee approval of his status as official Committee spokesman.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 394, Res. 65-22, p.

²⁰⁰On the Committee, the president, vice-president, immediate past president, one member elected by the Board and two members elected by the Assembly would be classroom teachers for a total of 5/11, or, since 1968, 5/10 members. ACT presidents who became NEA presidents since 1960 include Turner, Batchelder, Alonso, Koontz, Fisher, Morrison.

²⁰¹See, e.g. NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 313, re Committee meetings; Ibid., pp. 322-323 on study of president's role.

The political independence of the president's office was given the seal of approval by the income Secretary Lambert during the Stone Mountain, Georgia conference in August, 1968.²⁰³ The president-elect (G. Fisher) declared his intention to stay in Washington and leave field chores to others.²⁰⁴

All signs indicated in 1967 August that the Secretary had taken the position of headquarters staff director and management expert, rather than NEA spokesman and program director, as in the past; and that the limelight will be left, as far as practicable, to the NEA president. Dr. Lambert has found this position somewhat chafing, however. At the time of the Board criticism of the Committee's unilateral action on the union merger bid, Dr. Lambert complained that the president's tolerance of criticism was too great. Recently, the statements of NEA President George Fisher, who assumed the presidency February, 1969, have caused a serious rift between Secretary and Presidency.

²⁰³See section on Lambert secretaryship (this chapter).

²⁰⁴Especially since the 1968 Assembly voted him a salary at least equal to his pay as a teacher. NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 553, 244-245; expenses and first-class travel, NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 306; renting apartment for president next to NEA headquarters, NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 327.

The President's views in the Omaha, Nebraska, World Herald²⁰⁵ have become famous in the NEA organizational annals. The newspaper quoted incoming President Fisher as saying that he wanted the NEA presidency to become the most prestigious and powerful office in any national organization; the NEA must be more militant, and flex its muscles more. He said he did not care about administrators and superintendents; to him the teacher was the key person. If the administrators were real leaders in education, he continued, the NEA's efforts would not be necessary now. At their February convention, the administrators' group (AASA) was aroused and angry to the extent that Fisher had to be replaced by Lambert as a speaker at the annual AASA Convention. Lambert reaffirmed equivocally that the NEA would continue as an umbrella organization and would not force the AASA from the NEA.²⁰⁶ In turn, the AASA agreed to maintain connections with the NEA.²⁰⁷

Another test of the president's new status and powers will come in connection with the NEA Constitutional

²⁰⁵January 22, 1969, pp. 4, 17.

²⁰⁶S. Lambert, "NEA-AASA Relationship" (Address before AASA Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 17, 1969; mimeographed).

²⁰⁷Arnold W. Salisbury (Address before AASA Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 16, 1969; mimeographed).

Convention ("Con-Con") scheduled for 1972. The organization and actions of the Convention will have considerable effect on the distribution of formal and informal powers and influence in the NEA in the 1970's.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with four of the governing structures of the Association. The Executive Committee, the Board of Directors, the office of the Executive Secretary and the NEA presidency.

The members of these bodies or the holders of these offices derive their mandates from differing electorates, and have different functions. The role of the executive secretary may be regarded as a maintenance function in the terminology of Katz and Kahn, while the roles of Board, Committee and president may be termed managerial or policy functions.²⁰⁸

In terms of electorates, the Committee's members and the president are chosen mainly by the Representative Assembly, at-large, the Board of Directors by the state delegations at the annual convention, and the secretary, until recently, by a Board of Trustees elected by the Board of Directors.

²⁰⁸D. Katz and R. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. 84-96.

Consequently, there were divergences of function and in mandate among the four offices or bodies considered in this chapter. This situation brought on serious differences between elected leadership chosen by the general membership (president, Committee), the selected leadership drawn from state delegations to the convention (Board of Directors) and the appointed leadership (executive secretary).

The splits among these structures prevented the formation of an "iron" oligarchy entrenched in power; instead, they brought on an internal conflict in which the general membership and their elected leaders seem victorious. To some extent, infighting could have been avoided if the respective actors had not neglected or exceeded their maintenance and managerial roles. To a great extent, the fight has been over confining the secretary and Board to maintenance and allowing the president and Committee a managerial role.

The results of the political infighting between the four structures considered have resulted in the following situation by 1970:

(a) The secretaryship which had controlled most of the maintenance and managerial functions in the 1950's due to (1) his control of the agenda of the other structures, (2) his expertise and the availability of staff, (3) through the visibility of the office and the eminence

of the incumbent, (4) the acquiescence of the other structures and the Representative Assembly, and finally (5) security of tenure, lost power in the 1960's by losing control of (1) governance structure agenda, 2) of the Representative Assembly 3) of the individual determination of staff salaries and 4) of his security in office.

(b) As a result of the above, the Committee and president gained more independence, visibility, status and power. The Committee increased its policy-making and policy application roles in the fields of financing, supervision of NEA's organizational structure, and sanctions (both external and internal). The presidency has become more political, more important and has been filled in the past decade by militant classroom teachers (Turner, Batchelder, Alonso, Loontz, Fisher, Bain). The office now pays a full-time salary, and has fringe benefits attached. The presidents are now recognized as spokesmen of the NEA, a situation that did not prevail in the 1950's.

(c) The Board has slipped from its former eminence in the policy-making role to something akin to an upper chamber of a legislature exercising a veto power over Executive Committee proposals. Its control has passed from conservative, administrators or staff members of affiliates to classroom teachers and the Executive Committee (who are Board members ex officio). This controlling group has been content to let the Board's influence decline.

In conclusion, the structures based on general membership have recaptured their logical place in the organization as managerial bodies. The appointive office of the Executive Secretary has been curtailed (with some cooperation by the present incumbent) and has been made more responsive to the Assembly and Committee. The resignation of Dr. Carr has capped a move to make the office more restricted, but are its operations more visible and institutionalized. The Committee is now the chief policy initiator as well as the chief body to apply policies formulated by the Assembly. The President has become a visible leader and the customary spokesman for the NEA.

CHAPTER V

THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCTION

NEA's Assembly was created in 1920 when Congress approved a change in the NEA's charter. The measure was necessitated by the unwieldiness of open membership meetings, but many classroom teachers saw it as a device for the domination of state associations, controlled by supervisory personnel. This in fact occurred, since local affiliates were less than 500 in number, and these groups did not attain dominance in the Assembly until they had multiplied more than tenfold by the mid-1950's.

By that time, the number of delegates to the Assembly had reached over 6,000. The size of the Assembly has plagued the NEA headquarters staff for many years now, but the local groups, especially the more militant urban groups, fear a diminution of their power if the size of the Assembly is cut without a thorough-going overhaul of structure. Such reorganization may well occur in 1972, when a Constitutional Commission submits its recommendations to the 1972 Assembly, charged with voting on constitutional reform. It may well be that the size of the Assembly will be decreased.

Like the annual conventions of other voluntary associations, a large group meeting for a few days a year cannot discuss issues exhaustively. Most of the Assembly's work is done for it by three committees: Resolutions (which are now divided into continuing and current resolutions), Bylaws and Rules, and Budget. Of much lesser importance are the Committees on Credentials and Elections.

The number of resolutions passed yearly has averaged from 20-25 in recent year, and bylaws changes from 10-15. Most of the business of the Assembly is concentrated in these two fields. The Budget, which is approved by the Board of Directors, usually passes the Assembly as a matter of routine.

The Assembly is the legislative and policy forming body of the Association according to the Bylaws. In fact, there has been much competition for its legislative and policy-making role from executive bodies or offices such as the Board of Directors or the Executive Secretaryship. Within the delegate body, splits have occurred by role-groups (classroom teachers vs. supervisory and administrative personnel) by types of affiliates (state association vs. local association), demographic factors (rural state associations and locals vs. urban locals), "young Turks" vs. older, more conservative delegates, white liberals and Negro groups vs. defenders of the status quo.

Gradually, after 1957, the classroom teachers, coming mainly from local affiliates, have taken over the initiative in the Assembly. The mass of classroom teachers, in turn, have been led by liberal groups from the west coast (the east coast cities being under the dominance of the American Federation of Teachers) some northern tier and mid-western states such as Michigan and Illinois, and some progressive city groups from the southwest. This combination has forced some important changes in NEA policy concerning:

- (a) aid to urban locals
- (b) integration of NEA affiliates
- (c) human rights and social concerns
- (d) federal aid to education
- (e) membership benefits
- (f) professional negotiations.

Implementation of the Assembly's resolutions in these areas without extensive delays has become a reality since the mid-1960's when the Assembly mandated that an increased proportion of Executive Committee members be classroom teachers. At the same time Dr. Carr's resignation in 1967 enabled the new executive secretary, Dr. Lambert to reorganize the NEA staff more in line with the wishes of classroom teacher (and urban) locals. The president of the NEA, representing the Assembly, the members of the Executive Committee, and the new Executive Secretary

met in August, 1967 at the Stone Mountain Inn near Atlanta, Georgia, to set their seal of approval on this new policy oriented to classroom teachers, progressive Assembly resolutions, and local affiliates.

The Constitutional Convention of 1972 will probably take up related questions such as the distortions in the ratio of NEA membership and Assembly delegates, standards for the selection of delegates at both the state and local level, the size of the Assembly, and the organizational restructuring of the NEA to make it more responsive to Assembly legislation and Committee implementation.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY

Already in 1918 a report on the Organization of the NEA, proposed that a House of Delegates be established, composed of members from the separate states, territories and the District of Columbia, each to select one delegate for every 1000 members or major fraction thereof residing in such geographic subdivisions.¹ This was a simple proposal with delegate quotas on a territorial basis (i.e. states and territories) and with a single numerical formula for their allocation, so many delegates for so many members). No ex officio delegates clouded the picture, no multi-level

¹Preliminary Report of the Committee on Organization, NEA (February, 1918, in NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

geographical units, no multiform formulas for delegate quotas. Such simplicity was never again to be attained in connection with this representative body.

The feasibility of the proposal was immediately challenged on legal grounds. The Charter of the Association, granted in 1906 by an Act of Congress,² did not provide for a Representative Assembly. The challenge came from the classroom teachers, paradoxically. Today it is this representative body which affords the classroom teacher an opportunity to affect organizational policy.

The classroom teachers had been quite successful in making themselves heard at the 1910 open membership convention, where they elected one of their number, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, as NEA president.³ These leaders of the classroom teachers such as Mrs. Young of Chicago, Margaret Haley of Chicago and Sara Fahey of New York, had behind them large groups of teachers whom they would persuade to come and swamp the open membership meetings.⁴ Thus, at the 1919 Milwaukee convention, large numbers of Haley supporters came

²Signed into law June 30, 1906 and accepted as a basic document by the NEA, July 10, 1907.

³She was elected on a nomination from the floor, after she had been denied a place by the Committee on Nominations.

⁴D. Baypham, "Spotlight on the Classroom Teacher," (Draft of the history of the Dept. of Classroom Teachers; NEA, March 7, 1963, mimeographed), Chs. I, II.

over from Chicago and New York to challenge the proposed Delegate Assembly. The local teachers, most of whom were women, opposed the Assembly as a device to limit the power of local teachers in the convention cities. There are indications in the Proceedings of those years (1918-19) showing that their fears were well founded.⁵

Attorneys in 1919 advised that the Representative Assembly would not be legal under the NEA charter of 1906.⁶ It was finally decided to secure an amendment to the Charter from Congress, even though the Committee on Reorganization was ready to ignore the attorneys' opinion and go ahead anyhow.⁷ Congress complied.⁸

The reorganization plan was heralded as a step towards more democratic participation in decision-making, but it can be seen that from Margaret Haley's point of view it was a muzzling device, ending local teacher domination. The bylaws adopted at the 1920 Salt Lake, Utah meeting show a bias for supervisory and statewide delegates as against class-

⁵Baynham, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶Committee on NEA Organization Report, 1919 (in NEA Archives).

⁷See Proposed Substitute for Committee's Report offered by the Committee on Organizing, July, 1919 (in NEA Archives).

⁸P.L. 206, 66th Congress, 2d Session, approved May 13, 1920. The changes were accepted by NEA at the July convention, 1920. The first Assembly was held in 1921.

room and local delegates which has continued to the present. Original plans, presented to the Board of Directors' meeting at Salt Lake City, 1920, gave local units (affiliates) one delegate for each 100 members, with each state delegations consisting of the following 10 members: state superintendent of education, the president of a university, the president of a normal teacher college, a county superintendent, a city superintendent, a secondary principal or teacher and four elementary school teachers, one of whom could be a principal. Opposition to this plan by teachers was enormous. As it was, the proposal to have state superintendents as ex officio delegates to the Representative Assembly⁹ was passed with much difficulty at the Salt Lake City meeting.¹⁰

The view of teachers was well expressed by Mrs. Josephine Preston, who presided over the first Assembly in 1921 in her role as elected president:

"For a great many years educational policies have been shaped almost entirely by those in administrative and supervisory positions. This class of educators has comprised the majority of the active members of our Association and their contributions to the promotion of education have been of the greatest value. But the leading educators of the country are coming to recognize, just as the great captains of industry are recognizing, that those who serve in the ranks should

⁹This name was chosen in preference to "House of Delegates."

¹⁰NEA Proceedings, 1920, p.

be given a voice in shaping the policies and determining the conditions under which they work. If there is to be democratization of industry, there must also be a democratization of the administration of our public school system."¹¹

The issue was, and has continued to be class vs. mass.¹² The original draft would have introduced a scheme of proportional representation based on classes of people; presidents of universities would have had a 10 percent representational weight or 1:10 of the delegate quota, a ratio far beyond their numerical strength. The opposition, steeped in populism and already looking to the one man, one vote rule, sought a formula based strictly on numbers. Eventually, such a formula won approval at the constituent membership meeting of 1920. The final draft, as adopted, provided that:

1. Each local affiliate be entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each vote of 100 of its members or a major fraction of 100. (This bylaw still stands, with peripheral revisions.)

2. State delegations be entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each 100 members or major fraction thereof up to 500 members, and thereafter one delegate and one alternate for each 500 additional members. (This bylaw still stands, in its entirety.)

¹¹NEA Bulletin, vol. VIII, July, 1919, p. 5.

¹²John Starie, "Relationships of Local, State and National Education Associations in an Age of Change," (NEA Division of Affiliates and Membership, October, 1967, mimeographed), p. 34.

3. Officers of the NEA, NEA departments and state superintendents be ex officio delegates. (The clause as to superintendents was eliminated in the 1930's; the U. S. Commissioner of Education is still an ex officio delegate.)

Thus, the idea of class representation was for a while, dormant in the Assembly. The affiliation of statewide Negro associations in the south¹³ was still class representation. The Association of Classroom Teachers¹⁴ brought back the concept of proportional representation by a Resolution adopted in 1965 providing for majority classroom teacher representation on all NEA appointive bodies.¹⁵ However, the Assembly has tried to keep as close to the one man-one vote principle as possible.

A. THE DELEGATES TO THE NEA ASSEMBLIES

Selection of Delegates to the Representative Assembly

The basic rule for delegate allocation to NEA affiliates is as follows:¹⁶

¹³The Executive Committee had discontinued statewide group affiliation by a policy adopted in 1946.

¹⁴Formerly the Department of Classroom Teachers, ACT, now Association (ACT).

¹⁵Res. 65-22, NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 180-187 (Res. 65-22.)

¹⁶NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. VIII, secs. 4, 5, 6.

(a) each state affiliate is entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each 100 members or major portion thereof, up to 500. For membership above 500 one delegate and one alternate is assigned for each 500 members or the major fraction thereof;

(b) each local affiliate is entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each 100 of its membership or major fraction thereof.

The methods of selecting delegates are left to the state and local affiliates.

The selection of state delegates to the NEA Assembly shows an alarming variation in practice, suggesting that a Uniform Code of Delegate Selection should be advanced for adoption by state affiliates. In this way, instead of a procedure that varies from year to year and from state to state, a uniform set of procedures could be used.

The present methods of selection are:

(a) appointment--by state affiliate executive committees or by other state groups or officials for state delegates and a similar procedure for local groups. This is the most commonly used way of selection;

(b) the election of delegates by regional meetings or the delegate assembly of the states, or by open meetings of locals. This method is used the least frequently;

(c) ex officio status. Certain NEA officials have ex officio status, as do NEA department representatives and some state affiliate officials.

Appointment of Delegates

Working from a set of raw data collected in 1965,¹⁷ careful reading and analysis show that the governing board of the state association, usually the Executive Committee, appoints some or all of the delegates in the following states:¹⁸

TABLE V-1

Alabama ¹⁹	All delegates
Alaska	All delegates
Arizona EA	All delegates (from applications sent in)
Arkansas ²⁰	Some delegates (in 1965, 1/2)
District of Columbia	1/3 of the delegates
Florida	All non <u>ex officio</u>
Idaho	All but 10 delegates
Indiana	Some delegates, 12 Executive Committee members are delegates
Iowa	Some delegates
Louisiana ²¹	Some delegates
Missouri	All delegates
Nebraska	Some alternates (for delegates who do not accept position by a certain deadline.)
Oklahoma	All delegates
Overseas Educ. Association	All delegates
West Virginia	All delegates
Wisconsin	Some delegates

¹⁷Based on materials of the National Association of Secretaries of State Teacher Associations (NASSTA), now called the National Council of State Education Associations (NCSEA).

¹⁸NCSEA Service Report No. 122, March 11, 1965.

Footnotes 19, 20 and 21 are listed on page following.

The Board of Directors of the state organizations, usually a larger body, takes part in the appointment of delegates in the following states:

TABLE V-2

Delaware	- State delegates are members of the Board of directors.
Hawaii	- Delegates are appointed by President with the approval of the Board of Directors.
Illinois	- Delegates are appointed by the Board, based on a formally adopted representational plan.
Kansas	- Some delegates are selected by the Board.
Kentucky	- Some delegates are appointed by the Board.
Montana	- Some delegates are chosen by a committee of the Board appointed by the President.
Nevada	- All delegates are appointed by the Board, subject to some traditional patterns.
North Dakota	- All delegates are appointed by the Board subject to developed patterns.
South Dakota	- All delegates are selected by the Board upon recommendation by the NEA Director.
Vermont	- Board appoints some delegates.

The above listings show that the governing boards of a great many states have a major role in the selection of

¹⁹White affiliate, now merged with Negro state group.

²⁰Negro affiliate, now merged with white group.

²¹Negro state affiliate, now expelled.

delegates. This may result in a change of indirect representation or even virtual representation by the grass-roots membership.

In addition to the above, a number of states have developed formulas for delegate places, both in designating certain officers and assignment-holders as ex officio members of their delegation, allocating places to staff members, and portioning out seats to local units or districts, to be filled by local, district or regional boards. As a general proposition, the executive secretary of the State Associations goes as a delegate, and in a number of states places are kept for other staff members. As a general proposition, the state Board of Directors and members of the state Executive Committee attend, as well as the President of the state association. In many cases, the formula for allocation takes into consideration departments affiliated with the association and important commissions. Thus, in Illinois chairman and subcommittee chairman of state committees and commissions are included. In Nebraska for example, the presidents of four affiliated departments are automatically chosen in most cases (they tend to include Classroom Teachers, Principals, sometimes a Department of Higher Education).

For the appointment of local delegates, similar procedures are followed. Either the governing Board or Committee appoints delegates to fill the allotted seats.

Elected Delegates

The states where the Assembly of the State participates in the selection of delegates are:

TABLE V-3

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Connecticut | - | All delegates elected by a Representative Assembly (Board of Directors acts as official nominating Committee). |
| District of Columbia | - | Membership chooses 2/3 of delegates. There is a Nominating Committee. |
| Maine | - | All elected by the Representative Assembly. |
| Oregon | - | All elected by the Representative Council. |
| Rhode Island | - | All elected by the Delegate Assembly. |
| Tennessee | - | Delegates elect some NEA delegates at the annual convention. |

In some states, regional groups are allowed to set up selective machinery for delegates. States where regional groups, in a sectional meeting of membership, elect some delegates include:

TABLE V-4²⁴

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Arkansas (ATA)- | Four delegates are elected from eight professional districts, with even numbered districts electing one year and off-numbered the next. |
|-----------------|---|

²⁴Other states who do have district-regional meetings, but do not select delegates on membership vote are Alaska, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, West Virginia. NCSEA Report, Vol. II, no. 13, July 15, 1968 for regional and district meetings 1968-69.

- Kentucky - 22 delegates are elected by membership, two each from the eleven KEA districts.
- Ohio - Delegates are elected from each of the eight district associations.
- Tennessee - Within the framework of the annual Representative Assembly, the delegates from each congressional district elect a state representative to the NEA.
- Wisconsin - Eighteen delegates are selected from six districts by members.
- Michigan - Some are allotted to ten regions who may elect these as they wish.
- No. Carolina - District elections are held for a certain portion of the delegates.
- Kansas - Some are elected by district assemblies.

In general, one may conclude that:

(a) New England states tend to use their membership assemblies for delegate selection. Oregon falls in this group.

(b) Some mid-western as well as some southern states use the district or regional meeting to elect delegates.

Again local groups follow similar procedures for electing their delegates. This is often done at open membership meetings.

Ex Officio Delegates

These include the following:²²

(a) NEA Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

²²NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. VIII, sec. 1.

(b) The president, vice-president and immediate past president of the NEA.

(c) The NEA executive secretary.

(d) The president or one elective officer of each NEA department and national affiliate.²³

(e) The chairman of each NEA committee and commission.

(f) The U. S. Commissioner of Education.

The above formula may produce an ex officio delegation of about 150 members drawn from the NEA. This is a small percentage of the approximately 7,000 delegates and alternates at the Convention, but the influence of this group cannot be measured in numbers alone.

Per Member Ratio of Delegates

A study of the delegates attending conventions has been tabulated for some time by the NEA Committee on Credentials.²⁴ The 1968 tabulation shows that the ratio of statewide and local delegates allowed per state to total state membership varied widely, as did the ratio of total of delegates attending to state membership. Some of the figures follow, and the full tabulation is set forth in the Appendix herein.

²³On departments and national affiliates, see Ch. III herein.

²⁴E.g. NEA Proceedings for 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1968. The 1968 Assembly mandated that a list of delegates together with their job classifications be printed in the official proceedings; this practice had been discontinued for 1966 and 1967.

TABLE V-5

A Study of Delegates Attending the NEA Representative Assembly at Dallas, July 1-6, 1968. (Figures to nearest numbers; Ratios computed by author.)

STATE	a Total Del. allowed	b Total Del. attend	c Member- ship	d Ratio, (a to c)	e Ratio, (b to c)
Alabama	296	198	21,380	1:72	1:108
Arizona	198	81	14,340	1:72	1:177
California	1,666	444	83,665	1:50	1:188
District of Columbia	17	10	2,302	1:135	1:230
Florida	475	160	33,337	1:70	1:21
Idaho	79	24	7,112	1:90	1:296
Montana	74	21	7,347	1:101	1:350
New Jersey	615	76	29,174	1:47	1:384
New York	417	145	34,513	1:83	1:238
Texas	1,146	646	48,777	1:43	1:76

Source: NEA Credentials Committee (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, 1968, mimeographed materials).

According to this tabulation, the ratio of delegates attending to total state memberships²⁶ was second lowest for Texas, the host state, and the lowest for Florida, whose native son, Braulio Alonso, was president for the 1968 convention. The ratio of total delegates allowed to membership,²⁷ was lowest for Texas and highest for the District of Columbia.

The 1957 Management Survey had already noted these trends with some alarm.²⁸ It pointed out the great discrepancies between delegate ratios for various states and had proposed reorganizations. However, the NEA has not succeeded in taking a stand on these matters, which leaves such questions to the states.

Overlapping Memberships and Delegates

There was (and still is, as of February 15, 1969) solid indication that the handling of overlapping representation produced inequity of representation at state delegation level. In the case of Davidson County, N. C., for example.²⁹ There are four units indicated for Davidson County:

²⁶Delegates attending per member ratio.

²⁷Delegates allowed per member ratio.

²⁸Cresorp, McCormick and Paget, NEA Management Survey, Vol. I, Part A, pp. III-6 to III-8, (Washington, D. C.: 1957, mimeographed, in NEA Archives.)

²⁹NEA Handbook, 1968, p. 316. See also, NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 103.

(a) one Negro all-inclusive (teacher-administrator) affiliate (the Davidson County unit of the North Carolina Education Association (NCEA);

(b) one white all-inclusive affiliate the Davidson County unit of the North Carolina Teachers Association (NCTA); these all-inclusive affiliates report membership figures to the NEA Membership Division. In the same area, there are two classroom teacher affiliates;

(c) the Davidson County Classroom Teacher Association, NCEA; and

(d) the Negro Davidson County Association of Classroom Teachers.

A classroom teacher could belong to at least two of these groups simultaneously. Yet, state delegate credentials would be issued on the basis of total members in all four affiliates. In addition, there may be regional and sectional groups embracing these local groups. This proliferation of affiliates results in the distortion of the delegate: member ratio, and the increase of allowed delegates. Thus, North Carolina has one delegate per forty members, while North Dakota has one per one 100 and forty. The more local associations there are in a given area, the greater the degree of overlapping membership. Since these locals often bypass the state association and deal with the NEA directly, the membership figures are distorted. Since the NEA does not check up on these overlaps, the delegate allocation is greater than it should be, and thus, this faulty system is perpetuated.

The local may not even be in touch with the state organization at all, since state membership is not always required along with local membership. For these units, that are not unified with state groups, estimates are used by NEA.³⁰ Classroom teacher units within an all-inclusive unit's area are deemed to have 4/5, or 80 percent membership of the latter group, and are allocated delegates on that basis. To use specific figures, for the 1968 Convention, the NCEA all-inclusive unit reported (either directly or through the state offices) 383 members for 1967-68; the specialized classroom teacher group identifying with the white NCEA was deemed to have 308 members. The total for the two groups came to 691, good for almost two delegates. Thus, many classroom teachers were counted twice, once for their specialized organization, and once for the all-inclusive organization. As many as 80 percent of the total N. C. Education Association membership could be overlapping. Although NEA members are now required to designate one unit for NEA Assembly delegate purposes, this new policy has not been policed.³¹

³⁰Even though the Bylaws do not require this, proof of state affiliate membership could be left to the individual states.

³¹NEA Bylaws, 1967, Art. VIII, sec. 5.

Proof of Membership

A subsidiary problem connected with delegate allocation concerns the procedure employed by the NEA division on Affiliates and Membership which issues delegate credentials. These procedures provide on the basis of NEA Bylaws that delegate allocation be made on the basis of records as of May 31 of the current year.³² Even with electronic equipment now installed in the NEA, this poses a problem since by administrative necessity the names of the delegates and alternates must be decided upon by the middle of June.³³ The task has become herculean, especially since the change-over of equipment at the NEA in 1969 has, if anything, slowed up procedures. The previous practice had been that preliminary delegate counts were made from February on, and new delegate credentials sent out if membership showed a sufficiently large increase. Both methods are potentially inaccurate. One study has proposed that the delegate count be based on counts as of May 31 of the preceding year,³⁴ but this has been rejected.

³²NEA Bylaws, 1967, Art. VII, sec. 7.

³³NEA Conventions usually start about the first of July.

³⁴NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 195.

Delegations from Host States

The delegation of the host states can still influence the deliberations of the Assembly, although the situation is not at all comparable to the 1910's, when the militant women teachers of the host city could and did control, the deliberations of the annual meeting.³⁵

In 1968, in Dallas, the Texas contingent was by far the largest, exceeding the California delegation, number two in strength, by 202 votes.³⁶ The Texas delegation strength proved decisive in a number of resolutions. Thus, for example, the Texas delegation successfully sponsored an amendment to a resolution providing that where teacher evaluation takes place by administrators, administrator evaluation also take place under a procedure agreed to by teachers and administrators.³⁷

For other years, the relative size of the delegation from the host state was as follows:

³⁵The most famous instance of local control in the NEA history is the election of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the first woman president of NEA, thanks to a large Boston contingent, after she had been left off the ballot of the Nominating Committee. Baynham, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁶Texas delegation, 646 attending; California delegation, 444 attending; Texas quota, 1,146 delegates; California quota, 1,666.

³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 187.

TABLE V-6

Minneapolis, 1967	---	Minnesota, 347,	Ratio, Del. Att. to memb. 1:61 (largest delega- tion Calif., 406)
Miami Beach, 1966	---	Florida, 340,	Ratio Del. Att. to memb. 1:82 (largest delega- tion, Ill., 364)
New York City, 1965	---	New York, 286	Ratio Del. Att. to memb. 1:103 (largest delega- tion, Calif., 442)
Seattle, 1964	---	Oregon, 334	Ratio Del. Att. to memb. 1:90 (largest delega- tion, Calif., 413)
Detroit, 1963	---	Michigan, 362	Ratio, 1:73 (largest delega- tion, Calif., 403)

It will be seen that attendance from host states has always been strong. The NEA does try to keep this in balance by alternating convention sites between West Coast, Central USA and East Coast. In view of the recent poor performance of eastern coast states, one may wonder at the wisdom of these arrangements. Future convention sites will be as follows:

1969	-----	Philadelphia
1970	-----	San Francisco
1971	-----	Detroit
1972	-----	Atlantic City ³⁸

³⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 356.

Convention arrangements are contracted about four years ahead. For 1973, the tentative date is Portland, Oregon and for 1974 Las Vegas, Nevada. For the years 1969, 70 and 71, the convention has found itself in places where the urban situation has been quite prominent, and where pressures have been brought on the Association to move forward progressively. There are proposals to hold conventions only in Atlantic City, Las Vegas (if a larger auditorium is built), Miami Beach, and possibly in San Francisco and Minneapolis if planned hotel construction materializes.³⁹

Personal Characteristics of Delegates

Age

It has been shown by a number of studies, including those of the NEA Research Division that age patterns do significantly affect attitudes on economic, political and organizational issues. Another refinement of analysis would be then to group Assembly delegates by age. It has been shown, for instance, that the attitudes of the 25-29 age group differ significantly from those of the pre-24 and the 30-39 age group, the 25-29 group being, interestingly enough, more conservative than the 30-39 age group. This

³⁹NEA Board of Directors, October 11-13, Agenda Item 12(a).

is supported by the results of a teacher satisfaction survey now being tabulated by the Research Division of the NEA.⁴⁰

Sex

Another significant factor affecting voting patterns is sex. Here again, NEA research studies have shown that on certain issues at least, women are more conservative than men. Thus, the teacher opinion poll conducted in 1965, perhaps the most ambitious project to gage teacher opinion for the NEA, reveals that on certain issues women were more easily satisfied than men. When asked what kind of a job the NEA was doing in supporting federal legislation, fifty percent of the women rated it good, while only 27.6 percent of the men rated it good.⁴¹

However, both the age and sex factor are subject to the influence of the classroom teachers' (ACT) "party line." The ACT Delegate Assemblies are held just before the Representative Assembly and have a strong influence on the way delegates vote.

⁴⁰By Dr. Sheridan of the NEA Research Div.; interview of Dr. Sheridan by writer, Washington, D. C., March 5, 1969.

⁴¹"What Teachers Know and Think About the National Education Association," (NEA Research Division, February, 1963, mimeographed), p. 38.

As to actual figures, in 1968 major delegations (with over 200 delegates attending) showed the following breakdown by sex:

TABLE V-7

Percent of Women in Major Delegations
at 1968 Convention

State	Total No. of Delegates Attending	Number of Men	Number of Women	Percent of Women
California	444	260	184	41.7%
Georgia	214	123	91	42.4%
Illinois	390	221	169	43.3%
Iowa	232	125	107	46.1%
Kansas	238	126	112	47.1%
Michigan	334	282	152	45.5%
Missouri	207	106	101	48.8%
No. Carolina	279	111	168	60.2%
Ohio	318	185	133	41.8%
Pennsylvania	243	157	86	35.4%
Texas	646	247	399	61.8%

The delegates then are exposed to the cross-pressure of the ACT and the state's position, which may well conflict.

Longevity

Longevity studies are not readily available, and this was done manually, by comparing the 6,700 delegates at Detroit in 1963 with the 1968 delegate list (some 7,200). The following results are shown: only 855, or

12 percent of delegates attending in 1963 were attending in 1968.

TABLE V-8

Longevity of Delegate Attendance

Total Delegates Attended in 1963	6795
Total Delegates Attended in 1964	7119
Number of Delegates at Both Conventions	855
Percent of 1968 Delegates also at 1963 Convention	12%

This is known by the staff and important figures of the NEA, who are in the habit of saying that "most of you delegates are new." Thus, the Resolutions Committee chairman has traditionally explained his role to the Assembly every year, as have some other officers, e.g. the Budget Committee chairman.

Building longevity is further impeded by the fact that many states rotate a certain number of seats among local affiliates which are too small (i.e. under 51 members) to rate a delegate; as well as by the changing nature of ex officio memberships as far as presidents and presiding chairmen of groups are concerned; and by teacher turnover in local districts.

Delegate Expenses

The 1966 Assembly voted to eliminate the paying of delegate expenses after the 1966 session.⁴² The move was a part of the general climate to restructure the NEA (the NEA Development Project was going on), by tightening up local association procedures. The argument was advanced that if local associations really cared for the NEA, they would raise the necessary money to send their delegates.⁴³ The Association could use the money for other projects, such as programs in the cities.⁴⁴

Does democracy require that the NEA pay at least a part of delegate expenses. The Board had gone along with this line for some time but just prior to the 1966 meeting, changed its stand on the urging of the Executive Committee. The Board's position was presented by the Treasurer who pointed out that for a four year period prior to 1966, 36 states received less than \$20 per delegate per year (including D. C. and Puerto Rico), seven states received between \$21-36 per year, and six states received over \$36 per year. The question was asked, "Is this a wise expenditure of the money when it is such a small amount per

⁴²NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 116-20, 130-133.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 130, 120.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 130.

delegate per year?" The vote showed that the majority of delegates present were willing to discontinue payment of expenses. The greatest losers were states around the nation's fringes--such as Alaska, California, Oregon, etc. whose delegates had to travel furthest to reach conventions usually scheduled in the east or midwest.

PROPOSALS FOR REFORM OF DELEGATE SELECTION

Saint Mary's Lake Conference

It was proposed as early as 1952, at an important conference on local affiliates at St. Mary's Lake (Mich.) that the delegate ratio be made uniform for all states, that representation of locals be eliminated and that a formula of one delegate for about 120 members be set. The proposals foundered at the suspicion of the states, the locals and the classroom teachers, all of whom feared a loss of delegates (since 1920, the basic ratio for the states has been one delegate for each 500 active NEA members or a major fraction thereof).⁴⁵

1957 Management Survey

This theme was continued by the Management Survey

⁴⁵St. Mary's Conference, Preliminary Report (mimeographed) 1952; Report of the Committee on Structure of Local Associations Affiliated with the NEA (mimeographed), 1951. See NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. VIII, sec. 4.

1957, a comprehensive study of the NEA done by an independent management consultant firm.⁴⁶ The survey recommended⁴⁷ that the Representative Assembly be cut to a size of approximately 650 elected delegates, through state elections. (This thought has continued to crop up in recent bylaws proposals, whereby the state association would be required to allocate a percentage of its delegate slots to NEA affiliated local associations.) The formula would have been:

$$\frac{\text{NEA members in the state}}{\text{Total NEA membership}} = \frac{x}{650 \text{ (Total number R/A delegates)}}$$

where x = number of delegates.

This proposal, again, encountered fears from the states, locals and classroom teachers, and was too simplistic to be put through. Only a Constitutional Convention, which was in fact voted by the 1969 Assembly, to be held in 1972, could undertake such a sweeping revision of traditions and practices. It is submitted, moreover, that not even a Constitutional Convention will be so reform-minded as to cut the Assembly from its size of about 7,000 dele-

⁴⁶Cited in fn. 28, supra. This firm earned the respect of the NEA for this survey and they have been hired as recently as 1968-69 for a survey on HEA headquarters staff, wages and benefits, to be used in the 1969 salary negotiations.

⁴⁷1957 Management Survey, op. cit., Vol. One, Part A, pp. III-13 to III-15.

gates to 650, and eliminate completely the distinction between the representation of locals and states. What would be more realistic would be to raise and make uniform the ratio of local and state delegates to local and state NEA membership, and to institute a tighter system of inspection for the precise determination of paid-up NEA members in states and local affiliates. The system of inspection at the moment is far from precise.

The size of the Assembly continued to arouse concern and interest in the following years. Yet, the statement that the Assembly is "too large" involves various factors and is a shorthand statement covering a number of problems. The admission that the Assembly is too large, immediately raises the question of the allocation of delegates:

(a) shall so many delegate seats be allotted per so many NEA members in a state, territory or district, and the present system of local-state dual representation be eliminated?

(b) if so, how shall the allocation between statewide and local affiliate places be handled? Should local autonomy be ended? The latter is a fairly unlikely step since the local delegates are in overwhelming preponderance. Thus, for example, at the Detroit convention (1963), 1968 delegates were allocated to states; and 9370 delegates were allocated to locals.⁴⁸

(c) how would this new formula affect classroom teachers who are now feeling their strength and are unlikely to adopt anything that threatens

⁴⁸1583 or 85 percent of state delegates attended, as against 4232 or 45 percent of local delegates.

their newly consolidated position? Their strength is mainly in the local affiliates.

(d) is there concrete proof that 500 delegates will talk less or cause less problems than 5,000? Or is it a question of better management, tighter rules? There are indications that a lot of the "problems" allegedly caused by the Assembly's size could be alleviated by more precise procedures.

As we have seen, the St. Mary's conference in 1952 suggested that representation be on the flat basis of one delegate per 120 NEA members. The Management Survey of 1957 suggested another formula. However, it was obvious then, as it has been before and since, that a reform of the Assembly will be a "natural process," perhaps when things come to a point that the number of delegates just cannot be accommodated in any city. (The number of delegates registered at the 1968 Convention, i.e. 7,103, may be contrasted with the 2,600 delegates and alternates at the Republican nominating convention of 1968 and 5,373 for the Democrats.)

Executive Committee Recommendations

The Executive Committee, as the ruling body of the NEA, at the meeting which considered the recommendations of the management survey, decided that "study and discussion are more important than speed."⁴⁹ It was concluded that the size of the Assembly was "getting unwieldy," and (that)

⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 257.

"while every delegate may discuss every question that arises, democratic processes are not automatically advanced by large assemblages."⁵⁰

However, the only action the Committee took was to recommend that the subject be given further study. Thus, no recommendations for action were passed on to the Bylaws Committee. Still the Executive Committee had some most interesting thoughts on the whole question such as the following:⁵¹

(a) Although there have been a number of "circles" or seminars for delegates at the Convention, the participation of many delegates is "more a matter of feeling than of reality." Surveys of delegates tend to affirm this.

(b) Little time is available for review of important Committee and Commission activities--such as the Legislative Commission, the Commission of Professional Rights and Responsibilities, and before, of the Educational Policies Commission. Financial reports, including the Budget, are only hastily scanned. (This brings up the point, discussed in Chapter IV herein, whether or not the Board of Directors should have exclusive responsibility for the Budget, especially since the Representative Assembly does not have a standing Committee system).

(c) Nominations to the highest offices are condensed to 5 or 10 minutes. (The situation is since 1967 when candidates for the elective offices were given the chance of publicity in the NEA Journal.)

⁵⁰Ibid. As has been pointed out, perhaps better management is all that is necessary. And motions to cut off debate usually carry. During 1963-1968, motions out of made were passed.

⁵¹NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 258.

(d) If the Assembly continues to grow, the Directors and smaller groups will have to accept greater control. The ideal would be to balance the efficiency of a small group against the morale-building advantages of the large group. (It has been pointed out by delegates, for example, that a large convention gets much better press coverage than an assemblage of some 500-600 persons.)

(e) Finally, the Executive Committee stated that if the size of the Assembly were cut, the Management Survey recommendation of 650 delegates plus about 70 members ex officio should be the largest size considered. No half-way measures would satisfy anybody; but the reform could proceed in stages.

Still, no Assembly action on size was taken in 1958 or 1959 in the wake of the Management Survey proposals.

Board of Directors Action

The issue, however, continued to be a perennial one. In October, 1962, the Board of Directors authorized a four-year program of involvement of members and units on the question of Assembly size and of local affiliation. The chairman of the staff committee to work on the problems was John Starie, the present Director of the Membership Division.

The study over a four-year period, involved many local associations and study groups at each convention.⁵² Key proposals were made to, (1) limit the Assembly to about 5,000 delegates, but retain both state and local delegations, and (2) create two classes of affiliates, one active

⁵²Starie, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

with representation, and the other associate without representation. Associate locals, however, would receive continued help and services.

By February, 1963 the Board of Directors was ready to review working papers and plans for the Assembly. In July, 1963, Detroit, there were "circle group" discussions by delegates. During 1963-64, conferences were held with various teacher groups to gage their reaction, and by the Spring of 1964 with the help of the Bylaws Committee, draft resolutions were ready. The 1964 Convention in turn reacted to these proposals, and these reactions were in turn evaluated. Modified proposals were ready for introduction at the 1965 Delegate Assembly.⁵³

This procedure shows that the question was exhaustively analyzed and discussed. It is apparent, however, from the minutes of the October, 1964 Board of Directors meeting, when the report of the study was presented, that the cutting back of the delegates to 5,000, and the allocation of state and local delegates would create problems.⁵⁴ But the question of multiple or overlapping representation did not seem unduly bothersome. It is a matter of fact, which the Board must have considered, that allocation of delegates to locals does not always proceed on the basis of

⁵³NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 127-128, 219, 227.

⁵⁴NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 252.

concrete, numerical information. The Board went along with a general statement that "where there are two or more local associations in a single school administrative unit to which professional educators belong, each member of such association shall indicate the one local association which is to be credited with his NEA membership for delegate purposes."⁵⁵ But this statement had little teeth without enforcement, such as denying delegate credentials to locals that did not investigate dual memberships and setting up procedures to eliminate overlaps.

With these basic problems unresolved, the bylaw changes based on the four-year study were introduced at the 1965 NEA Convention, to be voted on in 1966 after lying over one year as required. The bylaw dealt with

(a) limiting the size of the Representative Assembly to about 5,000;

(b) reducing overlap in representation;

(c) changing formulas in allocation of delegates, whereby both state and local affiliates would be entitled to one delegate per 100 members up to 500 and 100, respectively, then subject to a yearly formula administered by the Board of Directors to produce a total of about 5,000;

(d) creating two classes of local affiliates, one with delegate representation, and one without.⁵⁶

⁵⁵See NEA Bylaws, 1967, Art. VII, sec. 5.

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 194-96; NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 101.

The ingenious solution proposed by John Starie and Dr. Ashby in part (c) above, assumed that a great number of allotted delegate seats are not filled in fact. This was amply demonstrated by the Management Survey and later analyses of delegate attendance figures.⁵⁷ Under these assumptions, the Board of Directors could have allotted as many as 9,000 delegate slots in 1965 on the assumption that this would produce an Assembly of 5,000.⁵⁸ Previous years had indicated that 83 percent of seats were, as a rule, allocated to locals, and 17 percent to states. This allotment would have produced in 1965, 7,470 seats for locals and 1,530 to states for a total of 9,000 places. Records also indicated that the percentage of places actually filled, for locals (1961-64) amounted to 43 percent, while for states (1961-64) the percentage was 84 percent. This experience led to the conclusion that even if 50 percent of the local delegates and 90 percent of the states' delegates came, a 9,000 allotment would produce an Assembly of 5,112, to which about 110 ex officio delegates would be added for a total of about 5,200.

The overlap of representation would be reduced by having members in overlapping groups specify where they

⁵⁷Management Survey, op. cit., pp. III-7, III-8.

⁵⁸The 5,000 figure was presumably chosen because this was the size of the 1958 post-Centennial convention, where the number of delegates, in an ordinary off-year amounted to 4696.

wanted to be counted. Here, too, there was more involved than met the eye. There was a companion section proposed (under section d above), that would have eliminated statewide or regional groups as "local affiliates" and would have made them associates without delegate strength.

The reasoning went as follows. Sec. 3 and 4 of Art. X of the Bylaws provided for state affiliates and local affiliates. Regional affiliates have been officially frozen as of 1946, and local affiliate meant "a city, county or school administrative district" area. Consequently, the regional and statewide units, a source of much confusion and overlap, could on the basis of the Bylaws be disenfranchised and reduced to associates. This was pointed out by an Oregon delegate in the 1966 discussions, and it was an important point, since in almost every state there are statewide classroom teacher associations in addition to the official State Education Association.⁵⁹ This procedure would reduce overlap, yet, classroom teacher representation might also be jeopardized. States having a great number of small units (members with less than 51 professionals) would lose representation since these small affiliates would be relegated to associate status. It was pointed out in the debate that at times these small groups could receive a delegate seat, perhaps on a rotating

⁵⁹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 107

basis.⁶⁰ Under the new proposals, others argued, allotments would be so tight that small affiliates could not be considered.

It was pointed out, however, in the Assembly debate that in some states, under overlap situations, members were counted "4, 5 and as high as 12 times."⁶¹ In addition to the size of the Assembly, this was the strongest argument for the proposals.

Action of the 1966 Assembly

Debate took up approximately 50 minutes on reducing the size of the Assembly and issues b, c, and c (above).⁶² Seven speakers were against the proposal and four, in favor. Those in favor used the one man, one vote argument and pointed to the unwieldiness of the Assembly, as well as to the inequities in present delegate allotment. Those against argued that the inequities of allotment for the states would not be corrected under the formulas applied by the Board of Directors. Two spoke against the elimination of regional or statewide groups. The 1964 Seattle convention "circles" already argued ill as far as the elimination of statewide

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 103. Under Bylaws Art. VIII, sec. 6, the states are free to set up delegate selection procedures once their delegate quota is determined.

⁶¹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 103.

⁶²NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 106.

and regional groups were concerned; only 34 percent of the Circles would disaffiliate such groups.⁶³

When balloting took place on the last day of the 1966 convention, the vote on items a, b, c (presented as a unit), was 1,021 yes, and 4,439 no; thus, only about 23 percent voted for the new proposals.⁶⁴ The vote on item d, the creation of two classes of affiliates, was 2,245 yes, 3,209 no. Debate had been quite cursory and only four persons spoke to the issue; two against, very briefly, and two for. Opposition was voiced, as might have been expected, from Texas, where there is a statewide Texas Classroom Teachers Association.

In summary, as far as Assembly debates are concerned, they were cursory but sufficient to indicate that the proposals floundered because of the threatened elimination of statewide classroom teacher groups, and because of distrust of the new formulas to be applied by the Board of Directors. Starie writes that the elimination of regions or divisions was also opposed by the powerful state executive secretaries and by urban associations, who feared that their strength would be cut, or at least kept stagnant, in

⁶³Board of Directors, Agenda Item 10a (Oct. 17-18, 1964), p. 3.

⁶⁴NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 262.

favor of state delegations.⁶⁵ Classroom teacher publications shed further light on this debate.

Subsequent Action

The defeated amendments were again submitted at the end of the 1966 session, to be voted upon in 1967. The official sponsors were groups of 50 unidentified delegates; the Bylaws and Rules Committee did not officially sponsor them again. In the 1967 version states would have had the power to dispose of unfilled local delegate seats, but the power was not restricted now to unified dues states; and locals would have been allowed to participate in the decision to fill these slots.⁶⁶ Discussion was again heavily against the limitation of the Assembly size.⁶⁷ One delegate from Ohio complained that the Ohio delegates were put up by NEA coordinators at St. Paul, 50 miles from the Minneapolis convention site, so as to make them realize the unwieldiness of the delegate body.⁶⁸ He also asked what was so magical about the number 5,000 and complained about the extensive

⁶⁵Starie, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Classroom teacher publications shed further light on this debate. See also NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 101 ff. for related issues.

⁶⁶NEA Proceedings, 1967, Amendments to Bylaws Art. VIII, pp. 249-251.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 128-130.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 129.

"proselytizing" carried on about the issue. There were weak attempts to bring up the one man, one vote argument again. A companion amendment about creating a new class of associate members brought on new fears about statewide classroom teacher organizations becoming disaffiliated, even though the issue was not clear to some.⁶⁹ However, no member of the Bylaws and Rules Committee offered to sooth membership's fears on this issue. The vote on the size of the Assembly was 4,015 to 1,563, substantially the same as in 1966, and on associate status 3,236 to 2,230, again practically the same result as in 1966.⁷⁰ Thus, again, for the third year running, there were no substantive changes made.

However, there was some slight movement forward. The Assembly required members to indicate only one affiliate for delegate purposes in overlap situations by a vote of 4,021 to 1,338, and permitted local associations to transfer delegate seats to states by about the same margin.

In connection with the indication of one affiliate, the administrative problems are large and have not been solved.⁷¹ The Membership Division in 1969, for allocation

⁶⁹NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 130-131.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 243.

⁷¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 96, re complexity.

purposes, still uses the 4/5 formula in cases of overlapping classroom teacher organizations.⁷² States have not been quick to investigate this problem. Efforts are underway to work out a nationwide reporting system. The whole problem ties in with establishing a unified dues structure. When that is finally brought about, membership forms can ask a specific question on belonging to more than one professional association and ask such member to choose where he will be counted. Until that time, non-unified states will continue to have local affiliates that correspond with the NEA directly. In such situations, to trace duplicate memberships, especially where affiliates themselves have an inaccurate membership recording system, would be a gigantic task, not likely to be assumed by anyone. In this connection, one may note that the 1967 Assembly did adopt a Bylaws amendment requiring all new members joining in the membership year 1968-69 to be members at all three levels--local, state and national. A grandfather clause, allowing NEA active members as of 1963-64 to continue as NEA active members even in unified states adds, like in so many other NEA decisions, a new level of intricacy.⁷³ The prognosis is then that unless court action forces rapid change, the overlap situations and the size of the Assembly will not be modified for a great number of years.

⁷²See supra, section on Overlapping Memberships.

⁷³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p.

Action in 1968

Debates at the 1968 Dallas, Texas convention, on the appropriately named Amendment #13 to limit the size of the Assembly, centered on the new formula to give all seats to the states, with a "major share" to be allocated to local units.⁷⁴ The Minnesota delegation introduced an amendment to these proposed changes, claiming that it had the blessings of vital groups.⁷⁵ The amendment did not cut back the size of the Assembly from its 1968 size, but would freeze it at 7,200 delegate slots. This was an important psychological factor which had been neglected before.⁷⁶ It did not create "associated units." It replaced the "major share" phrase with the concrete proposal that 80 percent of the total delegate seats allocated to a state on the basis of statewide and local NEA memberships be turned back to local associations affiliated or chartered by the NEA. This continued some overlap situations, but vastly improved representation.⁷⁷ Apparently the overlap situation was too complex from an administrative viewpoint to tamper with further.

⁷⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 93-97.

⁷⁵Executive Committee, the Association of Classroom Teachers, (ACT), Urban Associations (NCUEA) and The National Council of State Education Associations (NCSEA).

⁷⁶It proposed one state delegate per each 125 NEA members.

⁷⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 94.

The proposal would have meant the following re-apportionment:

Under the present system at Dallas in 1968, New York State for example was allotted 73 State delegates and 329 local delegates, plus 15 statewide and regional delegates, for a grand total of 417. Under the new plan, the state total of 417 slots remain the same, with 334 seats (80 percent of 417) going to locals, a gain of +5. New Jersey, with 62 state, 80 statewide and regional, and 473 local delegates, would under the new plan turn over 492 delegate seats to locals, a gain of +19. The Georgia state delegation would lose 16 of 59 seats, and the Louisiana state delegation 8 of its 17 seats. Thus, large associations, (urban or classroom teachers' groups of larger size) would be gainers. This bylaw amendment failed, but the NCUEA did succeed to pass a new item of business which set up a task force to study the fair method of apportioning delegates to local groups.⁷⁸

Many important members, including past president Ewald Turner from the politically conscious state of Oregon, supported the new formulas. On the other hand, the president-elect of the Classroom Teacher Association from the important host state of Texas was against the amendment as potentially limiting classroom teachers. Fear was expressed that states would not administer the 80 percent formula fairly. It was evident too that the Classroom Teachers Association felt that all of its own local units should, but would not be represented under this new 80 percent pro-

⁷⁸See also NEA Development Project, "Change and Renewal" (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968, a pamphlet), which would have cut back the Assembly's size to 500; see p. 21.

posal because many of their locals were not chartered or affiliated with NEA directly. For instance, the statewide Nevada Association of Classroom Teachers, formed after 1946, could not secure a charter of affiliation from the NEA as of the time of the debate. Thus, divisions were created because of (a) size limitation, the old question of visibility and openness vs. efficiency, (b) because older statewide classroom teacher groups, affiliated with the NEA prior to 1946, wanted to continue to have an edge over newer groups, perhaps to the point of annulling some state-local agreement in favor of non-NEA-affiliates. It would have been too cumbersome to iron out the nuances by amending the amendment to the submitted proposal. The substitute formula was placed on the ballot by a majority vote, but in the final vote, Amendment 13 as amended was rejected. The official Proceedings do not give the official tally--an omission that is strange and seems to be another restrictive innovation. The figures released at a later Board of Directors meeting show the vote to have been 2,338 for and 3,325 against, a fairly close vote.⁸⁰

⁷⁹See NEA Handbook, 1968, p. 297; see Executive Committee actions of 1946 and 1949; see state recognition, Bylaws, IX-4.

⁸⁰Information item for October, 1968 meeting of the Board of Directors.

A new item of business was introduced requiring a new NEA task force to study (a) dual representation, (b) fair methods to delegate credential allocations, and (c) the size of the Assembly. The task force would recommend changes to the 1969 Assembly.⁸¹ The adoption of this new item shows that the Assembly did not read or did not appreciate the 1968 final report of the NEA Development Project, called "Change and Renewal."⁸² It seems strange that such a comprehensive study that lasted over two years, would not receive more consideration and thought by the Assembly. It perhaps reinforces statements that the NEA prefers study and talk, to action. It also seems strange that, during its years of existence (1965-68) when the Development Project was recommending a ceiling of 500 on the Representative Assembly,⁸³ there were concurrent proposals to the official Bylaws and Rules Committee made by the Board of Directors, based on a parallel study on Representation and Affiliation, opting for a figure ten times as much, or

⁸¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 532; introduction, p. 242.

⁸²NEA Development Project, "Change and Renewal," 1968.

⁸³See "Change and Renewal," op. cit., p. 21, where this figure is cautiously, if not timidly, presented.

⁸⁴NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 195; see also, e.g. NEA Development Project, Progress Report and Tentative Proposals, (October 21, 1966), p. 8, proposing a 500-delegate limit. (This footnote listed on next page.)

5,000.⁸⁴ This is another case of dualism in moving to decisions, found because of the inherent complexity of NEA structure, and which necessitates cumbersome and repetitious studies and prevents incisive action.

C. INFLUENCE PATTERNS IN NEA ASSEMBLIES

Political Orientation of Delegates

According to States

Certain states have developed a liberal, progressive orientation in politics. Thus, Oregon voted for Senator McCarthy in the 1968 primary, and has sent liberals like Wayne Morse to Congress. Its Republican Senators, like Mark Hatfield, are classified as progressive also. This general political orientation carries over into the Oregon delegations to the NEA Assembly. In matters such as desegregation in schools, disadvantaged Americans, urban problems and professional sanctions, Oregon, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, recently have taken a consistently liberal stance, and on many occasions New York, Florida, Colorado have taken a similar position. Michigan, because of its industrial setting, has always been alert to the need of group organization, even for farmers, and thus has moved easily into a militant, welfare-oriented stance in teaching. New Jersey, because of its close proximity to liberal New York City, has fought for a liberal image. On

the other hand, Ohio, many times Illinois, and southern states have taken a conservative position. Although content analysis of Assembly proceedings does not always reveal the support certain issues have had from these states, in the absence of frequent roll call votes by states, the tabulation of state delegation support for certain issues underscores the generally held view of these states. A tabulation for 1968 follows; other yearly tabulation will be found in the Appendix herein.

State and Local Divisions

Certain voting patterns can be discerned along state-local lines also. Thus the 1968 proposal to have the Board of Directors (who are elected by state delegations) be responsible for the determination and adoption of the budget was voted down along state-local lines.⁸⁶ Figures show that for 1968 state and ex officio delegates numbered 2,154, local delegates attending 4,182, with 783 statewide and regional delegates. The proposal failed 2,410 to 3,269, which is quite close to the state-locals division if one discounts the delegate attendance by absenteeism. Limitation of the Assembly, which was voted on in form of a substitute amendment allowing the states to control dele-

⁸⁶NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 88-89, 258; NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 117-118, 226.

TABLE V-9 (Contd.)

Declared Orientations of Major State Delegations
at the 1968 Assembly

NB. + indicates support by the state delegation
- indicates opposition by entire state delegation

	Major State Delegations (over 200 delegates)										
<u>Resolutions and New Business</u>	Cal.	Ga.	Ill.	Iowa	Kan.	Mich.	Mo.	N.C.	Ohio	Pa.	Tex.
	444	214	390	232	238	334	207	279	318	243	646
8. Publicizing NEA Budget before Con- vention (failed)						8 +					8 +
9. Withdrawal of Teach- er Services (Res. 68-18, 68-19)			9 -	9 +		9 +		9 -			9 +

85 See NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 141, 143-47, 149-53, 166-71, 188-90, 196-99, 202-06, 234-35, 237.

gate strength, failed by about the same margin: 2,338 to 3,325.⁸⁷

Staff Members of State Affiliates

The proportion of the staff members of state affiliates (executive secretary, division chief, etc.) is indicated in Table V-10.

Assuming that the rest of the state delegation reflects the overall teacher-administrator figures for the total state delegation, this gives a more bureaucratic flavor to the state delegations than to the locals which have fewer staff. This is born out by comments heard numerous times, that the state delegations are more conservative and slower to change than many local affiliates, especially if the latter are in urban areas. Thus, for instance, John Starie, at present Director of Membership and Affiliates, has written:

"In any state association, administrators have no difficulty making their voice heard effectively. They are able to meet together whenever they wish. Being, as a group, able politicians, they can influence the thinking of the Executive Committee of the Association even where it is composed entirely of classroom teachers. They can discuss state issues with the representatives to the delegate assembly... They are natural allies of the Chief State School officer and his staff, an agency with which every state association must work. As a

⁸⁷Ibid., p.

TABLE V-10

<u>State</u>	<u>Proportion of Staff to Total Delegates</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Proportion of Staff to Total Delegates</u>
Alabama	5/49	Montana	3/11
Alaska	2/8	Nebraska	1/38
Arizona	3/32	Nevada	1/11
Arkansas	8.24	New Hampshire	2/11
California	24/104	New Jersey	5/26
Colorado	3/35	New Mexico	3/21
Connecticut	1/24	New York	3/41
Delaware	2/9	N. Carolina	7/73
D. C.	0/5	N. Dakota	4/14
Florida	6/45	Ohio	9/106
Georgia	7/56	Oklahoma	9/38
Guam	0/0	Oregon	4/25
Hawaii	2/11	Pennsylvania	2/122
Idaho	2/15	P. R.	2/10
Illinois	11/73	Rhode Island	1/5
Indiana	11/62	S. Carolina	6/32
Iowa	12/54	S. Dakota	1/14
Kansas	10/75	Tennessee	4/53
Kentucky	6/45	Texas	14/99
Louisiana	1/17	Utah	1/24
Maine	3/16	Vermont	2/8
Maryland	7/46	Virginia	10/42
Massachusetts	5/34	Washington	6/30
Michigan	9/129	W. Virginia	5/29
Minnesota	2/13	Wisconsin	2/39
Mississippi	2/19	Wyoming	1/10
Missouri	5/52	Overseas	0/0

Expressed in percentages, the proportion runs from 1.64 percent in Pennsylvania to 33.33 percent in Arkansas.

group they tend to be closer to the elements of the state power structure than do the teachers as a group..."⁸⁸

The Influence of Classroom Teachers

It may be apparent from the above discussion, at least in part, that on a number of issues, the state delegations and local classroom teacher groups conflict. In other words, role groups (teachers) are in conflict with geographical groups (states). There are included ethnic, urban and various political-orientation groups in both of the above categories. In addition there are cleavages along age lines; there are conflicts between the elected officials and delegates and the powerful appointive staff, especially the Executive Secretary. It will be attempted to give instances of the operation of the above differential groups within the framework of the Assembly.

To understand the numerical strength of classroom teachers as a role group, one may turn to the number of delegate teachers attending the convention for the past five years.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Starie, op. cit., p. 54.

⁸⁹Unofficial figures supplied by the NEA Division of Records.

TABLE V-11

<u>Yr.</u>	<u>Del. Teachers</u>	<u>Total Del. Attendance</u>
1968	4,958	7,119
1967	4,696	6,596
1966	4,629	6,825
1965	5,053	7,221
1964	4,224	6,168

Examples of Classroom Teachers (ACT) Influence

NEA Insurance Policy Offerings

The ACT claims credit for pushing through resolutions dealing with NEA insurance, although their progress was not too fast.⁹⁰ A resolution in at the 1958 convention regarding this matter, offered by ACT President, Ewald Turner of Oregon, requested that the NEA put a plan of insurance for members into operation. The possibility of insurance for members had been studied for some time by various groups after being proposed by convention "circle" groups mainly representing teachers.⁹¹ Now the ACT was going to force the issue. Opposition came, as the Carr files show, from a group of mid-western states, mainly Illinois, which had already set up their own insurance programs. These mid-western states questioned the competence

⁹⁰See Chapter on Membership Benefits, Ch. VI herein, for a complete discussion on this matter.

⁹¹NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 267, 302.

of the NEA in this field and greatly resented this intrusion by NEA Central into state affairs. Yet, this was a logical part of the Expanded Program. At the February, 1958 meeting of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors, the possibilities of both an automatic and a voluntary insurance plan for members had been discussed.

At the 1958 Convention, ACT President Turner's motion came as a surprise "new business" item, a procedure which was unregulated at that time but was later subject to many attempts at restriction. The spokesman of the Illinois Education Association rose to request an open study, without prejudice on the whole question.⁹² Phares Reeder of West Virginia, representing another state threatened by competition, complained that the thrust of the Turner motion circumvented the Board of Directors and their comprehensive deliberations. At this point the Turner motion was tabled.⁹³ This round was won by the group of states, mostly in the mid-west, who had called the insurance proposals of the NEA a "gimmick."⁹⁴

The ACT kept passing its own resolutions in this field during 1959-60, and in 1960 put out brochure, "Ques-

⁹²NEA Proceedings, 1958, pp. 179-82, re study, p. 201.

⁹³Ibid., p. 138.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 243.

tions and Answers on Insurance," In 1960 the issue reached the Assembly floor again, the proposal being put by the NEA insurance committee chairman and seconded by ACT President Batchelder (later to become NEA President). The issue was put on the ballot and the proposal won, 3762-1004, division taking place roughly along state delegations-locals lines.⁹⁵

Teacher Representation

Another illustration of ACT's influence is found in a resolution of the Assembly first carried in 1965 at New York, which requires that the Executive Committee, in filling places on appointive bodies, move as "rapidly as practicable" to give classroom teachers majority representation.

The administrator's dominant role in NEA bodies had been noted for some time; now the Classroom Teachers made their move. Figures were brought to the Assembly's attention showing that on the most influential committee classroom teacher representation was low:

⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 98, 109-110 and 200.

TABLE V-12⁹⁶

Educational Policies Commission	-	17%
NEA Budget Committee	-	17%
Board of Trustees	-	33%
Executive Committee	-	45%
Legislative Committee	-	14%
PR&R Commission	-	31%

It was moved to amend the resolution to make it mandatory for the Executive Committee to increase teacher representation on all committees and commissions.⁹⁷ This amendment was, however, rejected on the urging of another prominent ACT member, Richard Batchelder, who pointed out that a period of adjustment was required. The Assembly also deleted a militant statement that "classroom teachers are the backbone of the organization." The exact way the Assembly divided is not known, since tabulations are not issued on votes on resolutions. However, the move must have carried by a substantial margin, since in 1965 5,053 of the 7,221 delegates attending were teachers.⁹⁸

During the course of the debate, Mrs. Elizabeth Koontz of North Carolina, later president of the NEA (July, 1968 to January, 1969) pointed out that classroom teachers now had the possibility, which they turned down, of outvot-

⁹⁶NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 180.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 181f.

⁹⁸Ibid., Res. 65-22.

ing "all other segments of the profession in the National Education Association."⁹⁹

The resolution demanding a majority voice on appointive boards has been passed, with minor changes, in every Assembly since then.¹⁰⁰ In 1966, there was no discussion at all on repassage, but in 1967 dissatisfaction was expressed about implementation.¹⁰¹ A move to impose a mandate that the Executive Committee "shall move" to implement failed, but the leeway words "as rapidly as practicable," similar in intent to the Supreme Court's phraseology "with all deliberate speed," were struck on the complaint of New York classroom teacher delegates that the time for immediate action had come. Language unfamiliar for NEA Assemblies was heard in this connection: "let's quit horsing around."¹⁰² The executive secretary of the Montana Education Association wondered whether he was attending a meeting of a special-interest group, and made a plea for criteria of ability, talent and knowledge. How many teachers, he asked, were versed in school finance, or other areas in which superintendents were superior? At

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 183.

¹⁰⁰Resolutions 65-22, 66-20, 67-20, 68-26.

¹⁰¹NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 221.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 222.

this point the Assembly booed.¹⁰³ Tempers rose to the point that Dr. Carr was called to the podium on the question of implementation, and said there had been "substantial movement," and referred to President Applegate's report, without giving any specific information.

in 1968, however, teachers were still restive about implementation. They charged that, if anything, teacher representation had declined; thus the EPC had three teachers out of 22 members, the Legislative Commission 4/13, the TEPS Commission 4/15, and so on.¹⁰⁴ Instructions were made specific: the Executive Committee was now required, not requested, to fill places, as terms expire, with the appropriate number of classroom teachers.¹⁰⁵ For future years, another roadblock was indicated, in that the constitutions of certain commissions set up categories of members by roles, and this limited placement of teachers on such bodies. Subsequently, constitutional changes may have to be made for commissions; this applies to the TEPS Commission particularly.

The history of the perennial and famous issue of classroom teacher representation abounds with naive teacher optimism, a populist spirit that teachers receive their

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 223.

¹⁰⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 217.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 217-18.

fair share. Yet, bad draftsmanship in resolutions, ignorance of the ramifications involved, cross-pressure from state education power groups, and the professional bureaucracy has plagued progress in this field.

The Issue of Assembly Size

A final issue on which the strength of classroom teachers in the Assembly has been felt was resistance to moves to limit the size of the Representative Assembly. This is obvious from the debates previously discussed. Any occasional visitor to the offices of Margaret Stevenson, executive secretary of the ACT, and a member of the cabinet since the 1968 reorganization of staff sees her bristle at any suggestion to cut the size of the Assembly. The Representative Assembly is very much influenced and subjected to pressures by the ACT, not only because of their strength in numbers, but also because of their influential spokesmen, such as Turner and Batchelder, Alonso and Koontz.

Urban Associations

The National Council of Urban Education Associations (NCUEA) is not a NEA department; it is a special group formed in 1960 to work with and for, urban affiliates of the NEA.

By regions, NEA urban strength is concentrated in the Southeast (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi,

N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Tennessee) with 62,717 members, an increase from 1967 of 2.68 percent; the midwest (Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri) with 41,417 members up 6.34 percent; and the west coast (California, Oregon, Washington, Hawaii), with 42,024 members showing only a 0.35 percent increase from 1967. Another area that is doing well is the North Central (Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Kansas) with 17,592 members, up 12.33 percent. Membership in the New England States is insignificant (2,148) and in the east coast region (New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania) there was a loss of 8.87 percent for a total membership of only 5,910. Now, the west coast progress may have been halted, with teacher unions making inroads. It is questionable how much momentum the southeastern urban groups can generate at this point. The most promising situation seems to be in the midwest and north central states (especially Wisconsin, a strong NEA state), where race relations do not impede progress, and where the NEA type of professionalism can grow at an average rate of some 8 percent.

Interest in urban problems was not prevalent in the NEA prior to the shattering defeat of the NEA in New York in 1961. In 1962, a NEA special Urban Project was established to strengthen the affiliates in the cities.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 383.

TABLE V-13¹⁰⁷

Medium-Large Cities
(between 5,000 and 9,000 professionals)

<u>City</u>	<u>Estimated no. of professionals, 1967-68</u>	<u>NEA Members May 31, '68</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Percentage of potential</u>
Atlanta, Ga.	5,489	2,743	375	49.97
Baltimore, Md.	9,190	2,212	-774	24.07
Cleveland, Ohio	6,288	756	n.a.	12.02
Dade County, Fla.	8,968	4,986	203	55.60
Fairfax, Va.	5,660	4,023	344	71.08
Milwaukee, Wisc.	5,426	785	n.a.	14.47
Oahu, Hawaii	7,892	4,566	261	57.85
Prince George, County, Md.	7,457	4,772	1,377	63.99
Washington, D. C.	7,800	2,330	-1,106	29.87

¹⁰⁷Mimeographed compilation NEA Division of Field Services, 1968.
N.a. designates figures not available from the Division.

This became the branch of the NEA to combat union drives in the city. The project received large funding, much of it from a Contingency Fund at the discretion of the Executive Committee.¹⁰⁸ The actual combat tactics and the Contingency fund spending was not brought clearly to the attention of the Assembly, nor was the urban lobby for bylaws amendments or resolutions visible on the Assembly floor before 1965.

The NCUEA had wanted a special NEA office just for urban affairs.¹⁰⁹ One of its spokesmen was Mrs. Helen Bain, elected by the 1965 Assembly to the Executive Committee. At the same 1965 Assembly, a resolution was passed (65-14) which said that "urban problems called for urgent attention from the associations of the teaching profession."¹¹⁰ This was the first assembly resolution on urban affairs. The Assembly acted quickly and without hesitation.

The urban problem was present in a different and more generalized context in the famous resolution 65-12 on Desegregation in the Public Schools, which emphasized the human relations framework of the problem.¹¹¹ An associated

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 278, 290.

¹⁰⁹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 268.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 164.

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 159-164.

idea offered under the form of new business, dealt with the expansion of the work of the NEA Citizenship Committee, which strived for the greater participation of teachers in politics.¹¹² Thus, only in 1965 is there the beginnings of involvement by the Assembly in Urban problems. Late in 1965, the Urban Project became a permanent part of the NEA headquarters staff, to be known as the Urban Services Division.¹¹³

The initiative for action had come not from within the Assembly itself, but from the NCUEA and the Executive Committee; once the problem became known, the Assembly, even if belatedly, tried to concern itself with the urban issue. Its rather quick actions, taken without debate, were a reaction to behind the scenes workings of the Executive Committee and NCUEA.

In 1966, an attempt was made to get the NEA more involved in urban affairs financially. Usually the NEA budget had been adopted without much discussion from the floor; finances were a delicate area where the Assembly delegates feared to tread, an attitude encouraged by the Budget Committee. In 1966, Don Morrison, of California, then president of NCUEA (now an important member of the Board of Directors subcommittee on organizational planning

¹¹²Ibid., p. 205.

¹¹³NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 277.

(CPOD) and president-elect for 1971-72), rose to ask for an increase of \$120,000 in the budget of the Urban Services Division. In an important speech, he disclosed that NCUEA appeared before the Budget Committee to request a raise, but this had been denied. He was tired of having NEA presidents go around the nation, telling urban groups, "We're sorry, we cannot do anything for you this year either."¹¹⁴ He felt that two new regional offices needed staffing, i.e. one in the south central part and one in the mountain states. In a call for action, he also pointed out that in 1965 the Assembly had voted not to put full responsibility for the budget into the hands of the Board of Directors. Lastly, he pointed out that even in urban areas won by the teachers union (AFT), there were still teachers who needed the services of the NEA. His speech was seconded by a Colorado delegate, one of the states that would be especially affected.

The Budget Committee chairman rose at this point to lift the veil of anonymity from the Reserve Fund for Future Emergencies. In addition to the \$236,000 reserve added in 1965, the NEA budget had added an extra \$275,000 to the reserve fund this year. He indicated that these monies would be made available to the urban divisions in the com-

¹¹⁴NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 235.

ing year.¹¹⁵ Other speakers hammered at the theme that by 1975, 300 cities would comprise 90 percent of our population, and 95 percent of teachers would be engaged there, so that urban services would become imperative.¹¹⁶

It was pointed out that higher education staff, too, needed the aid of urban services. Utah volunteered information how the Urban Services had helped the state association there. Delegates from Philadelphia also spoke with appreciation for Urban Services. The series of speakers in favor of the increase was interrupted by one "voice from the floor" (in most cases delegates speaking are identified) who was in favor of using reserve funds for specific contingencies, rather than as a source for regular services that would have to be kept up and expanded annually. At this point a motion to close debate carried, and in a rare move the budget increase for urban services was approved.¹¹⁷ The Assembly acted with almost unprecedented speed, directness, and independence.

It is an interesting sidelight, however, that almost in the same breath, the Assembly stepped back from the issue it had so squarely faced. The Urban Services Division deals only with cities over 100,000, and consequently, urban

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 236.

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp. 236-237.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 239.

areas under that figure are serviced by the ACT.¹¹⁸ Later in the debate, a move to increase the ACT budget by \$75,000 failed, partly due to Dr. Carr's intervention.¹¹⁹ The increase of the Urban Division allotment had already put the NEA budget some \$57,000 in the red and Dr. Carr's opposition to deficit spending was well known.¹²⁰ The Assembly was still under Carr's influence and not independent all along these lines.

In 1967, the tempo of concern on urban problems increased. The Assembly passed a resolution on "Urban Educational Problems" (67-8), one on desegregation in public schools (67-12), the continuance of federal aid grants, both categorical and general (67-4), and fair housing (67-13).¹²¹ Thus, at least four important resolutions out of a total of 30 dealt with urban problems. The Assembly, at the urging of delegates from New Mexico and Washington, D. C., strengthened the language of resolution #13 on fair housing. Later in the Assembly debates, a move was made to reconsider #8, urban educational problems, in order to strengthen it also. The motion was seconded by the president of NCUEA, but

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 238.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 241.

¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 245-246.

¹²¹NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 496-497, 494-495, 498-500.

failed.¹²² When moving to a consideration of the budget, there was a threat that there might be a repetition of what happened on the floor in 1966. In order to choke off amendments, Don Morrison of the Board of Directors, a former NCUEA president, moved resolution to allow the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors to use "any funds within their authority to support a dynamic program and also meet any crisis situation during the year 1967-68."¹²³ He disclosed that Urban Divisions used, in 1966-67, \$104,000 over and above the added amount of \$120,000 put in by the Assembly. It was hoped that this authorization would enable the NEA to spend funds, as required, in the upcoming elections in Baltimore, Maryland and in Washington, D. C. The authorization carried. It is not known, however, exactly how much the NEA did spend in those cities in both of which it lost.

Pursuant to Res. 67-8, in 1968 another project or task force, called the Task Force on Urban Education, was formed; while Urban Division combatted the union, the Task Force on Urban Education was perhaps the first NEA effort to battle the roots of the urban problem, rather than the consequences of neglect. This stance, which may be called militant for the NEA was partly sparked by George Fisher,

¹²²Ibid., pp. 212-213.

¹²³Ibid., p. 238.

NEA president for 1969-70, who had promised always to take a dynamic stand on this issue. The new program was for education and teachers in the big cities.¹²⁴ Mrs. Applegate, who had long been interested in integration, and had promoted this during her tenure as NEA President, was appointed chairman of the Task Force, and formulated seven priorities for study. These included increasing the governmental role, adding to the role of NEA and its affiliates, and improving teacher and administrator education.¹²⁵

Two of these priorities, the role of associations and of teachers was subject to a resolution, under the form of new business, requiring that the Education Task Force develop guidelines for these areas by the time of the 1969 Assembly.¹²⁶

The NCUEA has been active in two moves to restructure the NEA. One involved the size of the Assembly. Instead of limiting its size, they proposed a permanent 80 percent of the total slots allotted to one state for all groups be turned back to local groups. This would have increased the allocation of local affiliates.¹²⁷

¹²⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 343, 384.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 389.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 239.

¹²⁷See Section on Proposals for Reform of Delegate Selection, this chapter, supra.

The NCUEA also supported an amendment on the new classification of departments, since, as its spokesman pointed out, the departments often consume resources of the NEA that could be spent elsewhere (presumably on urban problems).¹²⁸ The new classification scheme was adopted, 4,773 to 784.¹²⁹ All things considered, the urban groups did well to gain the attention of the NEA to the extent that they did. NEA membership figures for urban areas show that on May 31, 1968 urban area membership stood at 253,428; that is less than 25 percent of membership, and only a 2.93 percent increase from 1967. In large metropolitan areas the NEA does extremely poorly. Thus, the six areas where teaching professionals number over 10,000 (Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Houston), the NEA membership amounts to 12.67 percent, 1.35 percent, 3.13 percent, 9.01 percent, 14.69 percent and 24.76 percent, respectively, of the total teaching force.

The Influence of Administrators

The influence of administrators in the Assembly arises from several factors. (a) In an inclusive local group (teachers and administrators) they can command respect by their control of the employment and communication systems,

¹²⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 100.

¹²⁹ See Chapter III of this thesis.

(b) in a classroom teacher local, they can exert indirect and informal pressures due to this position; (c) at the state level, they can discuss state issues intelligently with the state group leadership, and influence the Chief State School Officer;¹³⁰ (d) at the NEA level, they can offer or withhold their services as recruiters of NEA members in their systems. They have a powerful forum in the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), whose February conventions get press coverage rivaling that of NEA Assemblies. A chart showing the percentage of administrators at the 1968 Assembly is appended.

Since administrators work well with State Education officers, they have been in the forefront of NEA members demanding general federal aid,¹³¹ to be channelled through the states. They have also wanted long-range allocations of aid to facilitate their planning. A second major issue for them has been the possibility of teacher strikes. They have vigorously opposed strikes by classroom teachers. Finally, they wanted services from the NEA they had supported so steadily for so long.

On the first of these issues, their views have been especially prevalent in the Assembly since 1968 when the

¹³⁰Starie, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

¹³¹See Chapter VII herein, on NEA Influence: Legislation.

TABLE V-14

Administrators and Supervisory Personnel
at the 1968 Assembly

<u>States (only major delega- tions with 200 delegates and over).</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attended</u>	<u>Number of Administrators & Supervisory Personnel</u>	<u>Percent of Administrators & Supervisory Personnel</u>
California	444	34	8%
Georgia	214	84	40%
Illinois	390	101	26%
Iowa	232	50	22%
Kansas	238	46	20%
Michigan	334	37	11%
Missouri	207	36	13%
No. Carolina	279	79	28%
Ohio	318	61	19%
Pennsylvania	243	43	17%
Texas	646	103	16%

Assembly started advocating the consolidation of categorical aid and the use of block-grants to states.¹³² The NEA has always advocated general aid to states, free from controls.¹³³

On the second point, the administrators have been less successful; since 1962, the Assembly has allowed the use of boycott as a weapon in teacher negotiations¹³⁴ and since 1968 has implicitly tolerated strikes in drastic circumstances.¹³⁵ The administrators have continued to express opposition to work stoppages.

The Assembly in 1968 approved a reclassification scheme for departments, under which AASA moved into the category of associated organization, the loosest relation to NEA. In the meanwhile, the NEA president, George Fisher, who as Convention chairman has a leading role in the Assembly, has said that NEA does not need the administrators. This has led to some hasty fence-mending by the Executive Secretary,¹³⁶ who also set up a new service division for

¹³²NEA Proceedings, 1968, Res. 4, p. 519; see 1969 Res. C-21 and 1970, Res. C-20. From 1963-68, the Assembly did not advocate consolidation but tolerated a proliferation of categoric aid.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴See Chapter VI on Membership Benefits.

¹³⁵NEA Proceedings, 1968, Res. 68-19, pp. 526-527.

¹³⁶Sam M. Lambert, "NEA-AASA Relationship," speech at AASA Convention, Atlantic City, N. J. (February 17, 1969; mimeographed).

for administrators within the NEA structure.

One may conclude that in general the Assembly, dominated by militant classroom teachers, is suspicious or even hostile to administrators as a group, to the point where these valuable NEA allies were almost ready to sever their group connection with the NEA and the Assembly. Yet, in areas such as federal legislation the NEA goes along with the views of administrators who must of necessity administer grants. The Assembly also needs administrators to advise it in other areas of school financing; on the other hand, the administrators want to retain a voice in the NEA. The situation has become one of overt coolness between AASA and Assembly but cooperation in areas where the former is knowledgeable and capable.

The Influence of the Executive Secretary

Historically the Executive Secretary has had to be a "jack-of-all-trades, on top of every issue, yet remaining in the background." In the case of Dr. Carr (who held that office from 1952 to March 4, 1967) the NEA had an able administrator and philosopher, rather than a politician. However, it was often, by the Assembly, felt that he overstepped the limits of an administrator's discretion by becoming the one who gave out mandates, thus impinging upon the powers of the Representative Assembly.

The Carr Era

The Carr secretaryship has been fully discussed in chapter IV of this thesis. Here it suffices to say that his oligarchical views brought Dr. Carr into ready conflict with a politically minded, volatile and membership oriented Assembly, to the point of an open fracas at the 1966 Assembly over an issue that contributed to his premature resignation.

Carr was aware of the somewhat autocratic tendency in the execution of his office, moderated by "plebiscitary democracy" features.

For example, on the question of professional negotiations, Dr. Carr made what seems now to be a policy statement before the Assembly had had a chance to express itself on this burning issue.¹³⁷ On the evening of July 2, 1962, Dr. Carr gave a report to the Assembly which was given wide coverage.¹³⁸ He urged school boards to develop guidelines for professional negotiations with teachers, but pledged that teachers "will never walk out on the students in their charge." This statement was understood by the nation's press to be a policy statement on behalf of the NEA. Said the Washington, D. C. Star, "...it is reassuring to hear

¹³⁷See Ch. VI herein on Membership Benefits and the meaning of professional negotiations and sanctions.

¹³⁸See "Editorial Opinion by U.S. newspapers about the National Education Policy on Professional Association vs. Unionization for Teachers" (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1962, a pamphlet).

from a spokesman for the National Education Association a pledge by its teacher-members" that they will never walk out on students. (emphasis added)¹³⁹ Only on the morning of July 6 did the Assembly consider the issue. Reaction to Dr. Carr's speech was already in the making. A speech by Ralph Joy, (now the Director of the NEA Training Academy and previously, Associate Director of Membership), then a delegate from Iowa, asked that the resolution on professional negotiations (cast in the spirit of Dr. Carr's speech) be approved, "so that we may carry the spirit of Mr. Carr's talk to our communities."¹⁴⁰ This brought Dr. Carr to his feet. "Mr. President," he said, "I do not wish the Representative Assembly to feel that a vote one way or another on this resolution constitutes an endorsement or rejection of what I had to say in my remarks two or three nights ago...I would not like to be in the position where it might be interpreted that you were voting for or against the executive secretary on this issue. However, when you get to that kind of an issue, I won't hesitate to let you know."¹⁴¹

The mood of the Assembly was more militant than that of Dr. Carr. A statement in the proposed resolution that

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 177.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 178.

"under no circumstances should the resolution of differences between professional associations and boards of education be sought through channels set up for handling industrial disputes," immediately came under attack through amendments. The attack was not successful, since the vote came immediately after the Carr intervention in the debate.¹⁴²

A little later, the now famous "professional sanctions" amendment to the resolution was offered by an Oregon delegate.¹⁴³ The term "professional sanctions" has been referred to as a euphorism for a strike, or at least it is vague enough in meaning so that it could embrace the strike. A motion to shunt the amendment aside under the classification of "new business" was lost when a move by Richard Batchelder to suspend the rules and consider the amendment, even if it was new matter, carried by the required 2/3 vote. Thereafter the professional sanctions addition to the original resolution was carried as a New Resolution No. 19. The victory of the militants on this point forced Carr to modify his stand on professional negotiations significantly. The resolution passed again in 1963 and in 1964.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴²Ibid., pp. 175-178.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 181.

¹⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 464-465, 63-15; NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 446, 64-15.

On the question of federal aid to schools, involving the Catholic schools controversy, Carr again had failed to gage the climate of the Assembly in the 1960's. The statement in the 1962-63 resolution on federal aid pushed by Dr. Carr that "federal funds...be used by the states only for the support of tax-supported public elementary and secondary schools" ran into so much adverse public reaction that it was watered down during the next year to break the impasse in Congress on federal aid.¹⁴⁵ The Carr files show that during the years 1962-64, he came to regard the Denver resolution as a "mixed blessing," to say the least, and was forced to work for a modification of the 1962 resolution.¹⁴⁶ In other words, again the Assembly went beyond Dr. Carr's rather conservative view of the issue to demand greater action on the part of the NEA.

By 1964, the temper of both Dr. Carr and of the Assembly tended to be short. His 1964 report to the Assembly, an annual procedure, opened with the words, "The chief purpose of a report is, of course, to provide background information to help you deal with the business of the NEA. My problem is, as always, to select points of

¹⁴⁵NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 219-227, Resolution 63-3; see also Chapter VII herein on NEA's Legislative positions.

¹⁴⁶Annual Report by Dr. Carr, NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 22-24.

top priority for your consideration."¹⁴⁷ This completely moderate and unobjectionable beginning, however, gives way at the end of the report to "strong" urgings on the Assembly.¹⁴⁸ Ten years after the Brown vs. Board of Education decision, Carr still "strongly advise(d) against any attempt by the NEA to coerce or threaten its affiliates" in meeting a desegregation deadline and recommended that the voluntary process of integration continue.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, he asked to be allowed to work "without added pressure or new resolutions."¹⁵⁰

However, the Representative Assembly did not comply with Carr's urgings, and passed Resolution 64-12 requesting the Executive Committee to move against affiliates which did not comply with a July 1, 1966 desegregation deadline. Implicit criticism of Carr can be seen in the debate on this amendment.¹⁵¹ "This (amendment) places the discretionary powers (to take necessary steps) where they should be and where they are--with the Executive Committee,

¹⁴⁷NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁴⁹As it is, the NEA expelled the first local affiliate for non-compliance with integration policy only in January, 1969, (the DeKalb, Georgia Education Association).

¹⁵⁰NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 20.

¹⁵¹NEA Proceedings, 1940, pp. 180-182.

the highest body in our structure."¹⁵² Timing was also against Carr, for the 1964 Civil Rights Act had become law the day before the debate (i.e. on July 2, 1964).

Another instance where the Assembly differed with Dr. Carr concerned the demand of the NEA headquarters staff (organized as NEA Staff Organization or NEASO) to be allowed to negotiate salaries by collective bargaining. In 1966, a resolution supported by the classroom teachers (ACT) was introduced, urging that the rights of professional negotiation be extended to the Central staff. Members of the Oregon delegation spoke in favor, pointing out that several state associations, including California and Illinois, had professional negotiations agreements for their staff. At this point, a motion to close debate was made, at the very same time that Dr. Carr asked for the floor. Dr. Carr apparently did not catch the presiding officer's eye and the motion to close debate was offered first. President Batchelder then asked for, "permission of the Assembly to speak allow Dr. Carr to", in spite of the fact there has been a motion on the previous question..."¹⁵³ Thereupon he put the question to close debate to a vote. The motion to close carried by the two-third vote required, and stood even after a standing vote was taken.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 180.

¹⁵³NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 217.

Dr. Carr's opposition to some tenets and methods of NEASO were well known. He claimed, with much right, that he had done a great deal for the staff, streamlining procedures and instituting benefits. An examination of the Carr files and a comparison of NEA salary scales to Federal pay rates indicate, however, that he brought more order than money into the staff situation. Whether this was because of budget inadequacies, is open to debate; however, both he and Dr. Carpenter, Business Manager, were opposed to deficit spending, and were more oriented to NEA program-- than to staff salaries.

In 1966, the discussion went on to other issues, but the storm boiling under the surface broke when a motion to reconsider the NEASO resolution was presented. Some argued that it was a matter of concern that "the members of this almost one-million member organization would refuse to allow the executive secretary of the organization to make a statement." President Batchelder, somewhat brusquely, pointed out that the Executive Secretary, as a delegate ex officio, had the right to speak at any time, but had signified his intent to speak after the motion to close debate had been offered. His implication was that he would not press for allowing extra courtesies to the Executive Secretary but would let him be subject to the same rules as other delegates--an implication which may or may not have been hostile. The motion for the reconsideration of

Resolution 66-24 on staff negotiations failed.¹⁵⁴

Thus, by 1966 the Assembly was in a mood to question the way Dr. Carr ran the NEA organizations, and it was ready to question the whole basis of his stand. Resolution 66-26 stated that the Executive Committee, as a body representative of membership and responsive to the Assembly should choose the Executive Secretary. The move was aimed at the Board of Trustees, a body (elected by the NEA Board of Directors) which had hitherto picked the secretary. The Trustees were a five-man body tending to be conservative. The Assembly passed the resolution even after it was pointed out to them that its implication went against both the Charter and Bylaws as presently written.¹⁵⁵ Two votes were taken, a show of hands leaving the President in doubt and causing him to require a standing vote. There was a quorum challenge immediately afterwards, which was overruled by the chair.¹⁵⁶ Dr. Carr announced his resignation, already impending, very shortly after the 1966 Convention, although his contract had been renewed in 1964 for another four years.

¹⁵⁴NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 217ff.

¹⁵⁵NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 222.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 224.

The above discussion only covers the negative side of the issue. Dr. Carr had worked on many issues on which he was supported by the Assembly throughout his long years of tenure. Yet, in many respects he was a DeGaulle to his Assembly, an admirable figure, but somewhat aloof from the political impetus of the times. This aloofness caused him to get into "political jams" as the above issues demonstrate, especially after the NEA's defeat in New York City in 1961. Thereafter, the Assembly often showed its determination not to be influenced by Dr. Carr, but to keep and strengthen its own sphere of action and influence, with the help of the NEA Executive Committee.

The Educational Policies Commission

(EPC) and the Assembly

The Educational Policies Commission (EPC), an influential body, was officially discontinued by the Executive Committee as of June 30, 1968.¹⁵⁷ Its demise is generally attributed to three factors: (a) its stand on federal aid to education, (b) its dominance by persons not accountable to the Assembly, and (c) its identification with NEA policy in the popular mind. The EPC drew its

¹⁵⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 39, 359; the Executive Committee's action came in Nov. of 1967, and the EPC ended its activities in June of the following year. The out put and influence of the EPC is discussed in Ch. VII herein. See also NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 327.

political support not only from Higher Education members of the NEA (which comprise, according to the latest count, only 2.6 percent), but certain state associations which were in sympathy with EPC positions. Dr. Carr also regarded it with special concern since he had been long associated with it before 1932.

Despite the influence the EPC exerted on the Assembly at times, the reaction from the Assembly floor at the time of its demise was almost nonchalant. A report was asked for by one of the delegates, but it was never given on the floor. The Assembly should have arrogated to itself the power to terminate EPC, since this is its function under the Bylaws. Yet, it accepted the Executive Committee's argument that since EPC had been created by an Executive Committee agreement with the administrators' group (AASA) it had the power to end EPC. Perhaps the Assembly was glad to be free of yet another pressure.

Federal Aid to Education

The issue of federal aid had been a thorny one for sometime. Since 1962 at least, the Association had supported federal programs of specific aids.¹⁵⁹ In Educational Responsibilities of the Federal Government (1964), the EPC

¹⁵⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 77.

¹⁵⁹NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392 (Res. 62-3).

took a stand for specific aids in line with recent Assembly policy.¹⁶⁰ This brought approval from the Classroom Teachers but objections from administrators, who have traditionally preferred general aid, without strings attached. In 1967 the EPC, in a surprise statement, "Federal Financial Relationships to Education," reversed its 1964 stand, assuming a stance for general aid, and rejecting categorical aid.¹⁶¹ This went against the fundamental political compromise reached in the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, which was mainly categorical aid and which had been supported by the NEA. There were numerous exceptions to the EPC statement, including one from John W. Gardner who thought the EPC was favoring state capital politics against urban renewal, and also a rare dissent by an EPC member, John H. Fisher, president of Columbia University's Teacher College.

Dr. Carr took up a position supporting EPC, with which he had long been associated. "We still have to convince the Congress and the public that granting funds for specific purposes which Congress selects and under plans which are reviewed in the federal government is not the best way to guard against federal control in education."¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰New York Times, July 9, 1967 (Review of week section), p. 5.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 20.

When the Federal Aid to Education (Res. 67-4) issue came to the floor of the Assembly the position of the EPC was a major factor in the debate.¹⁶³ Amendments to delete sections of the resolution favoring state and local discretion in spending federal funds, were defeated, as were additions opposing discrimination based on religion, race or ethnic origin.¹⁶⁴ The resolution was passed under the powerful guidance of the chairman of the NEA Legislative Commission, William Hebert of Massachusetts; and the support of Carl Wilkerson, a principal from the state of Colorado; opposition came from the more liberal chairman of the NEA Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission. It was pointed out by Hebert that the resolution was drawn after a canvass of "every state education association in the country, every state Commissioner of Education, and...selected leaders throughout the educational profession..."¹⁶⁵ including the EPC.

Later in the Assembly, a motion to reconsider Resolution 67-4 was made successfully. It was pointed out that 67-4 might well have been in conflict with more generous

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 162, 166. The Assembly was reacting, perhaps, to the conservative trend seen in the 1966 Congressional elections.

¹⁶⁵NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 162.

resolutions on integration and urban educational problems. New attacks were mounted by Negro delegates from the south on section (c) dealing with the limitation of specific aid programs. In a surprise move, chairman Hebert of the Legislative Commission changed his stand by seconding the deletion of section (c), after a new, strong, integration resolution had passed.¹⁶⁶ The new stand ran into the strong opposition of Wilkerson, a previous speaker and strong supporter of general Federal aid. The move to delete section (c) failed, however.¹⁶⁷ In the continuing discussion Hebert termed section (c) a "philosophical statement by the Educational Policies Commission."¹⁶⁸ He then submitted that legislative responsibility belongs to the Legislative Commission of the NEA, and questioned EPC's right to issue public statements on the NEA legislative programs. Finally, a statement was inserted, into Resolution 67-4, to say that it was to be implemented in full compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.¹⁶⁹

The passage of the resolution was no doubt a resounding victory for the EPC. In the 1968 Assembly, the

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 198.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 202-203.

1967 resolution was re-passed with only editorial changes.¹⁷⁰ The EPC had made its influence felt in the Representative Assembly but at the cost of losing popularity with other Commissions (e.g. the Legislative Commission and the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission), and with many Classroom Teacher groups. Perhaps too, the Assembly became somewhat wary of the influence being exerted upon it. At any rate the EPC's stand on general federal aid to education seems to have hastened its demise which came in June of 1968, shortly before the 1968 Assembly was to meet.

It might be surmised that the EPC proposal of 1967, successful on the Assembly floor, supported by Dr. Carr, gave rise to fears in the Executive Committee that the EPC would continue to function as a power base for administrators and for Dr. Carr, who had been closely identified with it. Yet, a new executive secretary had assumed office as of August 1, 1967.

De Facto Segregation

According to the words of James E. Russell, it happens only rarely that an EPC statement is adopted in toto as NEA policy. An instance of this can be found in the NEA resolutions on de facto segregation. A 1965 statement of the EPC entitled "American Education and the Search for Equal

¹⁷⁰NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 519-520.

Opportunity," was issued just prior to the 1965 convention, timed so that appraisal of it could be included in the NEA president's annual address. (She found it necessary to point out that the EPC does not make policy for the NEA.)¹⁷¹ In the Assembly, a new item of business was introduced to adopt the above statement as NEA policy. The sponsor himself added this caveat "It is likely that most lay persons and many educators assume that a statement of the EPC is, in fact, a statement of the NEA. This is not a fact."¹⁷² The item of new business was adopted, with no debate, not even from the representation-conscious classroom teachers, so that this seems to be a case of "protesting too much," on the part of the Assembly, which indeed did make NEA policy out of an EPC statement.

In conclusion, one may state that the EPC was a powerful influence in the Assembly during its lifetime because its statements were in agreement with large segments of the NEA and because it had many powerful supporters, among them Dr. Carr and Dr. James E. Russell who not only held the post of Executive Secretary of the EPC from 1957 to its demise but was for a number of years, the NEA staff liaison officer to the Resolutions Committee elected mostly

¹⁷¹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 16.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 200.

by the state delegates to the Assembly.¹⁷³ However, EPC's power waned after the retirement of Dr. Carr and its termination by the Executive Committee was not challenged by the Assembly.

D. EVALUATION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S ROLE

In "Affiliation and Representation," a 1962 report of a NEA staff study, the Assembly is described as having five functions:

1. It is the official legislative body of the Association.
2. It affords individual members a chance to be involved in the work of the Association.
3. It inspires delegates and members in attendance.
4. It trains leaders through participation.
5. It focuses public attention upon the problems of education.¹⁷⁴

All of the above statements are self-serving and may be refuted, at least in part. The terse statement of the Charter provisions to the effect that the Assembly "elects officers and transacts business" is much more to the point. In all objectivity, it cannot be said that the Representative Assembly does more.

¹⁷³NEA Standing Rules, 1969, Rule 8.

¹⁷⁴John Starie, "Affiliation and Representation in the National Education Association--A Preliminary Staff Study" (Washington, D. C.: The Association, September, 1962, mimeographed).

Assembly Committees

In theory, the Assembly can debate anything and pass any piece of legislation it wishes. In practice, it can do little more than exercise a veto power over the amendments and resolutions and financial plans put forth by the three key committees that work with the Assembly: Bylaws and Rules, Resolutions and Budget. In effect, the Assembly cannot discuss many items at great length although it has had "great debates," on integration, on public education, and on the operations of the NEA. Basically, it relies, like state and national legislatures have come to rely, on committee work. Some 7,000 delegates just cannot debate a multiplicity of issues intelligently at length. When a group has a very limited time available for a great many things, it tends to become a rubber stamp to some extent.

Time Available for Discussion of Business

Once, the time of the Assembly was filled almost completely with speeches and lectures by eminent public or educational figures. Although meetings are now divided into General (ceremonial) and Business Meetings, there are demands that the General Meetings take place at another time of the year. Charts showing the time spent in Assemblies follow.

CHART V-15Breakdown of Time Spent at the
Representative Assembly*

<u>Assembly</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Convention</u> <u>Time</u>	<u>Business</u> <u>Sessions</u>		<u>Other</u> <u>Addresses,</u> <u>Reports, etc.</u>	
	<u>Number</u> <u>of</u> <u>Hours</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>of</u> <u>Hours</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>of</u> <u>Time</u>	<u>Number</u> <u>of</u> <u>Hours</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>of</u> <u>Time</u>
1964	21-3/4	16	73.0%	5-3/4	27.0%
1965	20-1/4	14-1/4	70.5%	6	29.5%
1966	23	19-1/2	84.8%	3-1/2	15.2%
1967	26-1/4	19-	72.9%	7-1/4	27.6%
1968	27-1/2	23-3/4	88.2%	3-1/4	11.8%

*Based on analysis of NEA Proceedings, 1964-1968.

CHART V-16

Number of Proposals and Time Spent in Discussion*

Assem- bly Year	Changes in Bylaws and Rules		Resolutions		New Business	
	No. of Propo- sals	Hours of Discus- sion	No. of Propo- sals	Hours of Discus- sion	No. of Propo- sals	Hours of Discus- sion
1964	12	11-3/4	25	3	4	1-1/4
1965	8	6	24	6-1/4	10	2
1966	8	8-3/4	28	8-1/4	13	2-1/4
1967	18	8-1/4	30	9-1/4	8	1-1/2
1968	15	13-3/4	38	7-3/4	21	2-1/4

*Based on analysis of NEA Proceedings, 1964-1968.

NEA Resolutions

Resolutions Committee

All resolutions must first go through the Resolutions Committee which screens all items presented to them in order to decide which are resolutions. Only then may a resolution reach the Assembly floor.

The Committee is made up of the following members:

A Standing Committee of five members appointed by the President for a term of five years whose duties consist of editing.

A number of representatives equal to the number of Board of Director members to serve for one year only elected by the state delegations.¹⁷⁵

The deadline for submitting a resolution to the Committee is the evening of the first day on which the first Assembly business session takes place; but this requirement may be waived by the unanimous consent of the Assembly.

The Committee must hold at least one open hearing at the time of the Convention, and must submit a final report to the Assembly the day before action on the resolutions begins.

¹⁷⁵NEA Standing Rules, 1968, Rule #8. Reprinted in NEA Handbook, 1968, pp. 62-63.

Minority reports have not been allowed to be presented, until very recently.¹⁷⁶

Status of Assembly Resolutions

The status of resolutions is not too clear. It may be argued that in many respects their force is that of U. N. General Assembly resolutions which have a strong consensus basis and persuasive force, but depend on the various states for enforcement. In the same way, although a NEA resolution on unification was passed in 1962 (Res. 62-15), unification has occurred in only nineteen states, with nineteen states committed to actions and fourteen left uncommitted.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, changes in the Code of Ethics, adopted by the NEA Assembly of 1968 at Dallas, have been adopted by only nine states as of February, 1969. This is an area where confederalism and states' rights has been strongly operative. To get all states into line on a certain proposition is like passing an amendment to the Federal Constitution, only more complicated since there are more than 50 NEA 'state' units.

Whether the resolutions and items of new business are obligatory on the staff, seems to be an open question. The bylaw amendments are clearly obligatory in law and are

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Fact Sheet, February, 1969, "Progress in Unification of the Teaching Profession."

so recognized. In recent years, but only since 1967, there has been a clear-cut decision on the part of the Executive Committee to implement Assembly resolutions. This decision occurred at the important Stone Mountain, Ga. conference (executive session) in August, 1967.¹⁷⁸ As a by-product of this changed atmosphere, a booklet "Policies in Action" (1968) was issued by the Convention Coordinator, Miss Rogers, with implementation shown for the 1967 resolutions. There have been no 1969 or 1970 editions.

Classification of Resolutions

In contrast to a state legislature where items of proposed legislation are referred to an appropriate committee, and the adopted laws printed up in codified form, until recently there has been no consistent method of presenting and recording NEA resolutions by subject-headings. Since the start of the new policy of implementation, a belated effort is being made to classify resolutions. Even now, confusion reigns. To illustrate: The "Policies in Action" booklet deals with the 1967 resolutions under the following headings:

- A. Benefits and Working Conditions
- B. Civil and Human Rights
- C. Educational Opportunity

¹⁷⁸See Ch. IV herein on the Executive Committee.

- D. Instruction
- E. International Education
- F. Moral and Spiritual Values
- G. Negotiations and Sanctions
- H. Professional Associations
- I. Public Relations
- J. School Finance

A 1969 proposed codification of resolutions into standing or "Continuing" Resolutions (those of a "more permanent nature") is as follows:¹⁷⁹

- A. Educational Opportunity
- B. Professional Competence
- C. Educational Programs
- D. Adequate Facilities--Equipment, Materials
- E. Financial Supports
- F. Effective Organizational & Admin. Services
- G. Employment Practices and Standards
- H. Professional Autonomy and Freedom
- I. Active Participation in Policy-Making
- J. Professional Associations

It may be that the first classification is more representative of NEA policies. Human rights for instance,

¹⁷⁹Adopted in 1969. See NEA Standing Rules, 1970, Rule 8: "Resolutions adopted by the Representative Assembly as 'continuing resolutions' shall continue in force without further action in succeeding years."

have been discussed and passed repeatedly, as have resolutions on the important status of the classroom teacher, on educational opportunity and urban affairs, and on international understanding. Thus, the second, official proposal (the work of the Resolutions Committee staff) not only introduces a different classification, but leaves out "civil and human rights" and does not fairly reflect the standing policies of the Representative Assembly.

The Platform

The Platform, scheduled for abolition in 1969, after making its appearance in 1932, also attempted classifications of permanent resolutions from time to time; the 1968 Platform had the following twelve categories:¹⁸⁰

1. Educational Opportunity for all;
2. A Competent Educator in Every Professional Position;
3. Time to Teach;
4. Curriculums Adapted to Individual and Social Needs;
5. Adequate Facilities, Equipment and Materials;
6. Adequate Financial Support;
7. Effective Services to Schools;
8. Professional Autonomy and Freedom;

¹⁸⁰The platform comprised "standing resolutions;" see explanatory note, NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 424, on custom to insert resolutions of three years standing into platform, see NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 194.

9. Public Guidance and Understanding;
10. Active Participation in Public Affairs;
11. Employment Policies and Standards that Ensure Competence;
12. Strong Professional Associations.¹⁸¹

In conclusion, one sees that the job of classifying NEA resolutions is complex and has been attempted from many points of view over the years. The replacement of the "platform" by continuing and current resolutions in 1969 is a welcome change, since "platform" has connotations of grand-stand plays and unfulfilled promises due partly to the behavior of political parties. The codification of "continuing resolutions" may not be satisfactory; however, no Assembly debate on the new format took place in 1969 or thereafter.

Proposals from the Floor

Apart from the NEA standing Convention Committees, new ideas can be expressed in two ways: (a) amendment and/or substitution of proposed resolutions, and (b) items of new business.

New Business

New business on substantive policies of the Association was for years required to be submitted in writing before

¹⁸¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 514 ff.

the close of the "Thursday morning session."¹⁸² In 1965 the requirement that these be submitted through and by state delegations was deleted.¹⁸³ In 1968, a change was passed to allow the introduction of new business at any time before the third business session, to be acted upon at the next session, to be acted upon at the next session.¹⁸⁴

This still left the disputed question of what exactly "new business" was and whether there was a real difference between new business and resolutions.¹⁸⁵ Many challenged the right of the Bylaws and Rules Committee to classify motions under resolutions and new business, which gave it the right to eliminate some potentially explosive statements.¹⁸⁶ The Bylaws and Rules Committee moved to shore up their position by amending Standing Rules to read:

"Rule 6(j). New business consists of those motions that reflect the will of the Assembly on matters which relate to the operation of the Assembly or programs of action for the Association. Such motions are specific in nature and terminal in application."

¹⁸²NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 84.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁸⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 511, 56-57.

¹⁸⁵NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 67-69, 252, 257.

¹⁸⁶NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 150, 253.

This amendment of the Standing Rules was adopted in 1968.¹⁸⁷ Unresolved (because of faulty draftsmanship or oversight) is the matter of new business conflicting with passed resolutions, as shown in 1966 when an item of new business was ruled out of order since it changed the gravamen of Res. 66-4 on federal aid to education.¹⁸⁸ The word "terminal" in Rule 6(j) gave rise immediately to questions; the answer of the Bylaws and Rules Committee chairman was not too satisfactory in the light of a 1966 exchange.¹⁸⁹

There is a definite feeling on the part of some orderly minded delegates that new business is a way of bringing resolutions "in a backdoor."¹⁹⁰ Many resolutions are "programs for action" also, and in reverse, new business has been allowed that was begun "be it resolved." The most useful ingredient of the definition is that new business has to be an action item.

The problem is compounded by the new revision which would codify past resolutions into continuing (standing) resolutions, to take place of both old resolutions and the

¹⁸⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 56, 511.

¹⁸⁸NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 253.

¹⁸⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 56.

¹⁹⁰NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 147.

already existing platform. This classification also includes "Current Resolutions," which are defined as "action items of immediate interest." The whole question points out the drafting problems of the Association. Items of new business and officially sponsored resolutions (including mere shells where the resolution has been amended almost beyond recognition) could well be labelled together as Current Resolutions. Another step toward clarity has been the printing, at long last, of items of new business passed on pages of the Proceedings following the Resolutions. This was done first in the 1968 volume after an attempt to mandate this failed in 1966.¹⁹¹

The main channels of expression for the Assembly then are, (a) resolutions and new business, (b) receiving reports of various bodies, (c) passing on the budget, (d) election of officers, (e) amendments and rules.

Regarding the compliance with the Assembly's expressed wishes and resolutions by the rest of the NEA organization, the question arises only in area (a), since (b) and (c), (d) and (e) are automatically accepted. It will be seen, however, that pressure for compliance is lessened, if the item is presented as a resolution and not as a change of bylaws. A resolution is an internal matter and is not

¹⁹¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 531-533; NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 146-148.

raised to the corporate-legal, enforceable level.

The Effectiveness of the Assembly
in NEA's Conduct of Policy

The Assembly and Other NEA Governing Units

The 1962 study referred to claims that the Assembly is the official legislative body of the Association. The NEA Bylaws also state that "...the Assembly shall be the legislative and policy-forming body of the Association." Yet, as the NEA Development Project pointed out,¹⁹² no specific group is in charge of setting goals. There are three independently constituted bodies--a three-tiered system of governance--each of which does in effect legislate. Thus, the Executive Committee is charged with representing and acting for the Board of Directors (not the Assembly) on all matters affecting the general policies and professional interests of the Association between the meetings of the Board of Directors. The Board, elected as they are by state delegations¹⁹³ for a term of three years, are not always responsive to the wishes of the Assembly where delegates are chosen annually and where a majority of delegates respond

¹⁹²NEA Bylaws, 1968, Art. VII, sec. 3; see "Affiliation and Representation," op. cit., in fn. 163, supra.

¹⁹³A choice no longer ratified by the Assembly, as until 1958; see NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 198.

not to state pressures but to local or classroom teacher group (ACT) policy.

The Executive Committee has since 1967 coordinated its policy with the Assembly,¹⁹⁴ since at least eight of its ten members have been elected, at one time or another, by the Assembly (president, vice-president, immediate past president, treasurer, and four members elected at large by the Representative Assembly. Two are elected by the Board.)

Thus, although the Executive Committee is supposed to operate "for and on behalf" of the Board, it has in fact, developed along independent lines, working with the Assembly since 1967. The Assembly has institutionalized new pre-dominance of Executive Committee over the Board by adding new powers to the former. For example, in 1968, the Assembly voted to transfer the important powers of the Board of Trustees to the Executive Committee.¹⁹⁵ These powers, as spelled out in the Charter, were (a) election of the powerful executive secretary, (b) management of the "Permanent Fund," intended for maintaining and operating NEA's physical plant and publishing the Proceedings. These powers were not transferred to the Executive Committee directly, without any

¹⁹⁴NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 342-43 on Stone Mountain, Ga. conference.

¹⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 132, 243; NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 88.

reference to the Board of Directors, since the Assembly resolution required a 2/3 vote of the Executive Committee and the Board for the change, but the Assembly made it clear it wanted this reorganization. The approval of the Board was obtained.¹⁹⁶

Because of its greater flexibility, frequent meetings and small size, and because of the 1967 Stone Mountain, Ga. conference in which it pledged to follow through on the Assembly resolutions, the Committee now has both the support of the Assembly and the initiative vis-a-vis the Board.¹⁹⁷

Compliance with Assembly Resolutions

At the outset, one may note that it was only during the presidency of Mrs. Applegate (1965-66) that Assembly resolutions began to be reviewed comprehensively in the Committee, with a view to compliance. Moreover, the important Resolution as to classroom teacher representation on commissions and committees and the Bylaw providing for classroom teacher positions among Committee members was not passed until 1965.¹⁹⁸ At the 1967 Convention, the Assembly,

¹⁹⁶See for Committee and Board approval, NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 350-352, 306.

¹⁹⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 342-343.

¹⁹⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 417, 394.

taking advantage of the change in secretaryships and the confusion as to the distribution of power due to Dr. Carr's premature resignation, passed Resolution 67-28 affirming the role of the Assembly as the NEA "policy-making body" and reminding other units that their duty was to implement. This resolution was passed in 1968 but omitted in 1969 because of the restructuring of the platform as continuing resolutions.¹⁹⁹

There have been repeated allegations that neither Dr. Carr or Board nor Committee have been prompt and vigorous in carrying out the Assembly's wishes on issues such as, (a) urban locals, (b) integration, (c) membership benefits. Since these are such key issues, an examination between these three items will show the increased coordination between Assembly and some officers of the Association and the increased assertion of the basic policy-making role by the Assembly.

Urban Affairs. The defeat of the NEA in New York City in December, 1961, brought to a head a long-festering condition. Urban affiliates were discussed at the 1961 Convention, about half a year before the NEA defeat. Challenged by the National Council of Urban Education Associa-

¹⁹⁹Res. 1968-27, NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 529; cf. also New Business Item #8, July 3, 1969, Assembly meeting in Philadelphia, Pa.

tions (NCUEA) in 1961 Dr. Carr explained on the floor that about one-half of a special annual project money (some \$25,000 of \$50,000) was going to a study to develop a program for urban groups.²⁰⁰ NCUEA moved for the immediate creation of a division of urban services, to parallel the long-established Division of Rural Services.²⁰¹ Many state delegations supported the proposal. Dr. Carr, however, threw cold water on it by asserting that the Assembly must not "precipitate action without any investigation or study..."²⁰² He exhorted everyone to have confidence in the Board of Directors and other officers to organize efforts. The motion to create an urban division immediately was lost. Another motion requested the appropriation of another \$50,000 for the 1961-62 Budget, to go to the Urban Project. Dr. Carr again rose to point out that the NEA Contingency Fund was, on the recommendation of the Secretary and the action of the Executive Committee, available for the solution of specific problems.²⁰³ The general dissatisfaction of the Assembly with efforts in this area was shown in the passage of a general Resolution (No. 16) on Urban Problems,

²⁰⁰NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 222-224, 396.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 222; on rural division appropriations, Ibid., pp. 219, 390.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 223.

²⁰³Ibid., p. 227.

and the success of an amendment inserting the words "urges the officers and directors to intensify efforts" in this area.²⁰⁴

There was haste to implement in an area in which delegates expressed deep concerns. Only on March 15, 1962 was the NEA Urban Project established, with a director and staff attached to the office of the Secretary.

The Assembly was plainly dissatisfied in 1962 as to the 1961-62 progress. The Budget shows that of the \$50,000 and more allocated in 1961 for state and local projects in urban areas, and for conferences on the subject, only some \$28,000 was spent.²⁰⁵ Funds to locals were slow in forthcoming and Allan West of Utah, the director of the Urban Project, felt compelled to state that delay in acting upon applications for help did not indicate unworthiness of the urban association, but the NEA's desire to make sure that funds would have an impact. For 1962-63, the Budget Committee recommended the expenditure of \$203,000; the Assembly approved this sum.²⁰⁶

In July, 1963, the issue was still quiescent on the floor, to the relief of those who saw in this matter a dan-

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 212.

²⁰⁵NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 360.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 192. Dr. West, the executive secretary of the Utah Education Association, had been appointed project director possibly to forestall state group objections to large scale new services to locals often at odds into state groups.

gerously divisive issue.²⁰⁷ Things continued at the same pace in 1963-64; the report of the Urban project discussed at length the NEA victory over the union in Milwaukee, Wisc., in February, 1964, but neglected to mention the NEA defeat in Detroit on May 11, 1964 and the loss of Cleveland in early June.²⁰⁸

Finally, in June, 1964, Richard Batchelder, assured of support for the NEA vice-presidency, moved in the Committee to create the post of an assistant executive secretary for local association services, "and so inform the Board." The motion passed.²⁰⁹ The Committee finally moved forward in this area. The Board questioned the wisdom of calling the new office that of "field operations and urban services,"²¹⁰ but the Committee's jurisdiction in this matter was upheld.²¹¹ In June, 1965, again just before the Convention, the Committee made the urban project a continu-

²⁰⁷T. Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 67.

²⁰⁸NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 384; Stinnett, op. cit., p. 72.

²⁰⁹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 265. The Board, representing the state groups, had been jealous of NEA's new emphasis on local services.

²¹⁰Perhaps as an expression of discontent with the trend to service urban locals.

²¹¹Ibid., pp. 242, 245, 248.

ing division of the NEA, taking it from the Secretary's tutelage. In the 1966 Convention the NCUEA flexed its muscles (Richard Batchelder was president), and showed it could pass, in an unprecedented fashion, an extra \$120,000 allocation for the Division of Urban Services.²¹² Protests that the Contingency Fund was exhausted and that the extra allocation would put the budget in the red, were ignored.

In summary, it took from July, 1961 to June, 1965 to establish the Urban division as a permanent unit, and place it in a place in the organization chart where the Committee and the Assembly could supervise it; till that time, the Secretary held it under his tutelage. Although, according to Stinnett, vast sums were spent in urban areas during 1962-66 to combat unionism²¹³ there was very little attempt to explain this in detail or to pacify the Assembly that the needs of urban locals were being met on a well-planned, permanent basis. Thus, the latter found it necessary in 1966 to lead a revolt on the Budget Committee and appropriate, in a unique action, the extra \$120,000 to Urban Services. The question whether the governing groups followed the resolution of 1961 faithfully--i.e. if they

²¹²NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 234-239, 245-246.

²¹³Stinnett, op. cit., p. 68; he calculates that all units spent some \$5 million, from regular allocations and the Contingency Fund. These moneys, however, represented no long-range commitment to urban locals.

took all appropriate steps--is difficult to answer. Much inbuilt, rural, conservative opposition to any teacher militancy or urban militancy had to be overcome; the support of the state legislature was likely to be lost by hasty action. Eventually, as Stinnett points out, urban locals, at least in medium size cities, were upgraded and the NEA has continued to be strong in medium-sized and smaller cities.²¹⁴ However, the Secretary and the other governing groups failed in not reporting the issue adequately to a restless Assembly.²¹⁵ The latter has continued to push the issue and a related project, the Human Relations Center.

Integration. On the question of integration, the record shows that the desires of the Assembly constantly outran the actions of the governing groups at least until 1964, when the Executive Committee was specifically brought into this issue by Assembly resolution No. 12, and when the "young Turks" on the Committee were strong enough to respond to the direction of the Assembly. In the late 1950's the Assembly was content to state that a problem existed in the states, urging goodwill in its solution.²¹⁶ It has been

²¹⁴Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

²¹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 186-188, 190-205. See Ch. IV herein on Executive Committee actions on integration.

²¹⁶The advertisement of NEA inadequacies would have posed a difficult choice.

noted that despite the Secretary's protestations, for a while little was done in this field.²¹⁷ In 1960, the resolution "Desegregation in the Public Schools," commended the officers and directors of the NEA for their actions concerning integration.²¹⁸ In 1961, the Assembly moved closer to firm action by "requesting" officers and directors of the NEA to initiate an action program in this field.²¹⁹ In 1962 (Res. 14) it again commended the officers and directors for their action up to this point.²²⁰

On October 18, 1963 the Committee discussed integration of NEA state affiliates and the removal of racial barriers. Dr. Carr reported that "he had tried to have a meeting of the leaders of the white and Negro state associations," but that too many were fully occupied in the fall months.²²¹ A full report was promised for early 1964. The 1964 convention report by Dr. Carr showed that in January, 1964, the NEA and the American Teachers Association (ATA), the coordinating group for the Negro state affiliates met

²¹⁷NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 204.

²¹⁸NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 181-185. Or brought the matter to their attention again?

²¹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 194, 210-211.

²²⁰NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 396.

²²¹NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 290; see also Ibid., p. 19.

and set up a "sociological study of steps necessary" for the merger of the two organizations.²²² This was but a beginning to the problem of integration; ATA, a peak or umbrella organization like NEA, could not force its state affiliates to act. Moreover, ATA always did want to merge with NEA; the real problem was to convince white associations to merge. Merger of the NEA with ATA was finally brought about in 1965-66.²²³

By 1964, the Assembly recognized that the impending merger of the two umbrella organizations--NEA and ATA--was not the equivalent of an all-out effort to end segregation within the ranks of white state and local affiliates. It finally inserted a time limit for the integration of its segregated groups. It also took the line that instead of urging the NEA officers, it should instruct the officers to take certain action. The amended resolution No. 2 in 1964 instructs the officers to direct local and state affiliates to remove restrictive clauses in their constitutions and by-laws, and present plans for complete integration of associations by July 1, 1966.²²⁴

It was only in 1965 that the proceedings showed conference funds for the integration of dual affiliates.²²⁵

²²²Ibid., p. 19.

²²³NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 79-85.

²²⁴NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 179-190.

²²⁵NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 80, in February, 1965.

With some debate Res. 65-12, in the form passed in 1964, was repassed with an amendment creating and staffing a Human Relations Commission, an idea that Dr. Carr had downgraded in 1963.²²⁶ Finally, on February 10, 1966, an advisory panel was set up to make recommendations to the Executive Committee on concrete steps to implement Resolution 12 of 1964 and 1965. The panel was to meet in the Spring of 1966, and was to put the item on the April Executive Committee agenda. Yet, in April no action was taken. The Secretary's problem and the Executive Committee's difficulty hinged around the possible alienation of segregated white affiliates in the southern and border states, which supplied some 40 percent of NEA's membership. Even with the weak movement to integration, NEA had been declared a subversive group by the Louisiana Attorney General. This latter move may have shown for the NEA, however, that compromise on this issue would please neither Negro nor white and only lose face for the NEA.

The Assembly continued to attack the problem aggressively in 1966, when its desegregation resolution finally called for the suspension or disaffiliation of groups that had not complied with the 1966 deadline; it moreover mandated the Executive Committee to supervise plans for complete mergers which were to be completed by June 1, 1967

²²⁶NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 182; NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 159 ff.

unless Committee-approved plans submitted before July 1, 1966 allowed otherwise.²²⁷

In 1966, Dr. Carr presented a highly optimistic report to the Assembly on integration but the Committee found it necessary to suspend, temporarily, the Louisiana Teachers Association (white) for non-compliance.²²⁸ The suspension was lifted soon thereafter, however, pending the annual November meeting of the Louisiana group in November.²²⁹ In taking this action, the Committee did not follow the instruction of Resolutions 66-12 to the letter. The temporary suspension was lifted in May, 1967 on a promise by Louisiana to integrate.²³⁰ As of May, 1969 the Louisiana group was suspended again for not delivering on its promises. Recently, the Committee has suspended the white Mississippi State Teachers Association and the Negro and Louisiana Education Association as well for non-compliance with merger plans.²³¹

²²⁷Res. No. 12, NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 471-472.

²²⁸NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 16; NEA Proceedings, p. 315.

²²⁹NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 318, on October 13, 1966.

²³⁰NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 347-348.

"California Congressman Praises NEA for Progress in Merger of Dual Affiliates," News Release (mimeoed) July 2, 1969 Philadelphia Convention; see also Congressional record Vol. 115, No. 107, 91st Congress, 1st Session, Washington, D. C., June 27, 1969, House of Representatives. See also discussions in Chapter IV herein on Executive Committee.

To summarize, the Assembly became insistent on the integration issue as early as 1961. Finding little advance during 1961-64, the Assembly mandated a 1966 deadline for the integration of its own affiliates, and has been enforcing this with varied success since, under the guidance and cooperation of the Committee. As a result, in 1970 Louisiana and Mississippi are outside of the NEA umbrella. The Secretary and the Board, aware of states' rights, regarded this problem as dangerous and divisive, not realizing fully that the image of the NEA and the Assembly was tarnished by delay, and that the southern affiliates did not really have anywhere else to go. Thus, the record of the Assembly in gaining compliance for its integration resolutions is a mixed one.

Membership Benefits. On membership benefits, the desires of the majority of the Assembly again far outran the implementation. The well-known Portland Circles of 1956, at which the aims and goals of the NEA in its second century were discussed, strongly indicated that members were in favor of various NEA group insurance plans. Opposition from mid-western states such as Iowa, Illinois, Ohio that had their own group insurance programs was strong.²³² Here again, Dr. Carr moved, but with extreme caution and tact.

²³²See Chapter VI herein on Membership Benefits.

The Special Committee on Insurance, discussing this issue with the Assembly in 1960, admitted that direct insurance services to members had been under discussion for over three years, and that a research division poll of 1958 indicated as many as 45 percent of membership to be definitely interested.²³³ Voluntary as well as automatic non-voluntary plans (the latter to be paid from membership fees) were discussed at great length. A February, 1959 conference of state and national leaders failed to resolve the issue so that, in a relatively rare move, the officers decided to hold a referendum in the Assembly to gain a clearer mandate. The insurance issue was placed on the ballot by a decision of the Assembly, under the urging of the Department of Classroom Teachers. The then president of ACT, Richard Batchelder, later to be NEA president, was much in favor of expanded insurance, his rare eloquence, clarity of expression and intelligence carried a deep impression.²³⁴ The delegates approved the insurance services expansion by a vote of 3,762 for and 1,004 against.²³⁵

Here again, a simple resolution of the Assembly failed to resolve the impasse. It was another year before

²³³NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 98.

²³⁴Ibid., p. 107; in general, see NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 98-108.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 200.

the carrier was found to underwrite the expanded NEA insurance programs. At the 1962 Representative Assembly the Insurance Committee could finally report that the Prudential Life Insurance Co. of North America had been chosen and that NEA members would be able to enroll in the fall of 1961.²³⁶

The record here indicates that although the Portland (1956) deliberations of the Assembly were given weight for about three years, and only after the balloting and referendum of 1960, did the executive groups move to implement the Assembly's wishes fairly rapidly.

The record also indicates that even though the battle of the group term life insurance was won, strong battles with Board and staff had to be fought by such progressives as Richard Batchelder before new services such as NEA Mutual Fund, Annuity Program, Group Accident Plan (instituted early 1966) and NEA*Search could be added.²³⁷

In summary, the wishes of the Assembly will be carried out if it persists long enough as it shows every sign of doing under the ACT "new Turk" leadership (Batchelder, Alonso, Koontz, Fisher, among others). Since the new Secretary has indicated his cooperation with the Assem-

²³⁶NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 125-127.

²³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 9, for a review by Batchelder; and see Chapter VI herein on Membership Benefits.

bly and other executive groups including a Committee where at least 60 percent of its members are classroom teachers since the 1965 Bylaw revision. The record also shows that the Assembly until 1957 was quiescent and rather humble; and that the discussions and Expanded Services programs formulated in 1956-58 in connection with the Centennial Celebrations of 1957 awakened in the Assembly a new sense of responsibility and an urge to participate in decision-making, to fulfill, after years of passivity, the Charter role of setting the general policies of the Association.

The Constitutional Convention

At the 1969 Philadelphia convention, the Assembly voted to hold, in principle, a constitutional convention in 1972, with preparations by a Constitutional Commission to be made during 1971-72.²³⁸ A moving force for the "Con-Con" was the NCUEA which had been planning for such action for some time. In addition to the urban associations, who were dissatisfied with the representation of urban locals in the Assembly, classroom teachers still restive about inequalities of representation on governing boards, committees and commissions supported the move. So did staff members who, contrary to ACT positions, hoped that a constitutional convention would cut down the size of the

²³⁸NEA Reporter, July 24, 1970, pp. 1, 6.

Assembly and streamline the latter's functions (e.g., take budget powers away from it.) Both those in favor and those against the civil rights movement in the NEA were hoping to score gains. Thus, many factions were hoping to gain by Con-Con, although the whirlpool was caused mainly by the NCUEA and the ACT. With dues unification of states with NEA almost complete, many sections within the NEA thought that influence services to be offered by each level as well as problems of joint chartering and standards for affiliates should be up for an authoritative discussion. With the drive for a unified dues structure almost completed, many groups within the NEA felt the necessity of a thorough and authoritative discussion of the many problems facing the NEA, such as joint chartering, standards for affiliation, and the relative spheres of influence of the national, state and local levels. Apparently the governing Boards and the Assembly were not satisfied by such "outside" studies as the 1957 Management Survey and the 1965-68 NEA Development Project; these studies did not involve all sectors of the NEA.

In light of the above, the Board at its 1969 pre-convention meeting, passed a motion requesting the President to appoint a preparatory commission, to report to the

239 Ibid. Listed on following page.

1970 Assembly on the purposes, goals and cost of a constitutional convention. The motion, treated as an item of new business (i.e. not included as a numbered standing or current resolution in the minutes) was passed on the closing day of the Assembly. In 1970, the report was approved by the Assembly and the Constitutional Commission authorized to draft a new constitution during 1971-72.²³⁹ Con-Con will doubtlessly be crucial and will inaugurate a new chapter in the history of the NEA.

CONCLUSION

Before the 1960's, much of the Representative Assembly's role of policy-making and legislation was characterized by extreme caution and the tolerance of long delays between the resolution and its implementation. This attitude was due to (1) an attitude of respect and reliance on state affiliates and their position in the NEA confederation, (2) reliance on a Resolution Committee chosen by state delegations whose small Editing Committee was influenced by NEA staff, and the Executive Secretary, (3) the lack of classroom teacher leaders from liberal states or militant urban affiliates who were willing to use the office of the presidency and rally the Executive Committee with its strong teacher representation in order to pass new type of legislation.

However, by the mid-1960's, the Assembly's former attitude of dependence passed, to the extent that in 1967 it formally reasserted its preeminence in legislation and policy-making.

In the field of urban affairs, a long era of neglect was remedied with the institution of an Urban Project in 1962, after NEA's defeat in New York City in 1961. A persistent effort by NCUEA to keep urban affairs before the Assembly finally resulted in the incorporation of a permanent Urban Division in the NEA structure. In this case Assembly persistence overcame the reluctance of state affiliates to have services channelled to local groups often competing with or at odds with the state group.

In the field of integration for NEA affiliates, the Assembly started moving in the early 1960's, and finding the implementation of executive groups and offices too slow, mandated deadlines for compliance. Although these deadlines were modified by an Executive Committee anxious to retain NEA members, the process has been completed by 1970, with two significant expulsions this year on the state level. Integration is almost complete on the local level also.

The fight for membership benefits also took place in the Assembly, where a long battle to have the NEA enter the life insurance field (1956-1960) culminated in a referendum vote of delegates which backed this expansion. The Assembly won in spite of opposition by state affiliates

which had existing programs and in spite of NEA staff who feared the loss of the state affiliates' good will. The classroom teacher leaders were particularly effective in rallying the Assembly.

On federal aid to education, the Assembly has been troubled by a split between the supporters of aid to public schools only and proponents of more comprehensive aid. Although the latter won out in the Assembly after 1962, the NEA Assembly has taken the position that such aid should be channelled unconditionally through the states.

The Assembly took the initiative on other issues as well. Assembly resolutions backing up teacher negotiating units by the use of state or nationwide boycott (sanctions) or even work stoppages were finally passed and accepted into NEA practice in spite of strong opposition. Human rights programs also advanced in the face of fiscal caution. Thus, the Assembly changed the posture of the NEA into a more militant, membership-minded organization.

Thus, the Assembly has had to exert much pressure on NEA executive structures and state affiliates to overcome the attitude of conservative spending on open-ended projects such as aid to urban locals, some aid to disadvantaged groups and support for teacher groups embroiled with their school system over salaries or working conditions. Moreover, state affiliates opposed the Assembly's new progressive policies in the 1960's since they feared the loss of

their preeminence in the NEA at the hands of local affiliates. Administrators feared the loss of political power and professional autonomy at the hands of militant teachers demanding greater participation in decision-making. In spite of many uphill fights, the Assembly has by 1970 succeeded in re-establishing its preeminence in NEA policy-making and legislation. It has had the support of the Executive Secretary and the Executive Committee for its new role at least since 1967.

The NEA Constitutional Convention of 1972 is expected to ratify many implications of this new-found role.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION:
A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN CHANGE

by

Gabriel S. Pellathy

VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTION

As indicated in Chapter I of this thesis, after 1957, classroom teacher members of the NEA voiced increasing concern about the economic status of teachers. The causes of this new, dissatisfied attitude have been indicated also.¹ The NEA as well as the local communities had been neglecting the classroom teachers in the local school systems. In 1958-59, for example, 48.7 percent of classroom teachers received less than \$4,500 per annum.² This was considerably less than the compensation of private industry employees.³ Yet in 1962 only 43.0 percent NEA member respondents to a NEA Research Division survey thought that the NEA had much effect on the economic welfare of teachers; and 64 percent thought the NEA should be more militant in this field.⁴ Although 75 percent opposed

¹Ch. I, *supra*, pp. 21, 27; see also, T. M. Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching (New York: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 34-39.

²In 1968/69 only 1.1 percent were paid such low salaries.

³See NEA Research division reports, Economic Status of the Teaching Profession; also NEA Research Bulletin, vol. 48 (March 1970), p. 6.

⁴NEA Research Division, "What Teachers Know and Think About the National Education Association," (mimeo., February 1963), pp. 41, 49.

strikes in 1962, by 1970, 73 percent of teachers would have approved strikes under some or any circumstances.⁵

Dissatisfaction was less evident in areas such as NEA's defense of individual teachers or of the status of the profession and public education. Only about 25 percent of respondents expressed dissatisfaction in these areas.⁶

Militant classroom teacher leaders have attempted to bring improvements in the field of membership benefits, especially in the area of the individual member and in the support given to state or local affiliates engaged in salary disputes. These leaders--mainly R. Batchelder of Massachusetts, NEA president from 1965-66, B. Alonzo of Florida, president from 1967-68 and George Fisher of Iowa, president from 1969 to 1970--were quite successful. For example, group insurance policies were offered to members from 1963 on life insurance, later disability insurance and more recently, homeowners insurance, in spite of opposition both from states who had their own insurance programs and opponents on philosophical grounds. Annuity programs, car leasing opportunities have also been added. These efforts

⁵NEA Research Bulletin, vol. 48 (October, 1970), p. 72; details of strike activity since 1940 in NEA Research Division, Teacher Strikes and Work Stoppages (Report 1969-27, December 1969). See also, "Why Teachers are Striking," Redbook (March, 1969), pp. 67, 134-139.

⁶"What Teachers Know and Think About the National Education Association," op. cit., supra, p. 35.

were aided greatly by Cecil Hannan of the state of Washington, who cooperated with classroom teachers in his capacity as assistant executive secretary for field services.⁷ Dr. Hannan also supervised the formation of subsidiary corporations to handle membership benefits, a move necessary to maintain NEA's tax status⁸ as a non-profit educational organization. The aim of the supporters of economic benefits has been to offer members concrete dollars and cents benefits in excess of their annual NEA, state and local fees (now averaging about \$25.00 for each level) and outdo the teacher union competition in this field. By 1970, they have been largely successful in this aim.

In addition to individual membership benefits, the whole area of negotiations by teachers with education boards underwent drastic change after 1957. Effective negotiations, backed up by meaningful NEA support, were seen as a vital step in the economic advance of teachers. In an area where there had been much teacher reluctance and timidity, the myth that "dedicated" teachers were not concerned with salaries⁹ was replaced by "professional negotiations."

⁷He was forced to resign in 1969 due to inter-organizational politics. See Ch. IV, Organizational Structure, supra.

⁸See Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 215-216.

⁹See E. Edwards, "The Dedicated Teacher is the Teaching Profession's Greatest Enemy," Today's Education, vol. 59 (November 1970), pp. 53-54.

This concept was formulated by the Representative Assembly in NEA and was thought to be NEA's answer to collective bargaining. Stinnett points out¹⁰ that by endorsing the professional negotiations concept in 1962 the NEA put itself on record in favor of an orderly process by staff and school board to come to an agreement on salaries and policies, with an appeals procedure in case of an impasse instead of resorting to a boycott or a strike. The 1962 NEA stand put education boards on notice that their era of unilateral authority and determination was to be over.

"Professional negotiations," implied "democratically selected representatives, using appropriate professional channels,"¹¹ yet it rejected procedures used in industrial disputes (e.g. strikes) and industrial disputes conciliation machinery (such as the National Labor Relations Board), partly because of the legal prohibition of strikes by public (professional) employees in many states.

However, it was recognized very soon that some sanctions would have to be applied against recalcitrant systems. The militants in the NEA advocated the toleration of strikes, backed up by strike funds. What emerged was a

¹¹NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 214-218, Resolution 1961-17.

¹⁰Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 114-123.

compromise, NEA's adoption of "professional sanctions"¹² and the increased funding of emergency reserves and the DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights. Sanctions by the NEA has implied mainly the censuring of offending state or local systems, with a publicized request that teachers refuse employment there. This is similar to procedures used by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). Acceptance of employment in a censured district can be made a breach of NEA ethics and a reason for expulsion. It can be accompanied by disaccreditation of teacher colleges in an area. The above steps, of course, employ forms of the boycott; in NEA terminology, they are called "withdrawal of services."

Other uses of "sanctions," include the refusal to sign new contracts, effective if there is total group support. Resignation en masse can also be an effective weapon.

The strongest weapons are the calling of "professional days" or work stoppages by an affiliate and finally, walk-outs or strikes. Although the NEA's language has been ambiguous on the question of strikes and Stinnett argues that there has been a "tacit" recognition that teacher strikes will occur,¹³ the NEA has always discouraged strikes

¹²Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 123-128.

¹³Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 149, 148; see "1970 Statutes Legalizing Strikes by Public Employees," NEA Research Bulletin, vol. 48 (October 1970), p. 73.

and advocated full adherence to a signed contract.¹⁴ Nonetheless, in 1968 the NEA explicitly stated in an Assembly resolution, for the first time, that deplorable situations will bring on emergency situations requiring "drastic" measures. In the next paragraph, there are several procedures listed which "should make the strike unnecessary." The implication clearly is that drastic steps include strikes.¹⁵

Thus the 1960's see an evolution towards the effective use of boycott, the development of grievance procedures, and some toleration of the strike.¹⁶ Moreover, the affiliates employing sanctions are now backed by large NEA funds.

Turning lastly to NEA efforts that promote the advancement of the profession as a whole, this chapter will deal with the work of the NEA Research division, with the NEA efforts in the field of legislation and with the promotion of professional standards and autonomy. The NEA Research Division has been an organization respected by pri-

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 526-527: Resolution 1968-19.

¹⁶For tables on NEA work stoppages, see Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 144-145. A total of 180 teacher strikes took place in the 1969-70 school year, an increase of 37 percent over the prior year, Today's Education, vol. 59 (November 1970), p. 3.

vate and public bodies for a long time. Its accurate reports on the economic status of the teaching profession, its system-by-system analyses of the negotiated teacher-board agreements, of educational finance, of teacher satisfaction in a particular system and of school statistics as a whole are invaluable for researchers, for negotiating units and for public offices of education.

The legislative stance of the NEA and its lobbying activities in connection with federal aid to education are discussed later in chapter VII, under the heading of NEA influence. Brief mention is made here of laws yielding direct economic benefits to the profession, such as deductions for educational expenses and more favorable postal rates for educators.

In the field of professional standards, new NEA members must have a B. A. degree after August, 1964. Efforts are being made to increase this level of education also, since the merit promotion of teachers is no longer supported by the NEA. Efforts are continuing to pass professional autonomy laws in the various states or else to secure professional representation on state admission and standards boards.

The NEA has continued to perfect and reuse its Code of Ethics (the latest revision was in 1968) and has lobbied for its adoption by state affiliates. The Code of

Ethics can be used as a weapon in the enforcement of boycotts and can thus be regarded as an indirect benefit to groups as well as a benefit to the profession as a whole.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS*

To an extent, the allegiance of teachers to the NEA depends on the amount of economic advantage offered to them by the NEA. A frequent question of the young, male, well-educated and somewhat hard-bitten teacher in the NEA is, "how much is there in it for me?" Support for NEA positions, for its legislative posture, and its special appeals will be found at least partly, in the answer to this question.

MEMBERSHIP DISSATISFACTION

A survey of teachers conducted by the NEA Research Division in 1962 indicated that most teachers were not satisfied with the economic role the NEA was playing.¹⁷ To the question, "In your opinion, should the NEA in the future be more or less aggressive or militant in trying to improve the economic welfare of teachers?", the percentage

*In footnotes to this chapter, the NEA Addresses and Proceedings will be referred to as NEA Proceedings.

¹⁷NEA Research Division, "What Teachers Know and Think About the National Education Association," (mimeo., February 1963).

of NEA members checking "more aggressive and militant" was 64.1 percent; the percentage of those checking "status quo" was 34.5 percent. Only 1.4 percent thought the NEA should be less militant. Among men, 82.7 percent favored a more aggressive stance. A related question as to the effect of the NEA on the economic status of teachers revealed that 45.8 percent of members thought the NEA had had some effect; 8.1 percent thought it had little or no effect; 3.0 percent had no opinion. Of the men 49.0 percent thought there was some effect; 22.4 percent thought the organization had little or no effect. It was after this survey that the NEA finally inaugurated some additional services for their individual members affecting the bread and butter issues.

FINANCIAL BENEFITS

Term Life Insurance

A low cost term life insurance was one of the first benefits that came to NEA members after considerable political and legal debate. Opposition to the NEA entering this field came mainly from state affiliates which for a long time had had their own insurance programs under the name of Horace Mann Insurance Companies.

The stake of the states can be seen in reports made to the Assembly in 1959 and 1960.¹⁸ In 1959 it was indicated that 39 state associations had insurance programs of one kind or another and that 21 states had a term life insurance program, as well as other programs in the field of income protection, medical and car insurance. In 1960, another survey indicated that there were 18 states in the life-insurance field. It was also said, however, that most state programs provided a coverage of \$5,000 or less, and that the NEA program would probably supplement this, and not be in competition to it.¹⁹ However, since the field was one of potential expansion, NASSTA²⁰ opposed NEA entry vigorously both in 1957 and in 1958. NASSTA argued that where services could be provided more economically and efficiently by state/local associations, the latter should do it. However, statistics proved that they were not providing adequate service.

There was severe pressure from membership for the NEA to compete better with other professional organizations and unions. First of all, the ACT endorsed NEA action from

¹⁸NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 155-158; NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 98.

¹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 101.

²⁰The National Association of Secretaries of State Teacher Associations.

the beginning, i.e. from 1956 on.²¹ At the 1956 Portland convention informal discussion groups first proposed starting either a voluntary or an involuntary insurance plan for members.²² Secondly, Research division surveys showed that in 1958 50 percent of NEA members were interested in buying this type of insurance.²³ Other follow-up reports told the same story.

The matter was broached again at the Philadelphia centennial in 1957, without effect. The ACT adopted a resolution at Cleveland in 1958 on June 30, 1958, recommending that this type of insurance be adopted. It expressed some impatience at the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors for keeping the plan on the staff committee level. The impatience was justified, for the lengthy staff, board and committee studies were essentially efforts to avoid the issue.²⁴ That the issue was unwelcome to the Board is seen from a decision to "formulate a summary of the

²¹NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 101; cf. also "Questions and Answers on Insurance Programs for NEA Members," (ACT, 1958), a pamphlet.

²²cf. Chapter on State, Local and Department Relations herein.

²³NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 155; 45 percent definitely interested. NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 98.

²⁴NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 226, 234, 244.

thinking of the profession as a whole" in February, 1959, three years after Portland.²⁵

Some of the state education association executive secretaries were determined in their opposition. The Carr files show serious correspondence between Carr and Irving F. Pearson of Illinois, the latter cautioning the NEA against a hasty move. The Board was called upon to restrain the Assembly. Occasional defectors from the Board who favored NEA involvement in the insurance field were chided for their disgraceful behavior.²⁶ Meanwhile, general membership was more and more insistent to have NEA services. Dr. Carr, in writing to the executive secretary of one of the Horace Mann states, complains of "being caught in the middle."²⁷

In 1959 Irving F. Pearson was appointed to the Legislative Commission (perhaps to divert his opposition).²⁸ By 1960, Pearson's complete opposition had mellowed into a questioning attitude: whose services--the NEA's or the

²⁵Ibid., p. 244.

²⁶Letter from Dr. Virgil Rogers, N. Y. State director, to Verl Crow, Iowa state director, apologizing for conduct of James Cullen, N. Y. state director: Carr files (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

²⁷Carr files (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

²⁸NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 102-103.

states'--should compliment what programs. He felt the prerogative of initiation was unsettled.

Finally in 1960, the issue reached the Assembly floor. A business session was set aside for the discussion of insurance alone. After lengthy debate involving an accusation that the states were acting selfishly, the Assembly mandated the service. However, the states succeeded in writing a priority in favor of the states into the 1960 Assembly resolution.²⁹ "As a matter of general policy, all direct services which the NEA provides to members should continue to be supplementary to, and not a substitute for, nor in conflict or competition with, existing programs or services" of the states, or local groups. (Emphasis supplied.) This general policy statement, readopted by the Board in July 2, 1960, apparently preempted for the states, (a) hospital and surgical insurance, (b) income protection, (c) automobile insurance, (d) occupational liability, and (e) student insurance protection.³⁰ Nevertheless in the end the NEA entered both the term life insurance and accident benefit insurance (category (b) above).³¹

²⁹NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 264-265.

³⁰NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 155. NEA now offers an in-hospital insurance plan.

³¹NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 99.

Finally, after further negotiations and studies, an invitation to bid was extended to insurance companies on April 1, 1961. The winning bid was made by the Prudential Insurance Company of America. The initial plan of insurance offered a \$5,000 term insurance to members under 50, to decrease to \$1,500 after the age of 60.³²

The new plan went into operation January, 1962; the response was surprisingly good. Yet, in 1964 the Research Division conducted a survey on members' knowledge of the plan the results of which showed that information had not been disseminated widely enough. This survey in turn influenced the decision to advertise in the newsletter (NEA Reporter) sent monthly to all members, as of the 1963-64 school year.³³

Recently, the NEA term life insurance policy has appeared as a marginal benefit in local teacher contracts.³⁴ A teacher agreement in Montrose, N. Y. provides that the local board absorb the cost of the life insurance as a fringe benefit.

³²Today, the basic protection offers ranges from \$21,500 (age 35 and under) to \$5,400 (age 65-70), for an annual premium of \$80. There are three basic plans (A, B, C) available depending on the amount and extent of coverage.

³³NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 423.

³⁴NEA Reporter, May 17, 1968, vol. 7, no. 5.

The insurance program has been considerably expanded and now includes a Disability Benefit Insurance feature, in competition with the states.³⁵ Competition does continue; as recently as September, 1968, for example, the New York State Teachers Association sent out a special circular to NYSTA members to acquaint them with "income protection," giving facts on NEA life and accidental death insurance, but not mentioning NEA's disability insurance plan.

Annuity Plans

R. Batchelder continued his work for direct benefits for members after he became president-elect in July, 1964.³⁶ In October, 1964 he, B. Alonso and Mrs. Nunn succeeded in getting an Executive Committee motion passed authorizing T. M. Stinnett, the Assistant Executive Secretary for Professional Development and Welfare, to initiate a study of adding tax-sheltered annuities to the NEA "teacher welfare program."³⁷ In February, 1965 an Executive Committee sub-committee was set up on the motion of

³⁵NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 9.

³⁶NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 271.

³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 330, initial investigation re employees annuities. PL 87-370 (1962).

Alonso and G. Fisher, to explore the matter further.³⁸ On the sub-committee were, again Messrs. Batchelder and Wyatt; Mr. Funderburk, Fairfax County (Va.) superintendent and long connected with the teacher services; and Mr. Mellon, a Board member.³⁹ The sub-committee was to be in existence until it was ready to present a plan to the Committee and/or Board. Later, a Committee motion recommended that the Board authorize the development of a contract with a commercial carrier in this matter, the carrier to bear all preliminary legal fees, to avoid a repetition of the costs incurred during the establishment of the NEA Mutual Fund.⁴⁰

The legal counselling required by the prolonged arguments involved in setting up the Mutual Fund had cost the NEA the huge sum of \$20,000 charged by their attorneys, Weaver and Glassie.⁴¹ The Executive Committee raised a protest; it was questioned how much time the legal advisers had actually devoted to the exploration of these matters. Nevertheless, the Committee authorized the Board to move in this matter.

³⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 279.

³⁹NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 305. Mr. Funderburk resigned his post in the Spring of 1969 to take permanent NEA post as administrators' services division head.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 269, 274, 271.

The Board acted accordingly.⁴² On October 14, 1965, the Committee authorized the staff to execute any and all instruments necessary.⁴³ A contract was negotiated with the Prudential Insurance Company also the carrier for the term life insurance. By February, 1966, a fixed annuities program had been established;⁴⁴ was actively inaugurated later in 1966.⁴⁵

A second branch of the program involved the establishment of a variable annuity plan. This would allow the investment of the annuity in the NEA Mutual Fund, thereby assuring growth. A favorable ruling on the variable annuity program was given by the SEC August 15, 1968. Conversion to the new plan required no basic change in the members' plan except authorization to invest the monies in the Mutual Fund of the NEA, thereby assuming a risk.

Finally a holding company, to be called the Horace Mann Educators Corporation (a Delaware firm) was formed to handle the NEA fixed and variable annuities.⁴⁶ The state-initiated Horace Mann Life Insurance Company (a stock com-

⁴²NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 278.

⁴³Ibid., p. 310.

⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 300; NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 269.

⁴⁵NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 288; NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 9.

⁴⁶NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 231, 366-369.

pany of Illinois) would be a totally owned subsidiary of the Educators Holding Company, terminating states' competition in this field, specifically, the interests of the Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and Colorado State education associations. Meanwhile, the Horace Mann Mutual Insurance Company of Illinois (not to be confused with the Life Insurance Company) would hold six of the eleven Board of Directors seats of the holding company, giving it control of the holding company. Of the 2,465,000 shares of the Horace Mann Educators Corporation, the NEA would hold 15 percent, Horace Mann Mutual 16.5 percent and the above four states 8.0 percent, Horace Mann Mutual Pension Fund 2 percent, shares being vested in "outside" insurance companies to the extent of about 25 percent (the rest being stock held in reserve).⁴⁶

This arrangement can be seen as a compromise agreement between the insurance programs of the various state associations and the NEA. As a compensation NEA's entry into the fields of life insurance, accident benefit insurance and annuities, the Horace Mann Mutual Insurance Company of Illinois was given the control of the annuities marketing. Meanwhile, the control of the Horace Mann Life Insurance Company of Illinois, another company initiated by the states, passed to the new holding company, thus consoli-

⁴⁶Ibid.

dating and unifying NEA and State efforts that had conflicted since 1962, when NEA term life programs were first offered. The avenue was left open for the holding company to absorb the Accidental Death and Dismemberment and the Term Life Insurance programs also, presumably when the contract with Prudential Life expired. Thus, in 1968 an issue that had threatened to divide the efforts of the Association in the welfare field was well on its way to being settled.

Meanwhile, of course, the state associations remain free to plan their own programs and do not have to turn to NEA or Horace Mann insurance programs. In New York, for example, NYSTA is now offering an Income Protection Program, a program of their own in addition to NEA benefits.

The Mutual Fund⁴⁷

The Mutual Fund provides investment possibilities open to NEA members at very favorable fees. It was made available largely through the efforts of R. Batchelder and C. Hannan, associate executive secretary. As early as October, 1961 Batchelder proposed that the Executive Secretary investigate this means of direct service to members.

⁴⁷NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 253. The Opposition to the Mutual Fund included R. Carpenter, the conservative business manager of the NEA, who was strongly opposed to investing any moneys.

A report rendered to the Executive Committee on February 13, 1963 indicated that the major hurdle facing the establishment of this service was the possible damage to NEA's tax status.⁴⁸ The Mutual Fund was finally launched in the fall of 1964.⁴⁹

Batchelder, intent on his ideal, was proposing to raise about \$170,000 initial capital from states and 25 individual NEA members who would form a company legally outside of, but controlled by, the NEA structure, to avoid the loss of NEA favorable tax status as an educational institution under IRC 501(c)(3).

Under pressure from Batchelder the Executive Committee authorized the formation of an investment funds subcommittee (1962) to look into this matter. Batchelder became chairman of this sub-group which included among its members L. Ginger (NEA Treasurer from 1959 on) and R. Wyatt (NEA President elect 1962-63).⁵⁰

The sub-committee reported that by February, 1963 \$70,000 had been pledged by the states, with the remaining \$100,000 to be raised by individuals.⁵¹ However, the Board

⁴⁸NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 293; NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 280.

⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 191.

⁵⁰NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 314.

⁵¹NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 299.

of Directors now mandated that outsiders (i.e. former NEA members and nonmembers) were in no sense to be involved as investors.⁵² Under SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission) regulations, the management company could have no more than 25 individuals (in addition to various groups) to raise the required \$100,000.⁵³ This would mean an initial investment of \$4,000 by each funding investor. Nevertheless, the subcommittee was unanimously agreed to push through the plan to establish the Mutual Fund.

The issue was discussed at great length before the Board of Directors on July 6, 1963.⁵⁴ Many Board members were decidedly cautious about the issue; many were concerned about the "commercial carriers" involved. Would investment companies "make a killing?" President Wyatt, in a strong position to push the plan as presiding officer, repeatedly explained that the Trustees making investment decisions would be NEA people. Of course, there would be a management company to handle the actual transactions, but their commission would be two percent instead of the eight percent usual when an individual invested through his stockbroker. There may have been fears in the Board that the

⁵²NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 269.

⁵³NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 254.

⁵⁴NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 253-265. The entire discussion is reproduced verbatim therein. Board minutes are usually severely edited.

proposed Mutual Fund would undercut the investment functions of the Board of Trustees.

Board members were, as a whole, reluctant to commit themselves to a venture for which members might, allegedly, have only short lived enthusiasm. On this other hand, Batchelder voiced optimism and pointed to an opinion survey the subcommittee was able to authorize, (done by the Research Division's Mr. Lambert). According to this survey, only 38 percent of members were not interested at all in the Mutual Fund; almost 10 percent, or some 100,000 individuals indicated that they would be certain investors. The Board still remained unconvinced. President Wyatt finally said that the subcommittee was "getting frustrated;" would the Board indicate if the idea had a merit? Replied Mr. Deer of Louisiana,⁵⁵ that "we have lived without it for several thousand of years."⁵⁶

Nor was Dr. Carr in favor of the NEA's entering into the field of investment. He declared that the staff "would not offer any recommendations to the Executive Committee or the Board at this point," and warned that if the Board voted approval, it would no longer constitute a "reversible matter." His fears were based mostly on the possi-

⁵⁵Mr. Deer was a staunch conservative who three days before, had vigorously opposed the Assembly resolution on integration (Res. 64-12).

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 260.

ble jeopardy of NEA's tax status as a non-profit corporation but also on his defense of the Trustees' investment prerogatives. Immediately thereafter a motion was made to delay the matter some months. However, the motion was defeated. After another strong appeal from President Wyatt in the chair, the Board finally authorized the NEA to set up a "self-sustaining investment company"--a victory for the subcommittee and for Mr. Batchelder (who was to be elected NEA president for 1965/66).

References to further progress of the Investment Fund are scarce in the minutes edited by a secretary who was not overly favorable to it. Before the 1964 Assembly, initial filing had already been completed with the SEC, but no final approval had yet been granted. The Board, reviewing the matter, commended Mr. Batchelder's part in establishing the Mutual Fund⁵⁷ on a motion by Miss Edinger, (president-elect for 1963/64).⁵⁸ Because of the Board's recognition that the Fund could not be stopped, and also because of their desire to see a new project in the hands of state associations, a motion was passed on October 20, 1963, forcing the abandonment of contributions by individual investors. Henceforth, investments were to come only from

⁵⁷Mr. Batchelder was so enthusiastic about the Mutual Fund, that he was personally ready to invest quite sizeably in it from his own pocket.

⁵⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 246.

state associations.⁵⁹

The announcement on the setting up of the Fund was made by Mr. Batchelder, as he had hoped, on July 3, 1964, at the NEA Convention. Final approval by SEC came in October, and the Fund started operating October 14, 1964, managed not by an outside commercial firm after all, but a company wholly owned by the NEA (Educators Fund Management Corporation, managed by Newell Blair). Investment decisions were to be made by an Investment Committee of the Fund's Board of Directors; this committee was composed of five members, of whom the majority were NEA leaders (R. Batchelder, N. Blair, and R. Wyatt). On the Board of Directors (16 members) NEA leaders had a two-thirds majority.⁶⁰ Prospectuses were duly distributed⁶¹ and by April 30, 1968, over \$11 million had been invested by NEA members in the Fund.⁶²

The Management Fund contacts investors regularly, and tries to offer a personal service. For example, it advised investors with the minimum \$25.00 investment, that this initial investment would be eaten up by management

⁵⁹NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 271; NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 251.

⁶⁰See 7 NEA Reporter, September 27, 1968, pp. 5-19.

⁶¹NEA Proceedings, 1965, p. 254.

⁶²NEA Reporter 7, September 27, 1968, p. 18.

charges if there were no further investments; that the Fund was not like fixed return investments, e.g., a savings account. Annual charges are set at \$3.00 regardless of the amount invested. In addition there is a service fee of 50 cents upon opening a new account and a 25 cent service fee for each additional sum invested. These rates are extremely favorable and could not be duplicated by any commercial carrier.⁶³

Although the NEA had authorized entry into the field of investment by its membership, it was reluctant to get itself involved financially in the Mutual Fund. Fears of effects on NEA's tax status persisted, and NEA investment was not considered absolutely safe. Mr. Alonso (president 1967/68) and George Fisher (president 1969, 1969/70) made a motion in 1964 to the Board for an NEA investment of \$50,000 into the Fund. However, NEA business manager, Dr. Carpenter, opposed this strenuously,⁶⁴ and the motion was lost.⁶⁵ On June 28, 1965, when the NEA borrowing power was extended to \$1.5 million by the Board, the motion was renewed by R. Batchelder. Now the motion was successful despite opposition of the Executive Secretary and others who

⁶³Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁴Interview with George Fisher by the author May 6, 1969.

⁶⁵NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 307.

avored tabling the matter. An investment of \$50,000 from the surplus if any of the NEA General Fund was authorized.⁶⁶ As of May 31, 1968 the NEA investment in the Mutual Fund has totalled \$80,000.⁶⁷ Presumably the feeling of some was that the Trustees were investing too conservatively and that the Mutual Fund would bring quicker and greater returns. Investment moreover, undercut the Trustees' prerogative as has been mentioned above; Dr. Carr was suspicious of and opposed to such a trend. This part of the problem was solved with the dissolution of the Trustees in July, 1968.

Car Leasing

An expansion of direct services to teachers, of some importance and publicity, was the car-leasing program initiated just before the 1967 Minneapolis Convention. This program was sponsored by Dr. Hannan, then Assistant Executive Secretary for Professional Development and Welfare as his own special project, apparently without the involvement of Dr. Carr. When the matter came up before the Executive Committee, Dr. Carr complained that he had had

⁶⁶NEA Proceedings, 1966, p. 283. \$30,000 from the NEA Permanent Fund, \$50,000 from the surpluses of the NEA General Fund.

⁶⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 463, Price Waterhouse and Co. Reports.

"only a few hours to consider the proposal." Since he was generally wary of NEA involvement in direct services, both because of NEA's tax status and the image of "professionalism" his inability to offer any recommendation at this time paralleled his refusal to support the NEA Mutual Fund explicitly.⁶⁸

However, his successor had already been selected and Dr. Carr was in his "lame duck" period. The Committee, "after considerable discussion," moved to recommend to the Board the incorporation of Teacher Services Corporation in Delaware (hereinafter referred to as TSC), to service, first as a pilot project, a car-leasing program, to start in three selected areas of the nation. The Board approved this recommendation.⁶⁹ The NEA, by Board action, asked the Trustees to invest \$150,000 of the NEA Permanent Fund in TSC capital stock. This was somewhat of a departure from previous Trustees practice of investing in bonds and blue chips only. Nevertheless, the Trustees, complied, thereby assuring the NEA of a 79 percent control of TSC outstanding stock.⁷⁰

⁶⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 334; cf. NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 262.

⁶⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 334, 279.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 463, (financial report).

Credit Cards

The TSC continued to be Dr. Hannan's special project. The Corporation wished to establish credit cards, first for tire and battery discounts, then later, for other merchandise. The initial credit card venture fell through because of the renegation of a commercial company involved that was being sued for deceptive information.⁷¹

This venture, however, had the earmarks of haste and confusion both on the part of the TSC and the Committee. Thus, after Dr. Hannan's report that the tire and battery Discount Purchase Credit Card had to be abandoned in the proposed form, an alternate Firestone courtesy credit card was discussed to "tide the Association over." After approving this alternative, the Committee after a few hours rescinded its action since the alternative was not at all up to the expectations roused by prior TSC announcements. A full refund of monies sent in for the credit card was decided upon, thus accomplishing a painful volte-face.

A parallel move at this time also shows, perhaps, over-enthusiasm. The Committee authorized a special person to provide "administrative coordination of NEA units and committees dealing with the programs of direct economic benefits to members and to serve as liaison with the Teachers

⁷¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 348-349, 366, 377, 383.

Services Corporation, the Mutual Fund, and such other groups as may be created in the future."⁷² This person would presumably have, as his main duty, the spreading of the news of TSC to other parts of the NEA, since the Mutual Fund and the Special Services Division (managing insurance programs) had highly defined, limited functions and the ACT had disclaimed ambitions in the teacher welfare field. Presumably, when the economies of Spring 1969 were announced by Dr. Lambert on March 13, 1969 the TSC new projects were hard hit. Mr. Hannan offered his resignation soon thereafter. According to George Fisher, Dr. Lambert felt, as Dr. Carr must have felt, that his position was threatened by this highly dynamic, enterprising and venturesome individual.

Meanwhile, however, the TSC car-leasing programs have been heavily in demand and the TSC is in the black after about a year.⁷³ In September, 1968 the program had been made available in eight states, including the District of Columbia, nine months after its inception, was serving 600 members.⁷⁴ In February, 1969 it was announced that five more states had been added to the service area and

⁷²NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 385.

⁷³Ibid., p. 393.

⁷⁴NEA Reporter, September 27, 1968, p. 20.

1,200 members served by the program with the condition that insurance must be with a company suggested by the NEA.⁷⁵

Teachers Service Corporation, it may be noted, also handled the annuity program offered to members, controlling 15 percent of the new holding company.⁷⁶ Thus TSC, with its possibility to absorb the life insurance programs and its close link to NEA Mutual Fund, Inc., was becoming the corporate structure to carry on the NEA's "business-league" activities, in contradistinction to the proposed National Education Foundation.⁷⁷

Travel

The Travel Service Division has, from its inception, been headed by Paul Kinsel.⁷⁸ It was established in the 1920's. The Division is not an NEA financed unit; a separate bank account for the Educational Travel Division was established only in October, 1961, by the Board.⁷⁹ In June, 1966 presumably on advice of counsel, the bank account was changed to a trust bank account.⁸⁰

⁷⁵NEA Reporter, February 28, 1969, p. 5.

⁷⁶1968 Proceedings, pp. 366-69.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 366. Board, October, 1969, adopted motion to set it up.

⁷⁸NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 218.

⁷⁹NEA Proceedings, 1962, pp. 238-239.

⁸⁰NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 266-267.

Today, the Division has approximately 92 separate educational tours and seminars, some for academic credit. The program includes visits to over 100 countries and many sections of the USA. It services, on the average, 5000 members yearly, with spending ranging from \$225 to \$2,895. Research reports indicate that educational travel is rated first among six other educational experiences by teachers themselves in order to develop classroom competence.

Travel programs at first were arranged by NEA Central alone, but in recent years, especially since the establishment of the NASSTA secretariat in 1958, states have cooperated more and more. Today, 20 state groups cooperate with NEA Travel. Locals as a general rule do not have their own travel division, but get this service through the state association or from the NEA directly. The Travel Division buys tickets, hotel reservations, etc. directly from the companies or corporations and does not employ travel wholesalers or middlemen.⁸¹ In this way air and transportation as well as tours are considerably less than the commercial rates.

EMERGENCY AID: THE DU SHANE FUND

The DuShane defense fund of the NEA has existed since 1949 to defend members involved in legal disputes

⁸¹Paul H. Kinsel to Director of Budget, Memorandum, Washington, D. C., December 3, 1968.

over their professional status and performance. In 1966 it was amalgamated with a separate Million Dollar Fund for Teacher Rights and renamed the DuShane Fund for Teachers Rights. Initially for the defense of individuals only, since 1966 the monies have been available to NEA affiliate groups also.

One may point to numberless "small" cases since 1966 where the DuShane Fund has helped teachers greatly.⁸² (In fiscal 1965-66, the Fund handled 32 cases and disbursed only \$17,737; in calendar year 1968, it has disbursed over \$1.16 million, and its involvement has jumped to 100 different cases.) In 1966, for example, the local school board in Phoenix, Arizona, reneged on its contract to grant teachers an agreed amount of raise in salary. The Arizona Education Association and the NEA supported teachers who sued the Board over this issue and compelled satisfaction. Thus, in the wide category of enforcement of contract rights--the policing of valid contracts--the NEA can give teachers valuable aid.⁸³

Another large and potentially infinitely variable category is the interpretation of legislation affecting teachers. In Arizona, for example, a state law specified

⁸²"Your Freedom to Teach," Today's Education, vol. 59 (November 1970), pp. 21-23.

⁸³NEA Reporter, November 18, 1966, p. 1. Today, October 15, 1968, p. 2.

that proceeds from the sale of specified public lands would to to the support of public schools. The state proceeded to take such lands for highway purposes and the AEA and the NEA sued to recover the value of the lands. The state courts supported the taking of the lands for roads without compensation to the public school system. Finally, on January 10, 1967 the Supreme Court overturned the state courts' decisions and decreed compensation in the amount of over \$10 million.⁸⁴ There were eleven other states with similar trust fund laws and the case constituted an important precedent.

Going beyond the interpretation of written contracts, laws, or regulations, a third category of help comprises aid given to teachers wrongfully discharged or falsely accused. For example, in another Arizona case, a teacher was falsely accused of supplying marijuana cigarettes to her pupils and was dismissed. After her indictment, testimony on the fourth day of the trial showed that the allegations of pupils accusing her of supplying the cigarettes were unfounded. Acquittal followed. The DuShane Fund granted \$4,000 to this teacher in payment of her legal fees.⁸⁵

A Louisiana case created a fourth category of emergency aid. In terms of the new DuShane Guidelines adopted

⁸⁴6 NEA Reporter, January 20, 1967, p. 2.

⁸⁵Today, December 6, 1968, p. 1.

at the October Board meeting, the fund can be used in cases of a "salary interruption...due to circumstances beyond the control of the local, state or national association." An interesting case of this kind occurred recently in Mississippi, where a county school district lost its support of federal funds due to its failure to follow integration guidelines. The school district promptly released twenty-five teachers and twenty-seven aides, most of them Negro. The teachers contested their dismissal on the basis that the education board's action resulted from "noncompliance with Federal desegregation guidelines." This case, by no means an isolated one, is being watched with interest as a precedent-setting case. The action of the education board constituted another delaying tactic on the long road to integration. The NEA has entered this case as an amicus curiae brief, seeking continued provisional federal funds and compliance with the integration guidelines. Meanwhile, the teachers have remained in their classrooms without pay.⁸⁶

The NEA* Search

The NEA* SEARCH, a computerized teacher place locator service to match job openings with job seekers, though not to operate as a placement agency, was initiated with a

⁸⁶Today, October 15, 1968, p. 1.

\$25,000 grant from the Million Dollar Fund.⁸⁷ Such a placement service had been voted down by the Board of Directors in 1958, even though at that time 38.4 percent of NEA member teachers felt a great need for it.⁸⁸ By January, 1967 the system was functioning, with an application fee of \$8.00; it was hoped that it would soon become self-supporting.

Soon, however, the question came up whether this service was to be free in sanctions situations where it was requested to implement sanctions. It was decided to extend help in sanctions cases even if this impeded the self-sufficiency of the system. It was also hoped that NEA-SEARCH also available to nonmembers (unlike other direct economic benefits would find a legal way of offering substantial discounts to active and student NEA members).⁸⁹ At the 1967 Assembly it was revealed that the budget for fiscal 1968 would carry a transfer of \$52,000 from the DuShane Fund to support this operation.⁹⁰ It has been remarked that the real beneficiary of this system is not so

⁸⁷NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 308, action of Executive Committee, June 23, 1966.

⁸⁸NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 226.

⁸⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 348, 338. 6 NEA Reporter, January 20, 1967, pp. 1, 7.

⁹⁰7 NEA Reporter, April 19, 1968, p. 7.

much the active teacher, except in sanctions situations but the student or beginning teacher.⁹¹

AID TO MEMBERSHIP GROUPS

The history of the NEA shows that prior to 1957, NEA's attention to affiliates centered on state associations. The state groups, with their usually close relation to the public education departments and the superintendents of local systems, gave valuable publicity and support to NEA policies and in turn drew on and influenced NEA support for state groups.

In the late 1950's union activity made NEA increasingly aware of local groups, especially urban affiliates. The militant classroom teacher was mostly in such groups and in 1960 they had organized the National Council of Urban Education Associations (NCUEA) which gained recognition and office space within NEA's Washington, D. C. headquarters. The NEA's defeat in 1961 by New York City teachers brought on increased demands by urban locals to have staff-education board relationships re-examined.⁹²

Out of these re-examinations by the NEA, spearheaded by a militant-minded assembly, came NEA's concepts of

⁹¹ NEA Reporter, April 19, 1968, p. 7.

⁹² cf. Chapter III herein for details.

"professional negotiations," backed by sanctions and financial support.

THE EVOLUTION OF "PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATIONS"

The professional negotiations concept became a major issue in the NEA only as late as in 1960. Only then was there movement to recognize--in the face of a growing teacher union threat, especially in New York City--that representative negotiations with school boards would be compatible with professional ethics.⁹³ In the 1960 Assembly, the New York delegation, facing an obvious threat in New York City, succeeded in getting the issue referred to the Board. The latter issued a statement on professional negotiations which declared, however, that quality education was the aim of professional or representative negotiations.⁹⁴

The 1961 Assembly facing an "acute" situation in twelve states, adopted a resolution affirming the right of the professional association, acting through democratically selected representatives, to participate in the determina-

⁹³NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 153-160, especially 157; Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

⁹⁴NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 267-268; eventually the term "representative" was dropped as being too close to "collective" action, i.e. collective bargaining, a union term; NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 270-271.

tion of some policies, including salary and conditions of work.⁹⁵ This was meant as a signal to end education boards' prerogative to make salary and other policy decisions on a unilateral basis. In a negotiations impasse, appeal procedures were to be developed, but settlements by state labor boards of mediation were opposed.⁹⁶ There was still reluctance to use "negotiations" as smacking too much of labor terminology and the resolution was entitled Teacher-Board of Education Relationships. Strikes were also explicitly condemned.⁹⁷

In 1962 the above resolution of 1961 was clarified. A call for state laws and local board procedures for negotiations was issued. Now, the resolution was explicitly titled "Professional Negotiations" and "professional sanctions" were to be used in cases of impasse in negotiations.⁹⁸

GUIDELINES FOR PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

After the 1962 resolutions, the NEA drafted Guidelines for Professional Negotiations. A second version in

⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1961, p. 215.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 216.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 217; however, this explicit condemnation of strikes was removed at the 1965 Assembly.

⁹⁸Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 114-117; NEA Proceedings, 1962, pp. 397-398 (Resolutions of 1962, Nos. 18 and 19).

1965 advocated exclusive recognition of one teacher group per system for negotiation purposes, endorsed a single type of negotiation agreement and suggested the exclusion of the school superintendent from the negotiations team.⁹⁹ A proposal was made to the states to lobby for a model Professional Negotiations Law.¹⁰⁰ By 1965, state education associations in California, Connecticut, Florida, Oregon and Washington gained such a professional negotiations law.¹⁰¹ In 1967, laws were passed in New York, Nebraska and Texas. Thus, there has been definite development in this professional field.

In 1969, NEA supporters introduced a federal negotiations bill in both houses of Congress.¹⁰² The bill required negotiations between school boards and organizations representing public schools. It allowed the strike only in extreme circumstances. The bill was designed to affect nearly two million teachers and 100,000 school

⁹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 306; Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁰Stinnett, p. 141. See also Stinnett, Kleinmann and Ware, Professional Negotiations (New York: MacMillan, 1966).

¹⁰¹Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 91, 118; The AFL-CIO passed its own version of legislation for public employees in Alaska, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Michigan and Massachusetts; Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 118, 141.

¹⁰²NEA Reporter, April 25, 1969, pp. 1, 12.

boards across the nation, and would be the first full-scale effort by government to regulate employment relationships between state and local governments and their professional employees in the field of education. The statute would be different from the collective bargaining model envisaged by the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. All issues of importance to teachers would be negotiable. Administration of the Act would be by a five-member Professional Employee Relations Commission in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

NEA RESEARCH AND PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

While the NEA was clarifying its guidelines during 1962-65, the Research Division had been working on aids for teachers involved in negotiations. The staffs of the NEA Research Division and the NEA Salary and Negotiation Consultant Service¹⁰³ (established in 1962 after the passage of the Professional Negotiations Resolution) worked on the development of an objective instrument for the evaluation of salary schedules throughout the nation. The 1966/67 instrument of evaluation set up ten criteria for judging the adequacy of salary schedules.

¹⁰³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 478, on reorganization of Consultant Service.

This instrument has been used in countless negotiations with school boards.¹⁰⁴

The NEA has also sponsored conferences on professional negotiations, and put out books on professional negotiations.¹⁰⁵

SANCTIONS BY THE NEA

Sanctions by the NEA were used only three times between 1947 and 1962.¹⁰⁶ The cases involved local systems and generated little nationwide interest. General attention was not focussed on this issue until the defeat of the NEA in New York City by the United Federation of Teachers. Then, in 1962, a sanctions resolution was approved by the Denver Assembly, in conjunction with the resolution entitled Professional Negotiations.

Arthur Corey, Executive Secretary of the California Teachers Association, pointed out in his famous speech leading to the 1962 sanctions resolutions, that the professional negotiations concept implied sanctions. "If you are going to develop a process, there has to be something at the end of the process you use. Otherwise, you don't get

¹⁰⁴5 NEA Reporter, November 18, 1966, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵T. Stinnett, et al., Professional Negotiations in Public Education (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

¹⁰⁶Stinnett, Teachers in Turmoil, pp. 128-131.

anywhere with the process."¹⁰⁷ The process he recommended was based on his California experience. The sanctions policy of California was "brief and simple." After an investigation of local conditions by an agency of the state associations (on the request of a local group), the local education authorities would be presented with the state group's recommendations with time allowed for their reaction. If no action was taken, the State Education Association would officially declare that conditions not conducive to the rendering of professional services existed. The public media, NEA and other placement sources throughout the country would be notified. This way the basis of influence of the local group would immediately widen, and the dispute would be no longer between a weak local group and the local board. This would hopefully, break any impasse in negotiations.

A sanctions resolution was adopted along these lines. Again, guidelines remained to be worked out.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 147.

¹⁰⁸NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 184; see also Ibid., pp. 181-184. Even before the Professional Sanctions resolutions were adopted on July 6, 1962 the Executive Committee, in anticipation of this action, moved to empower the Executive Secretary to act and apply sanctions in cases where rapid action was necessary. Executive Committee Meeting, June 29, 1962; NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 312.

Only tentative guidelines had been approved by the Board of Directors when a full-scale crisis burst upon the NEA in Utah, making it necessary to back up the teachers of the state by the application of a sanctions policy.¹⁰⁹ On March 16, 1963 at a mass rally of teachers attended by over 80 percent of the state education association members, it was voted to withhold the signing of contracts for the 1963/64 school year and to request NEA sanctions (i.e. that the NEA urge its members not to seek employment in Utah until the controversy was resolved). Since there had been no NEA investigation, and only tentative guidelines, no sanctions were imposed. NEA decided to publicize the Utah situation and allocate funds and legal assistance.¹¹⁰

The 1963 Assembly, after vigorous debate, decided not to mandate the Executive Committee to impose sanctions on Utah, but requested the Committee to impose steps at its discretion. It is evident from the cabinet minutes for 1964 that the staff looked upon sanctions with grave suspicion and reluctance;¹¹¹ however, an NEA investigation was made with the findings favorable to the teachers cause.

¹⁰⁹NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 306-307.

¹¹⁰NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 20-21; pp. 284, 248, 286. Stinnett, Teachers in Turmoil, ch. 12.

¹¹¹Cabinet Minutes for June 1, 1964 (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

On August 3, 1963 Utah teachers asked the State School Boards Association for a recess of two days in the Spring of 1964 if the situation did not clear up.¹¹² When Governor Clyde refused to heed the recommendations of a School Study Committee, he himself had appointed in 1963 and refused to call a special session of the legislature to deal with education problem, the whole issue burst into flames. The teachers decided on a two-day recess for May 18-19; on May 19, before a scheduled meeting, the NEA was requested to invoke national sanctions. Despite NEA reluctance to use sanctions, the request could not be refused or delayed and the NEA Executive Committee voted sanctions.¹¹³

This was the first application of sanctions under the 1962 resolution, and unexpectedly had to be applied against a whole state. NEA financial assistance was not required. The teachers organized a massive political campaign and in November, 1964 elected a friendly governor, who obtained substantial new education funds by March 13, 1965. At that time, NEA sanctions were lifted.

How well did the NEA support Utah? How effective were the sanctions? The sanctions, coupled with the poli-

¹¹²Stinnett, Teachers in Turmoil, p. 266.

¹¹³NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 299-301.

tical campaign by teachers, helped to resolve the impasse. Governor Rampton, elected in 1964, evaluated the effect of sanctions thus, "if I were asked if sanctions impelled the legislature and me to provide new money, I should have to say, 'no!.' If I were asked if sanctions influenced the people of the state to favor better support for the schools, I should have to say, 'yes!'"¹¹⁴

THE USE OF THE NEA CODE OF ETHICS

The next year, in May 11, 1965 the NEA invoked sanctions against the state of Oklahoma. In this case there were these added aspects to sanctions: first a new NEA Code of Ethics had been passed in 1963, its Principle IV, "Commitment to Professional Employment Practices," specified under No. 3 that no members should "fill a vacancy except where terms, conditions, policies and practices permit the exercise of our professional judgment and skill, and where a climate conducive to professional service exists."¹¹⁵ (Emphasis supplied.) Consequently, the NEA notified members that if they ignored the Oklahoma sanctions they would violate the Code of Ethics and be subject to censure, suspension or expulsion from membership. Further, the NEA set up relocation assistance for teachers who wanted to leave Oklahoma (this was to lead to the NEA*

¹¹⁴Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching, p. 273.

¹¹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 136.

SEARCH, which was operational by June, 1966). Thirdly, the NEA stated it would advise business and industrial organizations and the general public about the Oklahoma situations. Fourthly, the NEA offered, on the basis of the Utah experience, to aid in organization of clinics and workshops designed to increase the "political effectiveness" of Oklahoma teachers.

No teacher strike occurred in Oklahoma, although a one-day "professional day" was granted prior to the impositions of sanctions to allow the teachers to demonstrate.

THE FLORIDA SITUATION

On the whole, the Utah and Oklahoma sanctions constituted a success for the NEA. The Florida story in 1967 was of a different nature. The situation for the first time confronted NEA with an extended statewide teacher dispute. Teachers resigned on February 19, 1968 and were not rehired until March 8. The NEA, without adequately considering financial implications, gave unqualified financial support for the teachers in addition to sending a large staff contingent into the state. This flexing of muscles was due in part to the fact that the president for 1967-68 was a teacher from Florida (Braulio Alonso), who persuaded the Executive Committee and a new Executive Secretary (S. Lambert) to back his home state. The NEA spent a total of over \$3 million in Florida, a performance it cannot afford

too often. Moreover, the pay raises achieved were insignificant in contrast to the Utah and Oklahoma gains, with extensive litigation about the back pay of teachers and fines levied by school boards.

On June 5, 1967 the NEA invoked statewide sanctions against the public school system in Florida.¹¹⁶ A regular and an extended session of the Legislature produced a totally unacceptable situation; \$63 million was cut from existing state programs to finance a totally inadequate pay raise.¹¹⁷ The Governor refused to consider extra taxes. Additional sanctions in the form of warnings to business and industrial organizations to stay away from Florida, were granted by the Executive Committee on July 12, 1967.¹¹⁸ In October, 1967 the sanctions were held in abeyance to await the Governor's Special Education Study Committee.

This body reported its findings in December, 1967. A special session of the Legislature was called for January 29 by Governor Kirk, who had made good education in Florida one of his campaign planks in 1966. The special session produced only meager results; \$158,730,000 was appropriated

¹¹⁶Chronology in 7 NEA Reporter, April 19, 1968, p. 3.

¹¹⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 340.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 341.

to remedy the situation, instead of the over \$200 million envisaged by the Florida teachers. The situation brought on a resignation by some 30,000 teachers--over one-half of the teaching force--on February 19, 1968. The state reacted by hiring thousands of uncertified substitutes; local residents conducted a campaign of teacher harassment.

Meanwhile, Governor Kirk indicated his veto of even this inadequate appropriation; finally, in March 7, 1968 the education appropriation became a law without his signature. The next day, the State Board of Education, calling an emergency meeting, approved a settlement with the Florida Education Association calling for an additional \$10.2 million for education in 1968 and the reinstatement of teachers without reprisals. The process of reinstatement was almost completed by the end of April; in many cases, however, teachers were required to pay a fee or a fine as a condition for returning to their classrooms. A special NEA suit, backed by DuShane funds, asked the return of teachers without penalties. The NEA's position was upheld by the courts in 1969. Meanwhile, sanctions were lifted in May, 1968.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 390.

THE DUSHANE FUND

The DuShane Fund, mentioned above, was reorganized in 1966 under the name of the DuShane Fund for Teachers Rights. Monies of the original fund were consolidated with the "Million Dollar Fund" set up the Board of Directors as a second, separate effort to aid individuals and groups in the NEA.¹²⁰

Under guidelines approved in October, 1967 by the Executive Committee, assistance would be granted in the following cases:

1. A serious violation of the teacher's professional or legal rights, indigenous to his professional assignment.
2. The establishment of a legal precedent affecting other members of the educational profession.
3. A serious welfare need of a teacher, a group of teachers or an association.¹²¹

Category no. 3 would cover cases like the Utah and Florida emergency as well as aid to local groups. The Fund was to be guided by a committee composed of five ex officio members, one member appointed by the chairman and an ad hoc member appointed for each meeting. Requests for financial assistance would be directed in writing to the Fund. A

¹²⁰NEA Handbook, 1968, pp. 388-391; cf. also NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 324, 284; and NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 210.

¹²¹NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 346-348.

field representative would inquire into the matter and give the committee a recommendation. After a consideration by the Committee, a decision would be made.

These guidelines departed from the Previous NEA practice under Dr. Carr in one important respect: they envisaged rapid, as against extended, carefully considered action. Dr. Carr had insisted on a thorough NEA investigation before the application of sanctions or expenditure of funds. Aid applications were now to be processed quickly. Consequently, the questions of available resources and the effectiveness of snap decisions were raised with increasing frequency.

The Florida situation justified such fears. As far as the records indicate, during the calendar year 1968 the fund spent \$1.16 million, mainly to aid Florida. A \$2 million special emergency relief fund was set up for Florida on March 2, of which almost \$1.0 million came from the Fund.¹²² Previously in 1967, a \$50,000 grant from the Du Sane Fund went to Florida.¹²³ By May 31, 1968 the fund had a deficit of \$563,929.

The Florida situation constituted the third time that statewide sanctions had been imposed under the policy

¹²²NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 381, 385, 384, 388, 343, 348, NEA News (Press Release), March 10, 1969.

¹²³NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 343.

adopted in 1962, but the first time that sanctions had involved a real financial drain. In the first application of sanctions, a \$500,000 loan fund was authorized by The Board of Directors for Utah. This fund, however, was not required and was not used.¹²⁴ The Oklahoma situation, likewise, was quickly settled. However, the Florida teacher stoppage resulted in considerable spending of cash and staff time on the part of the NEA. Many of the central staff, including the Executive Secretary, Dr. S. Lambert, were disturbed about the financial implications of the situation.¹²⁵ Mr. Lambert was not anxious that the NEA become over-extended in the field of teacher rights. Thus, a suggestion passed by the militant Executive Committee that \$1 of membership dues be set aside for the DuShane Fund was later reconsidered and rescinded; Mr. Lambert stressed that demands on dues "should vary with demands on the fund."¹²⁶

Could NEA afford to help again on the scale employed in Florida? Was money spent wisely in Florida? Many NEA staff members answered both questions in the negative. It seemed that open-ended aid to states in crises without

¹²⁴Stinnett, op. cit., ch. 12.

¹²⁵NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 384.

¹²⁶Ibid., pp. 384, 385, 387. This suggestion parallels the 1966 idea of setting aside \$1 of individuals' federal taxes for a presidential campaign fund.

adequate financial and strategic controls invited disaster. Close cooperation with the state groups involved and control of funds had to be employed, in addition to a "crisis watch" and preventive measures before an impasse.

The Florida situation, according to some members of the Florida Education Association's staff, was full of errors on part of the NEA and FEA, and coordination between the two was extremely poor. Public reaction and teacher reaction were not read correctly in advance; the teacher stoppage did not succeed in shutting down Florida schools and keeping them closed. Nor could the NEA truth squads sent into the state point to significant public opinion shifts.

Much of the money won in Florida went to salary increases of teachers. This demand should have openly publicized as such, without the old fear of impairing the image of "professionalism."¹²⁷

NEA's sanctions resolution promises help to teacher groups whenever "practices that have a deleterious effect on the welfare of schools" are involved; but the truth is that according to the NEA, the welfare of schools includes the welfare of teachers. Yet, NEA and FEA continued to hide their economic needs behind the veil of "school welfare."

¹²⁷ This was the equivalent of self-sacrificing service to children even at the cost of financial suicide, according to some.

Will the public needlessly accuse the profession of some duplicity? As one Florida staff member writes, "if your major legislative appeals are based on quality education, don't expect the public and your legislature to support such a program if your financial requests are tied mainly to salaries."¹²⁸ It seems that honesty and sincerity are the best policy in "selling" the public on the teachers' position.

Honesty in financing may require a decision to handle state crises on an ad hoc basis, financed by special appeals separated from the DuShane fund. To exhaust the Fund in one operation is to weaken its foundations and to invite restrictions in other teacher help areas equally important. It seems that the best use of the DuSane fund has been in the defense of individual teacher rights, not as a primary fund for large-scale emergencies. Moreover, the use of the DuShane monies as a "strike-fund" brings up the old question of danger to the tax status of the NEA under the Internal Revenue Code, Sec. 501(c)(3).

In 1968, the Representative Assembly passed a resolution¹²⁹ requesting the appointment of a representative committee by the Board to study the operation of the fund

¹²⁸NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 384.

¹²⁹Resolution 1968-20, NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 478; see also, Ibid., pp. 208-209.

in crisis situations; it also requested that adequate safeguards be established for the administration of the fund. However, arguing the instability of voluntary contributions in crises, the 1968 resolution mandated financing from the NEA budget, and \$1 million was allocated in addition to voluntary contributions.¹³⁰

New guidelines were established for the DuShane fund in the wake of the 1968 Assembly resolution. Funding for test cases was dropped as a major expenditure. Intervention in lawsuits (of interest to the NEA) would occur only after Executive Committee review and approval. Aid in cases of "serious welfare need" mentioned in the October, 1967 guidelines (Sec. 3)¹³¹ was restricted to cases of "salary interruption" that had already occurred due to the action of a local, state or the national group. Thus, the new guidelines specify aid in four cases: a violation of individual or group teacher rights, a "salary interruption" due to actions of the NEA or state or local affiliates or possibly due to public or governmental authorities, and

¹³⁰NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 478.

¹³¹This area could have included long-range lobbying and funds to establish a climate of opinion favorable to teachers such as the New Mexico emergency grants under Carr's administration.

intervention in lawsuits approved by the Executive Committee.¹³²

The new guidelines do not represent a radical departure from the 1967 guidelines and do not resolve the question of crisis funding. They do not seem to deal with the tighter administration of the fund. In fact, the Executive Committee had been put on notice that the NEA could not survive many crises on the scale of Florida. Such extensive aid has not been given to any state since and the Florida crisis may well pass into NEA history as a unique hortatory experience.

BENEFITS TO THE PROFESSION AS A WHOLE

The NEA's charter mandates that the NEA devote itself to the advancement of the teaching profession. As indicated above, this advancement up to 1957 or so was thought of in terms of curriculum teaching materials, education, professional standards of teachers, and generating favorable publicity and public policy in favor of public schools and the public school teaching profession. The pre-1957 image of the NEA and its members is one of dedication.¹³³

¹³²NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 346-348.

¹³³See E. Edwards, "The Dedicated Teacher is the Teaching Profession's Greatest Enemy," op. cit.

NEA's role in the evolution of the American education and the public school teaching profession has been appraised by educational historians as an impressive one.¹³⁴ The important work of the departments or specialist groups under NEA's organizational umbrella are also a credit to the NEA.

A profession implies the existence of a code of conduct or ethics. Consequently, the chapter deals first with the NEA Code which was modernized in 1963 and revised since. The code has not only set standards but has been used as a weapon to enforce compliance to NEA policy. Professional standards also imply educational standards for members, and the NEA has required all of its new members to have a B.A. since 1964. The Association has also promoted professional autonomy and professional negotiations laws to avoid drifting into the patterns of industry-labor negotiations.

NEA's Research Division has the deep respect of educators and public officials since its establishment almost fifty years ago. The division has important statistics for teachers, school systems, negotiators, public officials and the researcher, and its services are often contracted for by the U. S. Office of Education. Both the present and

¹³⁴R. Butts and L. Cremin, A History of American Education (New York: Holt and Co., 1953).

past executive secretaries of the NEA had been directors of research,¹³⁵ showing the importance of this division to the NEA. The Division's Ranking of the States by criteria of educational standards and financing have been used in political campaigns involving education. Its negotiations research digest has aided countless local NEA groups facing an impasse in board-staff agreements. In the early 1960's the division added a Teacher Opinion Poll section with computerized facilities, giving leaders a delicate instrument for sampling membership views.

Finally, the profession is also aided by NEA lobbying efforts. This section contains brief reference to laws giving economic assistance to teachers, with the issue of federal aid to education deferred to the next chapter.

CODE OF ETHICS

Professional negotiations and sanctions resolutions were followed in 1963 by the adoption of a militant Code of Ethics,¹³⁶ geared almost 75 percent to professional negotiations and community relations, with only 25 percent of the text devoted to teacher behavior in the classroom. This is in a marked contrast with the Code of Ethics of the American Bar Association, for instance. The NEA Code of Ethics has

¹³⁵Dr. William G. Carr and Dr. S. Lambert.

¹³⁶NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 134-136; see Ibid., pp. 133, 136-143.

four principles, one of which is commitment to the student (as client). The next three deal with commitment to community, profession and professional employment practices. Under commitment to community, teachers are urged to "assume full political and citizenship responsibilities," (II-6) and to protect the educational program from undesirable infringement. Under commitment to profession, the teacher is urged to participate in the development of policies affecting education (III-2) and to support teachers unjustly accused or mistreated (III-4). Under commitment to professional employment practices, the teacher, as mentioned above, must not accept employment where a climate not conducive to professional service exists (IV-3). The Code of Ethics is a militant document, the passage of which is not unrelated to the Utah situation, and the increasing resolve to insist on teacher rights and teacher power. Assembly mandated in 1961, the 1963 Code was affected by intervening events.

At the time of its adoption the Code became a "Code of Ethics for the Education Profession," to involve all segments of the NEA, not just teachers. By 1965, all state affiliates had adopted it.¹³⁷ The question of enforceability, however, continued to persist. The question came

¹³⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 120.

up in 1968, when a revised Code was presented. It was hoped that the revised Code would be enforceable, as it was drawn more clearly in terms of "shall" and "shall not" statements rather than general precepts.¹³⁸ Individual prosecutions under the 1963 Code or the 1968 revision have been scarce, however, its main application has been the enforcement of integration for southern state affiliates.

In 1963 also, a bylaw was passed to require members to adhere to the Code of Ethics as a condition for membership.¹³⁹ The 1965 NEA resolution on professional sanctions made it clear that adherence to professional sanctions would be part of the ethical behavior of members. The 1965 sanctions resolution read in part: "a violation of sanctions by a member of the profession is a violation of the Code of Ethics of the education profession."¹⁴⁰ As mentioned above, the "a Code of Ethics for the Education Profession," was meant to include all sections of the NEA, including the administrators. In spite of this intent, it was felt by the Representative Assemblies of 1965, 1966 and

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 123, 126, 119, 124.

¹³⁹Art. I, sec. 12. For a case of expulsion of a superintendent of instruction, see the "DeKalb case," in "NEA Committee Acts on Ethics Complaints, Today's Education, vol. 58 (Nov. 1969), p. 34. See also Committee on Professional Ethics, "Enforcement of the Code of Ethics of the Education Profession," (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1969, a pamphlet).

¹⁴⁰1965 Res. No. 16, p. 416, 167. NEA Proceedings, 1965.

1967, that the role of the superintendents had to be clarified. The 1968 revision of the Code included a specific provision (Principle IV, No. 3) which required that the administrators do not withhold information about censured systems from an applicant, or misrepresent conditions of employment.

It may be seen that the Code of Ethics has been caught up in the negotiations and sanctions issue and has been used to support an aggressive posture in favor of embattled membership groups.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

A second major step in the professionalization of teaching has been the effort to upgrade the preparation of NEA membership. The requirement that after 1964 a member, in order to join, would have to have a Bachelor's degree plus have possession of or eligibility for a legal teaching certificate was passed by the Representative Assembly in 1961.¹⁴¹ At the time of the adoption of the bylaw, forty-three states required a Bachelor's degree to teach in the elementary grades and all fifty states required it for the

¹⁴¹NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 111, 143, 236.

secondary grades. The NEA action in a sense capped long efforts to achieve this educational level.¹⁴²

The work to achieve this educational level had been one of the main tasks of the Teacher Education and Professional Standards Commission (hereinafter referred to as TEPS) established in 1946 as a successor of the Committee on Teacher Preparation and Certification.¹⁴³ In 1946, only fifteen states required the Bachelor's degree for elementary school teaching and only 45 percent of such teachers had completed that degree. In 1961, forty-three states required the Bachelor's degree and 75 percent of employed teachers in elementary school systems had completed it. The TEPS Commission worked hard to discontinue emergency (war-time) certificates in the states, and in 1952 the Representative Assembly voted to create National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (hereinafter referred to as NCATE) to supervise teacher preparation standards and offer its own accreditation.¹⁴⁴ The various state TEPS commissions and NCATE were largely responsible for raising the standards of teacher education and teacher

¹⁴²Maine was the first state association to require a B.A. for membership: NEA Proceedings, 1961, p. 143. "As Maine goes, so goes the nation."

¹⁴³NEA Proceedings, 1946, pp. 238-240.

¹⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1952, p. 126.

license requirements, so that by 1961, the day was drawing close when all new elementary and secondary teachers would be required to have a completed B.A. degree. The process was completed by 1964, from which time the NEA has required a B.A. for its new members.

The trend of the times, as exemplified by the proposed New York State Teachers Association bill for a state board of admissions and practice, is to go beyond the Bachelor's degree, this only eight years after the adoption of the NEA bylaw. A provision of the New York proposal states that to get a regular public school teacher license, a person must have at least a master's degree or its equivalent, and two years of successful teaching experience.¹⁴⁵

PROFESSIONALISM

The NEA has continuously been advocating the self-government of the teaching profession. This would give it more status and competence to deal with its professional problems. A main thrust of this effort has been in the pro-

¹⁴⁵4 NYSTA Newstrends, March, 1969, p. 1. See also New Horizons for the Teaching Profession. Margaret Lindsay, editor. Washington, D. C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1961.

National Education Association, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. 21st Year book: Changing Dimensions in Teacher Education (Proceedings of the 20th Annual Meeting). Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1968.

mulgation of a Code of Ethics, the operation of a fund for teachers rights (the DuShane Fund), both of which have been discussed above. Another has been the requirement that members after 1964 have the B.A. degree. Another main thrust of the NEA towards professionalism, is the support of i.e. state laws on Professional Practices.

Professional Practices Acts give a profession the right to manage itself, i.e. set the standards for admission to the profession, for continuance in the profession, and set up boards to supervise such admissions and the maintenance of standards. Were these enacted in all 48 states, the teaching profession could approach the status afforded to doctors and lawyers and other professionals. Without them, teachers are little more than public employees or employees in general.

Legislation in the Professional Practices field has been discussed in an excellent report of the NEA TEPS Commission meeting held before the 1968 Dallas Representative Assembly (June 25-28, 1968). It was said there that the drive towards professional autonomy may be traced to a relatively recent (1961) publication of the TEPS, authored by Margaret Lindsey.¹⁴⁶ The passage of professional practices legislation commenced in 1962; since that time (to

¹⁴⁶Margaret Lindsey, "New Horizons for the Teaching Profession" (Washington, E. C.: TEPS, 1961).

June, 1968) nine states have approved legislation setting up professional practices commissions. They are: Kentucky (1962), Florida (1963), North Dakota (1965), Oklahoma (1965), Alaska (1966), Georgia (1967), Iowa (1967), Minnesota (1967) and Nebraska (1967).¹⁴⁷ The role of the commissions, composed of professional educators, is the supervision and legal responsibility for the developing, interpreting and enforcing standards of practice for the teaching profession. They are a device which allows the profession to protect ethical and competent members and to warn and discipline incompetent and unethical members of the profession.

A NEA survey conducted in the Spring of 1968 indicates that the profession is very much interested in autonomy; five states reportedly are proposing or considering such commissions, and eleven more states are taking action to acquire both a professional practices commission and a professional standards board.

New York is considering such professional autonomy. The issue was explained in a recent issue of the New York State Teachers Association Journal.¹⁴⁸ The New York State

¹⁴⁷Of these states, most are committed to the NEA dues unification plan.

¹⁴⁸Vol. 66, No. 5, February, 1969, p. 48. The professional autonomy bill failed in the Spring of 1970.

Association (NYSTA) had introduced a professional practices act in the Legislature in as early as 1954, only to see it killed by "disunity, apathy and inaction in our own ranks."¹⁴⁹ In 1968, a task force on Professional Autonomy toured the state and conducted a series of four statewide hearing, collecting testimony of over 600 pages. The 1968 House of Delegates in November then instructed the staff to seek legislation establishing the certification of teachers as responsibility of the teaching profession.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, a bill was introduced and considered by the Education Committee in both houses, to add a new article 155 to the New York Education Law, providing a state board of admissions and practice for public school teachers outside New York City. The latter has had separate licensing requirements and procedures for some time. The logic of the attempt was that the Taylor law prohibiting the strike of public employees has not proved very effective as machinery for regulation of the conduct of teachers and that self-regulation and self-policing would do more.¹⁵¹ However, the proposed legislation failed in 1969 and again in 1970.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., statement by NYSTA Executive Secretary G. Howard Goold.

¹⁵⁰NYSTA Newstrends, March, 1969, p. 1.

¹⁵¹TEPS, "Tentative Report of Professional Practices Legislation," Report of 16th Annual Meet of TEPS chairmen and consultants. June 25-28, 1968, p. III-3.

NEA RESEARCH DIVISION

Some important publications for 1968 are discussed below.

1. Ranking of the States.¹⁵² This annual report, an encyclopedia of knowledge about school conditions, contains 129 ranked lists of state data. The lists indicate, for example, the percentage of school-age children (ages 5-17) in the total state population (in New York State for 1967, the percentage is 23.6 percent); the total instructional staff in local public schools of the various states (California leads with almost 200,000); the estimated average salary of elementary and secondary school teachers (New York scores third after Alaska and California); the percent of households with incomes under \$3,000 (Mississippi leads with 41.5 percent); per capita property tax revenue of local governments; local public school revenues as a percent of state and local school revenue, and many other factors.

2. Economic Status of the Teaching Profession.¹⁵³ This is the NEA Research Division's 23rd annual report on

¹⁵²NEA Research Division, Ranking of the States, 1968 (Washington, D. C.: The Association Report 1968-R1, 1968).

¹⁵³NEA Research Division, Economic Status of the Teaching Profession, 1967-1968 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, Report 1968-R1, 1968).

this subject. The Research Division in a forward, admits that salaries, more than any other factor, determine the relative strength or weakness of any occupational group to attract and hold competent persons. The study states that for 1967-68, the national average salary for elementary school teachers was about \$7,077; for secondary school teachers about \$7,569, with very marked state and sectional differences. The average salary of the instructional staff in the southeast is \$6,527 compared with \$9,046 in the far west. By way of comparison, in 1954-55, 48.5 percent of classroom teachers received less than \$3,500 a year while in 1967-68, only 2.3 percent were being paid that salary and 60.6 percent received \$6,500 or more a year. The study also gives information for college staffs and administration; a comparison with the earnings of federal civilian employees and workers in industry; and figures for men and women teachers.¹⁵⁴

Of the above two titles, the better known report is the Ranking of the States, which has been used to influence legislatures and election campaigns on statewide levels. It is also used by the U. S. Office of Education,

¹⁵⁴NEA Research Division, Salary Schedules for Principals, 1967-68 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, Report 1968-R5, 1968); NEA Research Division, Salaries in Higher Education, 1967-68 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, Report 1968-R7, 1968). See also, Report 1968-R5, and Report 1968-R7,...

and has, through the years, attained a high reputation for its painstaking accuracy

Four other well-known annual surveys are:

1. Selected Statistics of Local School Systems.¹⁵⁵

This annual report on local school systems is in heavy demand, and the above volume is out of print as of June, 1968. The extreme value of this report is in the fact that it gives complete statistics for 149 of the 156 large school systems enrolling 25,000 or more pupils in 1965, (for a total enrollment of over 11 million, or about 27 percent of the total U. S. enrollment; these are systems concentrated mostly in the urban areas). Large school systems are compared with 136 selected small systems which provide high salaries for their classroom teachers. Important tables show the expenditures for capital outlay, debt service, and programs other than elementary and secondary day schools (such as Project Head Start, junior colleges, public libraries); services to non-public school pupils on federally funded projects; revenues from local sources, assessed values, and tax rates of the systems; statistics of classroom teachers, including distribution of teachers by level of preparation, and teacher turnover by cause; records of school bond, school tax and school budget

¹⁵⁵See NEA Research Division, Selected Statistics of Local School Systems, 1965-66 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, Report 1967-R15, 1967).

referendums and fiscal independence or dependence of systems. It can be seen that this document is equally valuable for teachers or supervisory personnel as well as to other concerned citizens as a source of information. This annual research report is one of the most famous and most useful put out by the Research Division.¹⁵⁶

2. Estimates of School Statistics.¹⁵⁷ This is another well-known series, which is featured in national dailies such as the New York Times. This study is used in preparing federal aid legislation and in the national debates on the extent of federal involvement in education. Some of the most meaningful statistics show the percent of school revenue derived from federal, state and local and other sources.¹⁵⁸ It is estimated, for example, that for 1968/69, the percent of school revenue derived from federal sources will decline to 7.3 percent from 8.0 percent; state sources will bear more of the total--40.9 percent compared to 39.3 percent of the year before, and local and other contributions will decrease from 52.7 percent of the previous year to 51.9 percent. The total expenditures of the

¹⁵⁶See pp. 68-83, 47-53, 38-46 and 84-88, respectively. cf. the 1965-66 Report (Report 1967-R15, 1967).

¹⁵⁷See NEA Research Division, Estimates of School Statistics, 1968-69 (Washington, D. C.: The Association, Report 1968-R16, 1968).

¹⁵⁸1968 Report (1968-R16), p. 18.

public schools, including current expense, capital outlay and interest, is estimated as \$34,721,185,000 in 1968-69. Many members of Congress, including the influential Edith Green of Oregon, receive and use NEA Research Reports in their work, and the accuracy and painstaking nature of the research studies has created much good-will for the NEA on Capitol Hill.¹⁵⁹

3. Teacher Satisfaction Survey. The NEA and state Research Divisions in 1968 developed a survey instrument called the Teacher Satisfaction Survey. This tests the "educational climate"¹⁶⁰ by assessment of staff feelings and attitudes. An 85-item questionnaire is condensed to yield twenty-one factors covering both situational and interpersonal relationships of teachers. The results can be used by both teachers and administrators for negotiation purposes.

So far, this service is available only on the request of state education association research staff and is not available to the local alone. At the local level, the cooperation of the administration, board of education and teacher association is obtained before proceedings. Preferably the whole professional staff should complete the

¹⁵⁹For other interesting studies, see Teachers Day in Court: Review of 1966 (Report 1967-R6), a review of important court decisions in 1966; and Formal Grievance Procedures for Public School Teachers, 1965-1966 (Report 1967-R-10).

¹⁶⁰cf. 1963 Code of Ethics, principle IV-3.

survey instrument to insure the validity of findings. To do this, a shortened day and released time for teachers is recommended; the time necessary is 40 minutes. The cost of the service is at an average \$200. The findings or the highlights are given in a form presentable to the local board of education and the local association members.

The survey, to repeat, is not an investigation of facts, but a survey of attitudes--of teacher morale. Scores are reported by grouping items into factors, identified by an analysis of thousands of responses to a previous form of the instrument. By the means of the survey, school district officials can identify trouble spots in staff attitudes that need attention to develop sound responses. The test also measures teacher reaction to an ideal set of circumstances determined by the California Teacher Association Personnel Standards Commission (the state agency which pioneered the survey) and the NEA Research Division. The use of norms has been avoided, except that very low scores mean great dissatisfaction and very high scores, a high level of satisfaction. Some of the survey factors identified follow:

- a. Teacher-principal relationships: teachers' perception of the principal as a leader in addition to the working relationship of principal and staff. A question item relating to this factor would read, "Our principal shows favoritism

toward some teachers," and to all items four answers would be possible: strongly agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, strongly disagree. These four answers would carry the numerical weight of 1, 2, 3, 4 in terms of satisfaction. A potential problem is indicated if scores on factors fall within the range of 2.4 and 3.2; any factor score below 2.4 indicated a problem and any score above 3.2 satisfaction.

b. **Teacher-Superintendent-Board Relationships:** this is an attempt to establish the relationship of the superintendent to the teaching staff and the administrative staff. Also included is the relationship of the superintendent to the board of education and an assessment of the educational leadership of the superintendent.

c. **Teacher involvement in Decision-Making:** measures the unilateral decision-making role of the central administration and school administrative staffs. The extent of teacher involvement in planning staff activities is also considered.

d. **Economic Benefits:** concerns the monetary reward for teaching; both salary and fringe benefits are considered.

e. **Working Conditions:** concerns the teacher's perception of his teaching situation as it is re-

lated to his feeling of frustration or happiness. The items include the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of the work load.

f. Role of the Teacher Association: considers the teacher's view of the teachers association as to its role, representativeness and extent of teacher involvement.

Thus the instrument is designed in view of preventing a serious crisis in the school system due to the dissatisfaction of the staff, and also as an aid to negotiations by pinpointing potential sources of trouble. There has been a consistent demand for the survey.

4. Negotiations Research Digest. This monthly publication gives important statistics on school systems with details of agreements, court interpretations, and fact finders' reports. It has become a valuable aid for teacher negotiations on the local level¹⁶¹ since its inception in 1967. The digest collates voluminous NEA records on board-staff negotiations.

LEGISLATION

The discussion of legislation in this section is limited to those of direct consequences to teachers. It is concerned with less visible yet important issues such as

¹⁶¹See NEA Research Division, Negotiations Research Digest, Vol. I, No. 10 (June 1968).

social security benefits, tax deductions, improvement of teacher education, and increase of educational aids and materials available to teachers.

Deductibility of Expenses

The NEA was instrumental in 1958 in effecting the deductibility of educational expenses. Following the Congressional interest in the King-Jenkins bill, drafted to allow educational deductions through legislation¹⁶² the Treasury department issued a new ruling¹⁶³ favorable to teachers on this issue. The 1958 Treasury ruling made deduction of certain expenses retroactive to 1954, but the claim had to be filed by a deadline that was almost impossible to meet. Consequently, an act was passed¹⁶⁴ extending this deadline to November 3, 1958. Inequities still occurred. The NEA legislative staff assembled case materials and presented them to the Secretary of the Treasury, with a report on the difficulties of teachers wanting a tax deduction for the improvement of their educational skills. On June 15, a further conference was held with the Under-Secretary of the Treasury and tax officials to clarify regulations and definitions in the claiming of deduc-

¹⁶²HR 4662, 85th Congress.

¹⁶³Treasury Department resulation 6291, April, 1958.

¹⁶⁴P.L. 866, 85th Congress.

tions. Another ruling was finally issued in 1959 (in time for the 1959 tax returns) with more precise definitions and guidelines.¹⁶⁵

In this case, NEA contacts with Congress and the administration brought tangible economic benefits to teachers. The recognition that advanced course work was a necessary business expense for teachers, was a major improvement. The Treasury Department in 1960 issued a "Guide Concerning the Federal Income Tax Treatment of Expenses Incurred by Taxpayers for Education."¹⁶⁶ This last ruling emerged after repeated conferences between Division of Legislation staff, Research Division members, and the Internal Revenue Service.

Benefits for Overseas Teachers

In 1959, legislation was passed¹⁶⁷ with the aid of NEA and the Overseas Education Association, a NEA affiliate, to help teachers who volunteered to go abroad to staff Overseas Dependents Schools, administered by the Department of Defense. The 1959 bill removed teachers from civil ser-

¹⁶⁵NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 330, 97, 227, "Box Score 1958" NEA Division of Legislation and Federal Relations.

¹⁶⁶Revised Ruling 60-97, publ. March 14, 1960, bringing the issue to a close. NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 357.

¹⁶⁷P.L. 86-91, 86th Congress.

vice pay and geared remuneration and personnel policies to teacher salary schedules in cities of 100,000 or more in the continental United States. This law which was hailed as an important NEA accomplishment was not implemented however until 1966, except for very minor raises.¹⁶⁸ Thus this legislative victory proved rather hollow due to the adamantness of Congress and the Department of Defense. The battle was only won with the passage of P.L. 89-391 (April 1966), sponsored by Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona. There is still a suit pending for back pay of overseas teachers in the amount of some \$20 million for the years 1959-66 (backed by aid from the DuShane Fund).¹⁶⁹ The long struggle to win adequate pay for overseas teachers has been described at length by T. M. Stinnett, who was involved in the fight for satisfactory conditions for overseas schools.¹⁷⁰

International Education

The international education area has always been a concern of the NEA, especially because of the heavy involvement of Dr. Carr. In 1958, P.L. 931 permitted the use of funds from the sale of surplus farm products abroad for the

¹⁶⁸NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 357.

¹⁶⁹NEA Reporter, vol. 7 (March 15, 1968), p. 7.

¹⁷⁰Stinnett, Turmoil in Teaching, ch. 11.

financing of workshops on American educational techniques in foreign countries. This act was later supplemented by the 1966 International Education Act of 1966¹⁷¹ which authorized grants to colleges, universities and other institutions to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction in international studies and enlarged existing federal support for international study.

Other Areas

Another piece of general legislation benefiting teachers at this time was P.L. 426 of the 85th Congress (1958) extended the definition of "educational materials."¹⁷² Under the new definition, sheet music, records, graduate dissertations and author's manuscripts would be carried at the reduced rate.

The NEA also fought for the passage of the 1958 National Defense Education Act, under which teachers specializing in certain areas were eligible for federal grants and loans.¹⁷³

Thus, in various areas such as tax deduction for educational expenses, improvement of teaching opportunities

¹⁷¹P.L. 89-698, 90th Congress.

¹⁷²P.L. 426, 85th Congress.

¹⁷³See Chapter VII of this thesis, infra, for further discussion of this act.

and more advantageous postal rates for educators, and grants or loans for teachers, the NEA played a key role.

It may be noted that these four measures designed to aid teachers were all passed in 1958, the post-Sputnik era. Then followed a long lag in acts benefiting teachers; advances occurred only in 1965-69. The creation of the Teacher Corps by the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, and the Education Professions Development Act of 1967 were passed during these recent years. There was a hiatus of major educational legislation between 1958 and 1963 owing to the lame duck nature of the Eisenhower administration and the inability of President Kennedy to push his major pieces of legislation through Congress.

Important legislation affecting teachers started again in 1963, with the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the Higher Education Act of 1965;¹⁷⁴ Dr. Carr was one of the persons given pens when the President signed the latter law. It authorized a number of community problems studies and community service programs by colleges and universities, and created a National Teacher Corps in its Title V to work in school districts with a high concentration of disadvantaged children. This program has been much

¹⁷⁴P.L. 88-204, 89th Congress, 1963. P.L. 89-329, 89th Congress, 1965.

discussed in NEA circles, and is NEA's answer to the problems of urban schools; it helps urban members by providing federal salary assistance and fellowship funds for further study.

"Federally impacted"¹⁷⁵ area teachers and schools were helped in 1967 by a \$1.1 billion appropriation for Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The NEA claims to have pioneered the concept of "federal impact" in education.¹⁷⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Although the matter had been under consideration since 1956, the NEA before 1962 had no group insurance policies of any kind. Pressures by leaders of the classroom teachers group within the NEA forced a change in this situation by forcing a delegates' referendum on the issue of insurance in 1960. Subsequently, a life insurance group policy was offered to members in 1962. Insurance plans in operation now include:

Term life insurance, with coverage of dependents.

Accidental Death and Dismemberment programs.

¹⁷⁵"Federal impact" occurs in areas where there are federally owned and maintained installations.

¹⁷⁶See P.L. 620, 85th Congress (1958), continuing aid given by the 81st Congress; NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 198, id., 1950, p. 220. See also publications of NEA-Office of Legislative and Federal Relations.

Homeowners Insurance.

In-Hospital income plan.

The NEA also proceeded to offer an annuity program, despite objections by the state affiliates which had their own programs. It has entered the field, however, as a partner with state associations.

The NEA has offered other services to members in the 1960's such as a car-leasing program and a mutual fund program.

New structures had to be created for the above programs to preserve the tax status of the NEA as an educational organization. Thus, the insurance plans are administered by a Special Services division, whose funds are not co-mingled with NEA funds. The annuity program is offered through the Horace Mann Educators Corporation, a Delaware holding company for the NEA, state associations and a California stock insurance company. The car-leasing program is administered by a Teachers Services Corporation (TSC). The mutual fund is handled by an Educators Fund Management Corporation.

To help members whose legal rights are in jeopardy, NEA has a DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights, organized in 1966. This fund has helped to advance the law and set legal precedents. It handles several hundred cases a year. NEA tries to collate the right person with the right job

through a program called NEA*SEARCH designed to notify employers about prospective employees on the move.

NEA since the teacher union threat of the late 1950's has developed services to locals in cities. In addition to these services, it has clearly decided by the famous Denver Resolution of 1962 that it wanted to see the old autonomy of school boards to end. In the new era, teachers' representation and local boards would enter into negotiations and have recourse to appeals procedures in case of an impasse. These negotiations were to be guided by principles different from industry-labor disputes. In case of impasse, various means of "professional" coercion could be used: mainly the boycott of censured school systems by warning teachers not to come into the locality. Violation of the boycott would be a violation of the Code of Ethics. However, by 1968 the NEA was forced to recognize explicitly that boycotts would be followed by a walk-out or strike in "drastic" cases. NEA was ready to back up teacher groups in impasse by staffing and financial help.

NEA's pledge to help state and local affiliates in impasse was seriously tested by a statewide resignation of teachers in Florida in 1968. The expenditures and staffing assistance given by the NEA were great--about \$3 million and over 50 NEA staff members--yet the results were not too satisfactory. Teacher salaries did not rise sub-

stantially and returning teachers subjected to fines cancelled only after litigation. The NEA will try to avoid statewide sanctions (boycotts or walk-out assistance) in the future.

There has been more success in the aid to locals with the help of the DuShane fund, a number of NEA affiliates have succeeded against recalcitrant school boards.

NEA's help to the profession as a whole has included the support for state professional autonomy and professional negotiations laws and a raising of teacher educational standards. A competent Research Division has produced statistics on practically all the important fields of education, professionalism and status of teachers. Finally, NEA has helped to pass Congressional legislation designed to aid the profession.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEA: INFLUENCING DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION AND POLICIES

INTRODUCTION

NEA's record on influencing public opinion and public policy is a mixed one.¹ Its deep commitment to perform "public service," to promote the profession of teaching, to promote and defend the public school system, by federal general support of education restricted to the public school only has yielded to an attitude of reluctant acceptance of recent social and political developments. The NEA has had to curtail many publicity measures in order to give better economic and staff service to individual and group members. It has had to support federal categorical aid from 1963 on and the child-benefit formula from 1965 on as acts of political realism. Although it has continued to advocate general federal aid and restricting aid to public schools only, it has proceeded to support the extension and funding of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act to maintain the good will of many Democratic members of

¹Peter Janssen, "NEA: The Reluctant Dragon," Saturday Review, vol. L (June 17, 1967), pp. 56-57, 72-73.

Congress. In other words, the ambivalence of goals discussed in Chapter II herein, the dual functions of the old and new definitions of professionalism, public service and member welfare appear here also and pose philosophical and pragmatic problems.

Change occurs in NEA's ways to affect opinion and policy by a redefinition of purpose and goals. The Educational Policies Commission, sponsored by NEA, had performed notable service, and some of its statements, such as the Purposes of Education in American Democracy in the late 1930's were consensus statements influencing the climate of opinion in favor of public schools. EPC members were prominent individuals such as Dr. James B. Conant. Yet, the EPC was terminated because it competed with a rejuvenated Representative Assembly jealous of its position. Its demise lost influence for the NEA for the sake of eliminating some virtual representation of membership views.

Similarly, the use of the public communications media prevalent after the 1957 Centennial was restricted by the mid-1960's due to the expenses incurred by servicing members and affiliates. The same limitations were placed on NEA-sponsored conferences, programs, and publications. Long speeches by dignitaries at NEA Conventions were cut so that the internal business of the organization--now of great concern to classroom teacher delegates as well--could be discussed more extensively.

Thus, publicity is being sacrificed for the sake of organizational democracy and the good press relations built up by the EPC and NEA speakers is slowly dissipating. The press now features Research Division reports and statistics most of the time. This decline of publicity is furthered by a lingering suspicion that NEA has moved too late in the fields of urban schools, integration, social ills and the economic welfare of teachers. NEA is relegated to lobbying, the politization of members and making contacts that are not publicized.

In the field of legislation, the NEA has maintained its support for general federal aid to education, although political history indicates no success for this type of assistance.² Even though it supported categorical aid in 1963 and in connection with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, out of political necessity to prevent large-scale alienation of Democratic members of Congress, it has reverted to the bloc-grant approach and general aid principle after 1965. Paradoxically, its success in 1970 came in the support of the extension and funding of the 1965 Act which except for one Title III, is drawn on a categorical basis. In this case classroom teachers, so

²R. Butts and L. Cremin, A History of American Education (New York: Holt and Co., 1953), Ch. II.

progressive on teacher welfare matters, seem to have misread the signs of the times.

Furthermore, NEA continues its policy of opposing aid to non-public school systems despite its support for the child-benefit formula in the 1965 Act. Paradoxically also, progressives and old ideologues can now join forces on this issue, since the non-public schools now include southern private schools avoiding integration.

In sum, NEA's influence of opinion and public policy is marked by a change from publicity-seeking to political socialization of teachers; from spending for the profession's image, to spending for members' economic and social welfare; and from a support of time-honored policy goals on general aid to public schools only to a pragmatic support of federal subsidies even at the risk of violating NEA ideology.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

The Educational Policies Commission (hereinafter referred to as EPC) represents a successful venture to explore key issues in American education and to influence the climate of public opinion. Founded jointly by the Executive Committee of the NEA and the Administrators' group (AASA) in 1935, the EPC issued a number of well publicized and widely distributed monographs on the important educational issues of the day. Relying on the research abilities of

Dr. William Carr, (later NEA executive secretary), Dr. Howard Wilson (1952-57) and James Russell (1957-1968), the EPC filled a position in education somewhat similar to that of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (under the direction of Robert Hutchings) in the field of public policy.

Through its history, the EPC was able to attract many prominent figures to its ranks to co-author its important position papers. Since its demise, there has been no comparable permanent body to continue this type of thinking and publicity on educational issues.

Gaging the Influence of the EPC

The EPC never was a research or survey agency, but issued policy statements and conducted inquiries to generate data needed for policy formulation. It was an agency intended for expressing a "thoughtful, long-range approach to the great educational issues of its time."³ Given the decentralized nature of American education, the EPC intended to fill the need for a high-level, central planning agency working to evaluate existing policies and, where necessary, recommend change. There was no National Commission for educational needs at the time of its foundation, nor for a long

³James E. Russell, "The Educational Policies Commission: A Review" (February 18, 1968, mimeographed statement), p. 3.

time afterwards, and the EPC could certainly avoid the charge of dictation since it was not a federal commission. It could disseminate its reports to both specialists and generalists in education at all levels, i.e. to educators, experts and all of the state and local affiliates of the NEA. Moreover, the NEA enjoyed good relationship with the influential newspaper writers on education, such as Benjamin Fine of the New York Times and Fred Hechinger, the present education columnist of the same newspaper.⁴ Thus, EPC and these journalists could maintain a close relationship on the matter of EPC publications.

An equally important source of prestige for the Commission was the prominence of some of its members throughout the years. Membership of the Commission has included former President Eisenhower while president of Columbia University (he resigned upon his election to the presidency); Ralph Bunche of the U. N.; Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard University; M.I.T. President James R. Killian, Jr.; and other prominent college presidents and educators. In 1953, the newly appointed U. S. Commissioner of Education, Lee M. Thurston, came from its ranks. Abraham Sachar, the President of Brandeis University and a member of the EPC, was

⁴As early as December, 1953, Dr. Wilson and Hechinger are discussing the possibility of a "Marshall Aid in Education," picking up the phrase from General Marshall's Nobel prize acceptance speech.

able to say as late as 1967,⁵ that a statement by the EPC in support of an issue already meant a degree of validation, similar to statements of support from the President himself or from a concerned Senator. On the demise of the EPC, many public figures, including Dr. Conant, testified to the importance of the EPC in shaping the American educational climate.

The importance of the EPC seems assumed in many leading textbooks on education. Numerous histories and philosophies of American education cite the position of the EPC, usually without adequately explaining how the EPC derives its influence. Thus authors such as R. F. Butts and L. A. Cremin⁶ cite statements of the EPC as important factors in the area of state-church relations and federal aid to education, moral values in public education, education and democracy, education and Communist teachers. Numerous such citations of EPC positions in leading texts can be found.

⁵See EPC members for 1949-50, NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 387; see also Appendix herein. Minutes of the EPC, EPC Official Records (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.), November 9, 1967.

⁶R. Butts and L. Cremin, op. cit., (fn. 2, p. 4)

The files of the EPC in 1956 furnish a survey of leading schools of education and their interest in the EPC.⁷ The file contains approximately 30 longer letters of inquiry from the following types of groups: (a) universities, including a school of law: Rutgers, Kansas State, Columbia University, University of Nebraska, California State Polytechnic College, Western Reserve University, University of California, Radcliffe College and others; (b) religious groups, such as the American Jewish Committee; (c) magazines, such as Time, Chemical and Engineering News; (d) corporations interested in foundations, such as American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Keystone Custodian Funds, American Seating Co., Michigan; and (e) foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation with whom the NEA has had many contacts in the past. These inquiries show the breadth and scope of general interest in the EPC.

Another source of influence for the EPC was the ability to have its statements respected and at times, formally adopted, by the NEA. It could thus count on a one

⁷The survey came about incidentally and was unintended. In an article in The New York Times for July 1, 1956, Benjamin Fine, the education editor of the paper, indicated, erroneously, that an EPC statement on the role of higher education in a "decade of decision" was forthcoming very shortly. In fact, publication of the paper was not due until Spring, 1957. Although Fine apologized to Dr. Wilson (letter of July 26, 1956), the damage had been done and inquiries poured in from interested sources. See the EPC Official Records (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, 1956).

million member constituency or public as a start, and count also on the cooperation of institutions of higher education in teacher training through the NEA departments such as the AHE.

EPC's Position in the NEA

The EPC was founded in 1935 by the NEA Executive Committee (not the Assembly) and has been under the co-sponsorship of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) from its early days. During its existence it was regarded mainly as an NEA mouthpiece, in spite of (a) its claim that it was an independent commission, albeit financed in part by the NEA, (b) disclaimers by the NEA that it dominated the EPC, and (c) reminders, often angry, on the part of the AASA to the NEA and the EPC that it was a co-sponsor of the commission.

Even technically the claim of the EPC to be independent from the NEA was of dubious validity. The operating Manual of the EPC, re-written and issued in October, 1958, does state that its statements do not in any way commit the sponsoring associations, unless specifically approved by the official bodies thereof; however, it commits itself, under the heading "Operations," to consult with representatives of the teaching profession, meaning mainly the NEA. The 20 Commission members are from the sponsoring associations' executive committees or come from the latter ex officio.

The NEA executive secretary has the power to nominate the secretary of the EPC, although the Commission votes on the nominations. Further, the largest part of the EPC operating funds was supplied by the NEA. The power of the NEA executive secretary (actual and perceived) is shown in a Carr memorandum of April 12, 1953 in which he informs EPC members that with the concurrence of the AASA secretary, he has named Dr. Wilson to be EPC secretary. A memorandum from Dr. Wilson to Dr. Carr (Dec. 8, 1953) states that (on a particular issue) Wilson does not want to depart from existing NEA policy.

Through the 1950's the EPC was generally regarded not only as the voice of NEA, but the voice of Dr. William Carr. He had been the EPC's first secretary, up to his election in 1952 as the NEA executive secretary. The second EPC secretary, Dr. Howard E. Wilson, had worked with Dr. Carr on UNESCO and international education. A man of undoubted professional and intellectual stature and independence, there is evidence that he worked closely with Dr. Carr in matters of immediate concern to the NEA. For example, the EPC statement on Education of the Gifted (1958) appeared at a time when the EPC was receiving grants, and trying to receive more, for pilot projects on the education of the gifted. The statement Public Education and the Future of America drew heavily on earlier EPC statements authored or influenced by Dr. Carr. After Dr. Wilson's

resignation in 1957 to accept the deanship of education at Stanford University, the son of a famous president of the University of California at Los Angeles, Dr. W. Russell, long-time associate of Dr. Carr in international teacher organizations and president of WOTP, was selected as the third and final secretary. Dr. James E. Russell had been associated with the NEA Legislative Commission since 1954. There were some rumors that Dr. Carr wanted Dr. James E. Russell to succeed him when he gave up the NEA secretaryship in 1967. There are strong indications that the demise of the EPC in June, 1968, was as much a slap at the somewhat highhanded actions of the EPC as another step to erase another Carr power base.

The Demise of the EPC

As Dr. Carr's influence in the NEA waned, the influence of the EPC was weakened also, and its 1966 attitudes on federal aid to education helped to increase the split between the new, progressive attitudes of teachers and itself.

The EPC had consistently opposed federal aid to any sectarian institution in any form, and had always stood for the concept of general aid to education.

In 1945, the Commission joined with the American Council on Education in a study of Federal-State Relations in Education which has been called a landmark which has been

guiding NEA...in the years since."⁸ Still on the level of a research report and still acceptable was National Policy and the Financing of the Public Schools (1959) which explored the ratio of teacher-pupil, coming up with the conclusion that if there are fewer than fifty professionals per thousand children (or 1:20), the staff is too small. This allowed an estimate of the cost of the educational programs and required an outlay of an additional \$8-billion. This has been a useful rule of thumb in NEA's promotion of legislation. In 1964, however, a controversy developed between the EPC and the AASA (which along with the EPC had stood for general aid for a long time, since administrators prefer not to have their hands tied) when the EPC decided to support "categorical aid" to education. The move was indeed necessitated by the times since general aid had been consistently defeated.⁹ The time seemed ripe for categorical aid which the Johnson administration and John E. Gardner of the Carnegie foundation now favored. Categorical aid was not ideal but politically possible. The EPC statement came in 1964, just in time for the Seattle

⁸Russell Report, op. cit. (fn. 3, p. 469), p. 10.

⁹It is possible that the EPC had been disturbed by the AASA's and NEA's strong lobby against the 1962 higher education bill, which included aid to private higher institutions; this was defeated in part, on the basis of the 1962 NEA Denver resolution supported by AASA. Cf. Legislation herein.

convention.¹⁰ At Seattle, support by the Representative Assembly for categorical aid was voted in Resolution 4.¹¹ This statement alienated the administrators' group¹² in that it cut across the traditional Gordian knot of separation of church and state and focused on pupils. In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed with the help of this statement; the act was not welcomed jubilantly by the NEA even though it was forced to support it as an important step to gain financial aid for schools.¹³

In June, 1966, in a twelve page report, the EPC rejected the new concept of "categorical aid" to schools to which it had committed itself in 1964 in an act of political realism in the wake of the defeats of President Kennedy's education bills. It returned to the older, conservative stand of "general aid" to be spent at the states' discretion. The EPC managed to get this stand adopted at the 1967 NEA annual convention, by actively lobbying for Resolution 67-4 which called for state controlled funds and general aid to education. This lobbying by the EPC was not popular with the new leadership of the NEA or the "categor-

¹⁰NEA Proceedings, 1964, p. 98.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 177, 442.

¹²NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 218-227.

¹³See section on Legislation herein, infra.

ical aid" elements in the NEA. The AASA had not forgiven the EPC for 1964, and NEA factions were upset in 1967 by the EPC's retrenchment. Consequently, the Commission was abolished in November, 1967, by a joint meeting of the NEA-AASA Executive Committees. The issue did not go to the Assembly floor in 1968, on the technicality that the EPC was created by the Executive Committee only of the two sponsoring organizations. The spirit of the organization would have called for Assembly action, but the publicity would have been damaging, and the Executive Committee action might possibly have been reversed.¹⁴

The official and irrevocable termination of the EPC came on June 30, 1968. Although the ostensible reason for its demise was that it had outlived its usefulness, the decision represented political moves by both the "young Turks" within the NEA and the sponsoring department, the AASA. AASA president Curtis offered the statement that "nowadays there are many other agencies--within our own professional organizations, in the foundations, the government and the universities, which are engaging in the kind of long-range analysis and mobilization of opinion on public education issues which used to be the unique preserve of the EPC."¹⁵

¹⁴NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 272 for Board meeting of June 27, 1966, where Board wants AASA to assume larger share of EPC budget; Board did not like categorical aid.

¹⁵NEWS from NEA, December 5, 1967.

President Alonso of the NEA cited the increasing use of ad hoc committees or task forces to deal with such issues.¹⁶

The political reasons for its demise were further complicated by the following facts: (1) The AASA was becoming increasingly wary of teacher dominance in the NEA and unhappy with statements hinting that NEA may support teacher strikes. Consequently, it was anxious to have a clear, independent voice on public education issues without the cloud on its positions EPC could have been. (2) There are indications that Dr. James E. Russell, the EPC secretary, had been one of the three finalists of the executive secretary selection committee in 1967 and thus, tension existed between him and the new executive secretary. (3) The EPC had actively lobbied for some of its positions at the NEA annual conventions, which was regarded as interference by the post-Carr NEA leadership. (4) The support that EPC could offer to NEA legislative efforts had lost some of its urgency because of the lesser prominence of EPC members in the 1960's and because of the passage of the 1965 aid to education act (ESE Act). (5) Furthermore, the status of departments was being re-examined and the NEA and EPC could no longer count on AHE support as in the past.

¹⁶Ibid.

An Assessment of the Studies Made by EPC

As indicated above, the EPC studies were not surveys, samples or investigatory reports, but essays on policy issues ranging from very brief, 10 page statements to longer position papers of about 100 pages. Dr. James E. Russell, in an eulogical statement on the EPC¹⁷ suggests that one should approach the literature produced by the EPC asking: "did the Commission succeed in identifying the great issues of its time, and did it succeed in offering wise leadership with reference to these issues?"

In the years of Dr. Carr's secretaryship to the EPC, Dr. Carr was preoccupied with one of the leitmotifs of his career: self-improvement and the inculcation of democratic-ethical values through education. The first statement of the EPC was The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, evaluating the role of education in American culture. This topic had occupied the predecessor organizations of the EPC in the NEA, such as the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, appointed in 1915, and the Committee on the Emergency in Education, appointed in the early days of the Depression. This statement was followed by The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, which sets up, without priorities, a list of major purposes.

¹⁷See James E. Russell statement, cited in fn. 3, supra.

This paper was widely available and widely quoted as a consensus document. Both of these statements came under Dr. Carr's secretaryship of the EPC and show his preoccupation.

A valid question about such publication is whether they take the economic aspects of education into consideration. The answer is, generally, that they did not, even though the NEA was not unconcerned about school financing, and even though the EPC supported the publication of Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy (1940) by a leading NEA researcher, John K. Norton, associated also with Teachers' College, Columbia University.

The war years brought on a natural concern with democracy and international peace. In 1939, a statement on American Education and the War in Europe appeared, followed by Education and the Morale of a Free People (1941) and the Education of Free Men in American Democracy (1941). The EPC undoubtedly fulfilled a valuable role in rallying the thinking of educators behind the war effort. Dr. Carr, as a native Englishman, could understand the problems democracy faced in Europe.

According to Dr. James E. Russell, the EPC publication, Education and the People's Peace (1943) was instrumental in the founding of UNESCO which places a stress on the achievement of peace through education.

The ground-work for such measures as the G. I. bill for educating returning servicemen may have been prepared by such Education for all American Youth (1944). A similar theme was pursued in Education for all American Children (1948).

At the end of his secretaryship, Dr. Carr was pursuing the theme of Education of the Gifted (1950). He had also raised the issue of the federal role in, and support of education by two statements, Federal activities in education (1939), and Federal-State relations in Education (1945).

The years of Dr. Wilson's secretaryship mainly reflected the quiescent political attitude of the Eisenhower years to federal support of education. The preoccupation of the EPC with the gifted was a factor in arranging a National Conference chaired by Dr. Conant, an EPC member and financed by a \$55,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation (Dr. J. Gardner, president). Some 20,000 copies of the 1950 EPC statement on the gifted, The Gifted Child (1957), were mailed out in connection with the conference. The theme of education of the gifted was pursued and was ready for publication soon after the Sputnik scare (Education of the Gifted, (1958). There was a statement on the moral and spiritual values in the public schools, and on the place of school athletics. To Dr. Wilson's and the EPC's credit, the Commission also concerned itself with the strengthening of higher education, a problem that was intensified again by

the Russian space triumph (Higher Education in a Decade of Decision (1958)).

In 1957, soon after the appointment of the third EPC secretary, Dr. James E. Russell (associated with the NEA previously through its Legislative Commission and with the U. S. Government as a consultant on the education of the armed forces), the Russian space projects demanded a statement more specific than those on the gifted and on higher education. The Commission held an emergency meeting to face the situation and decide on a paper that would propose changes in education as well as defend it against the post-Sputnik critics. The paper was called The Contemporary Challenge to American Education (1958) and was an incisive, successful document receiving extreme wide circulation in the mass media and educational circles.¹⁸ The paper also marked the high-point of Dr. Russell's secretaryship and national prominence.

After producing this extremely successful paper, the EPC was in the dilemma faced by most theorists: the ideas had been sown, and it was a period for implementation and practical action. The Commission spent its time in the elaboration of its philosophical positions between 1958 and 1962 before being forced, finally, to more immediate and

¹⁸James E. Russell, "The Educational Policies Commission: A Review," (fn. 3, p. 469, supra), p. 7.

practical problems such as Education and the Disadvantaged (1962). In the meantime, however, its preoccupation with The Central Purpose of American Education (1962), three years in the making, created a hiatus which other organizations, such as the American Council on Education (ACE) were quick to fill through attention to scientific education such as the implementation of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and other scientific projects. By the time the EPC finally produced a paper on scientific endeavors (Education and the Spirit of Science, 1966), the prophets and proponents of scientific education had their day and say, and the EPC was but an echo of other voices. Moreover, the soul-searching connected with the Central Purpose of American Education (1962) did not result in a very popular or immediately relevant statement. It reaffirmed the long-standing belief of the EPC, NEA and AASA on the role of the intellect as the moving power in progress and happiness, a position which did not coincide with the social awareness and crusade for the improvement of human ecology and environment generated by the Kennedy administration. As mentioned above, the more relevant topic Education and the Spirit of Science did not come until 1966, when the mood of Congress and the people was retreating to more economy and conservatism once again, and the project that occupied the EPC at the time of its demise (Learning the Spirit of Science, scheduled for 1968) was again too long over-due. To sum up,

the stress on rationality and the philosophy of science in the 1960's ran somewhat counter to the temper of the times which demanded immediate action, and spending priorities rather than a reaffirmation of rationality as the central purpose of education.

The EPC was to edge even more towards the abstract and the philosophical in its statement, The Role of Fine Arts in Education, also scheduled for 1968, also aborted by the demise of the EPC in June, 1968.

On another level of its activities, the EPC was engaged in an inquiry into the scope and nature of federal financing of public schools.

In this, the EPC ran eventually into political opposition from its sponsoring groups.¹⁹

The Vacuum Left by EPC

J. Russell has expressed the fear that the giant issue of the "philosophical revolution which is called for in our time" would not find an adequate expression with EPC's demise. This may be so, since without the EPC, NEA has operated, as it had in the past, either with "task-forces" (a favorite devise of the Board of Directors) or on an ad hoc basis. This has led to a lack of initiative, whereby the NEA has acted only under pressure, as on the

¹⁹Discussed supra.

issues urban affairs and member welfare especially. Rational methods are being challenged, Russell says accurately. If education tries to do with ad hoc solutions, it fails. "It is just that no agency in American education has had the unique advantages that have characterized the EPC."²⁰ It had staff and time and continuity and confidence in itself; it was never forced to publish anything in any particular period of time.

Has the EPC been useful to educators during its life? Again, J. Russell refers to correspondence received from interested persons.²¹ The correspondence testifies to the high degree of the EPC's utility. Letters of complaint especially, on the dissolution of the EPC, are cited,²² among them from deans of schools of education, professors of education, etc. "In the course of roving this land, I have never encountered any attitude toward the EPC except one of respect."²³ This respect is also testified to by the NEA Development Project. The Director of the Project wrote to the Chairman: "We found that the EPC was one of the most highly respected of NEA activities, both within and without

²⁰Ibid., p. 14.

²¹Ibid., p. 15.

²²Ibid., p. 15.

²³Ibid., p. 16.

the profession." Russell admits²⁴ the two sponsoring groups abolished EPC because it was not serving them. "...In other words, it was abolished for doing what it was supposed to do." This action might be thought irresponsible within the academic and intellectual communities where the work of the Commission has earned respect. Does the NEA, Russell asks, intend to subordinate every policy to the welfare concerns of teachers? In that case, this "will mean that the NEA will cease to speak for American education." The implication is that EPC did speak for American education.

Finally, "education is so centrally important today and it is so large a focus of public policy that there is a greater need than ever for the very kind of force the EPC has tried to be."²⁵ More than ever before, responsible, respected leaders are needed to be put in circumstances in which they can ponder and reflect. The EPC should have continued its task.²⁶

²⁴Ibid., p. 17.

²⁵Ibid., p. 19.

²⁶An independent corporation with long-range financing is now being proposed with a Board of Trustees drawn from independent educators; for example, from previous chairmen such as John H. Fisher, A. John Holden, Jr., Arthur F. Corey, George B. Brain and Stephen J. Wright.

CREATING A CLIMATE FAVORABLE TO EDUCATION

The NEA has put much effort into campaigns to create a favorable climate for education both in the domestic and the international field. In the latter area, the efforts of the NEA to support UNESCO and the WCOTP will be described.²⁷ Specific legislative efforts will be described elsewhere.²⁸ Institutionalized thrusts at public opinion provided by a NEA-connected agency such as the Educational Policies Commission has already been discussed.²⁹ This section mentions, for the sake of completeness only, ad hoc or periodic efforts of the NEA to produce a climate favorable to education (and to itself) by cooperation with other institutions (governments of all levels, the public media, other voluntary organizations). These efforts may be classified as follows:

A. White House Conferences

(1) educational conferences of nationwide significance and publicity, such as the 1955 White House Conference on Education which was organized mainly by the NEA.

(2) the use of the public communications media--the press, radio and television.

²⁷Infra, Ch. VIII.

²⁸Infra. Ch. VII.

²⁹Supra, Ch. VII.

(3) commemorations of education in the public school system.

(4) contact with other organizations.

To condense the impressions formed by this writer, major successes have been scored in areas 1, 3, and 4. Public communications on the whole have been utilized timidly and without too much effort, possibly because of Dr. Carr's tendency to stay away from the political limelight and publicity. In area (3) efforts have been hampered by an altruistic approach which emphasized education in the abstract, but not the motivations and problems of participants, i.e. the child (advantaged and disadvantaged), the teacher (advantaged and disadvantaged), the administrator, the troubled parents, and taxpayers.

The NEA has sponsored or cooperated in White House Conferences to bring the problems of education before the nations. One of their most successful conferences was the 1944 White House Conference on Rural Education (October 3, 4, 5, 1944) which was called, planned and directed by three divisions of the NEA under the direction of past president Charl O. Williams. At the time, President Roosevelt was pre-occupied with the Yalta conference, but the reception of delegates, as well as the introduction to the conference report was ably managed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The conference formulated a charter of education for rural children, called the education bill of rights for rural children. The ten articles of this "bill of rights" included a

call for modern, satisfactory buildings (to become the basis for NEA's legislative proposals for school construction) and a better use of the nation's tax resources to aid education. At that time, it may be noted, a large percentage of school children--as well as NEA members--were in rural school systems.³⁰

Ten years later in 1955, when the NEA again collaborated in the calling and organization of a major White House Conference, the situation had changed. The 1955 White House on Education (held in Washington, D. C. November 28-December 1, 1955) was an outgrowth of an idea compressed in a few lines of President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to the Second Session of the 83rd Congress (Jan. 7, 1954). Consequently, due to NEA efforts, funding was obtained for preliminary state discussions of education.³¹ As a return for federal funding, each state had to hold an educational conference and submit a report to the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, appointed by President Eisenhower.³² These state conferences were widely based and involved, a very thorough analysis of the educational needs of each state; perhaps the most comprehensive state-by-state effort in recent times. Delegates to the

³⁰The White House Conference on Rural Education (Washington, D. C. The Association, 1945).

³¹P.L. 530, 83rd Congress. Amount appropriated, \$700,000.

³²The Committee appointments reflected the political posture of the Eisenhower administration (cont'd page 491)

state conferences were appointed by the Governor of each state; the NEA was told to place as many as possible of their people on state delegate panels. This was done, and the NEA viewpoint was fully presented.

When the plenary Conference--the first White House Conference on the general topic of education--convened, the 1800 delegates to the conference generally endorsed NEA's stand for an increased and permanent support of public education from federal funds. The Conference discussed six topics; reports on two of them (what the schools are supposed to accomplish, and the question of school financing) were co-chaired by NEA leaders.³³ The reports were submitted to the thirty-three member Committee. The report of the Conference was not received too well by the President's Committee. On the question of school financing, the Committee took a restrictive view and recommended an emergency program of school aid, without any specific formula or amount of aid attached to it.³⁴ Aid was planned for the

³²(from pg. 490) on the question of education.

³³Dr. Carr and Mrs. Pearl Wanamaker, Supt. of schools, State of Washington, respectively.

³⁴Report of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, April, 1956). See also, Neil McElroy, "The White House Conference on Education," (Mfg. Chemists Assn.: 1955, pamphlet).

"Reports on White House Conference on Education," Collier's Yearbook (New York: Collier, 1956). For evaluation, see News from NEA, April 6, 1956, and (cont. pg. 492).

construction of new public school buildings and to a lesser extent, support of public school teacher salaries.

Thus, the NEA was very influential in the Conference of experts, but not in the Committee of political appointees. NEA members were part of the state delegations in some cases (appointed on a suggested formula of 1/3 educators, 2/3 non-educators) and decidedly strong in the additional 283 conferees representing some 200 national organizations with an interest in education. Of the representatives of these organizations, at least forty were clearly connected with the NEA, or its commissions or departments; there may have been others with dual memberships. The Conference reports did reflect NEA positions on federal funding. On the contrary, the President's Committee (a distinguished panel including Neil McElroy as chairman, John A. Hannah of Michigan State University, Marian B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, S. M. Brownell, Commissioner of Education, James R. Killian, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Teaching and Oveta Culp Hobby, for a total of 33) only included two NEA leaders: Martha Shull, first vice-president of NEA and Finis E. Engleman, superintendent of schools in Connecticut, long

³⁴(from pg. 491) "Unanswered Questions in the Report of the White House Conference on Education," NEA Legislative Commission, April 6, 1956. Also W. Lippman, "Shortage of Education," Herald Tribune (N.Y.), Nov. 22, 1955.

associated with NEA's department of superintendence (AASA) as vice-chairman.

Consequently, a joint minority report was filed by Albert J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists and Miss Shull, who then filed a dissenting view in her own name. The two dissenters attacked the report for not recommending permanent and increased federal school support. The Committee report, a product of a blue-ribbon panel, was a blow to NEA's hopes to pass federal support legislation in the 84th Congress. The recommendation of ad hoc or emergency funding was not pleasing to NEA, since it did not envisage permanent support and involved a public debate on the existence of an "emergency." Although the Conference received wide publicity and put the issue of education before the voters, the question of federal aid remained unresolved despite an Eisenhower news conference plea soon thereafter³⁵ at which the President stated that the need of "American children for schools is right now, immediately, today."

The negative attitude of the Committee widened the already existing gap between the President and the NEA, the latter accusing the Chief Executive of not supporting its program effectively enough. By 1965, when another White House Conference on Education was called by President John-

³⁵January 25, 1956.

son, NEA influence had waned even more, because of NEA's opposition to any federal support making provisions for private institutions.³⁶ The planning was not done by the NEA, but by the President's advisors. By this time also, a new formula for school aid had been devised; instead of support for school construction and teacher salaries the new devices were support in specific areas and aid to the individual child.³⁷ In 1965, NEA participation was restricted to a few committee members and conference participants.

B. Use of the Public Communications Media

The expansion of NEA activities in this field may be said to have been caused by several factors; (a) the centennial of 1957 and the inauguration of the NEA's Expanded Program; (b) the launching of Sputnik in October, 1957 and the consequent interest in education both by the public and the media; (c) the need to marshal support for pending NEA-supported legislation in Congress. To a large extent, then, the expansion was due to more evaluation of education by the public and more self-examination on the part of the NEA.

³⁶See section on Legislation, infra.

³⁷See section on Legislation herein.

The NEA was pushed into the media field partly by efforts of the state education associations to produce weekly radio and TV programs to interpret public education. Dr. Carr, dubious about too much exposure of NEA and education, did not seem to be strongly in favor of such proposals.³⁸ Carr shunted the issue to the Budget Committee.³⁹ Eventually, there was such support for the idea from the states that budget allocations were made for this purpose. However, only one-half of the time and money suggested by the states was allocated.⁴⁰ In his annual message to the NEA Assembly in 1960, Dr. Carr mentions none of the political by-play, but simply states that "The School Story" was NEA's first national TV series.⁴¹

In 1956-57, only one film year had been produced for television, but by 1959-60 a much higher level of activity was generated through the NEA public information services. Television presentations by then included 16 half-hour shows, including the "The School Story" series, shown by 174 stations in 146 cities. Television documen-

³⁸Dr. Frederick J. Hipp, executive secretary of the New Jersey Education Association, was one of the strongest proponents of media use.

³⁹NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 263, 270, 236.

⁴⁰NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 223-224.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 55.

taries including the "The Secret of Freedom," a drama about a school-bond campaign by Archibald MacLeish, were sponsored by NEA and seen by about 15 million people.⁴² Other steps included opening a New York City radio-TV office and making a short film showing the possibilities of cooperation between the NEA and a broadcasting industry.⁴³ First fruits of an expanded groundwork included the documentary film "Satellites, Schools, and Survival" in March, 1958 with a cast headed by Charles Van Doren. Other documentaries in 1958 included ABC's "Report Card, 1958." In 1961, the Association produced a 13-week series, called "Meet the Professor," showing Professor Edgerton of Indiana University.⁴⁴ Another well-known television series sponsored by the NEA was "The Great Adventure," starting in 1963, produced by John Houseman, carried on CBS. This well-received series featured outstanding historic events of our country.⁴⁵

By 1968, however, the situation was much different from 1958. The time was ripe for new approaches, since the

⁴²NEA Proceedings, 1960, pp. 55-56.

⁴³NEA Proceedings, 1958, pp. 87, 220. Later, when more attention was given to membership benefits, the office was closed.

⁴⁴NEA Proceedings, 1961, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁵NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 52-54.

publicity for public schools after 1957 not only failed to produce a general aid bill to education⁴⁶ (but the apologies failed as more and more educational deficiencies were spotlighted; under-par urban schools, socialization to middle class values only, segregated school systems).

Thus, the Carr administration was willing enough to restrict the use of the public media. In this he was joined by the militant classroom teachers who did want discussion but thought that spending for membership benefits and for urban and ethnic groups had the first priority.

The new development can be illustrated by the fate of another well-known TV show, the "Mr. Novak" series starring John Franciscus.⁴⁷ The program was soon involved in the conservative-progressive fight. Critics said that it showed breaking of schools rules, disorderly assembly scenes and a "false image of the public school." Its discontinuance in 1965 was protested in vain. A motion in the Assembly asked that NEA find another sponsor for it if NBC refused to carry the Novak series. It further asked the exploration of offering financial assistance in the

⁴⁶This was partly due to NEA's opposition to any federal aid to private and parochial schools. Cf. Legislation infra.

⁴⁷Produced by MGM studios and shown by the National Broadcasting Company; See NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 48-49 and p. 307.

securing of advertisers for the series. This in effect would have necessitated a budget change; the budget, however, was adopted without any change.⁴⁸

Further factors in the decline of extensive use of television and radio were: (a) the passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which accomplished a major NEA objective; (b) the tight money situation resulting from money spent enforcing sanctions and other teacher rights; (c) the fact that school disturbances, Project Headstart and the 1964 Anti-Poverty Act had helped to keep education before the public eye without much effort, since the TV media was picking up educational items much more than it used to do. In other words, educational disputes had kept up interest in education. Recently there has been a concentration on small TV films for intramural use, rather than for national or general use.

Press and magazine coverage of educational issues has been wide-spread. The story of these efforts can be traced through the School Bell awards, which was originated by the National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA), a NEA department. The awards were to be the equivalent of the Newberry or Pulitzer prizes, according to its sponsors. In 1962, for example, the New York Times received an award

⁴⁸NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 216-217, 194.

for 34 editorials on federal aid to schools.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Kiwanis Magazine and Look magazine (now sponsor of the Teacher of the Year awards) received awards for continuous support of education. However, the School Bell awards were completely dropped from the NEA program in 1967,⁵⁰ again because of a shortage of funds and the increased publicity for education.

C. Commemorations of Education in the Public School System

Education is highlighted by national commemorations of educational concerns such as:

United Nations Week. The NEA Committee of International Relations in cooperation with NBC and the American Association for the U. N. has sponsored a United Nations Week in October of each school year since 1947. Kits are provided to schools requesting them, including "The United Nations: Suggested Reforms" by Martin Dworkis.⁵¹

American Education Week. This is a joint venture of the NEA, Office of Education, USA, the American Legion, the National PTA and other organizations; in 1969, for the first time, the National Catholic Education Association was a co-sponsor, dropping their own Education Week.⁵² This week is

⁴⁹NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 206.

⁵⁰NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 402; NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 228.

⁵¹NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 306.

⁵²NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 244.

usually held in November.⁵³ American Education Week was initiated as a co-venture between the NEA and the American Legion as early as 1921; it is customary to have radio broadcasts from one of the national shrines.⁵⁴ In 1958, about 26 million people visited the public schools during this week, thanks partly to the promotional activities of such radio personalities as Arlene Francis and Arthur Godfrey.⁵⁵

National Library Week. This commemoration is jointly promoted by the American Library Association and the NEA.⁵⁶

Teacher Recognition Day. This operated in a number of states such as New York State and designated a certain day for expression of appreciation to the state's teachers.⁵⁷

Teacher of the Year awards. This award is sponsored jointly by the U. S. Office of Education and the Council of Chief State School Officers, Look magazine and the NEA. Nominated by a State Department of Education, it has been an annual award since 1952. The winner is presented to the President of the United States in an annual ceremony.⁵⁸

⁵³Ibid., pp. 224; NEA Handbook, 1968, p. 112.

⁵⁴NEA Proceedings, 1950, pp. 118-119.

⁵⁵NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 87. In 1968 the figure was 32 million.

⁵⁶NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 338.

⁵⁷For a sample of a N.Y. State declaration, see New York State Education, Vol. 56 (May, 1969), p. 5.

⁵⁸NEA Proceedings, 1967, p. 94.

D. Contact with Other Organizations

NEA Self-Defense

The NEA Defense Commission until 1961 (when its work was distributed between the NEA Field Services Division, the DuShane Fund and the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission) was vocal in the defense of teachers in particular and of public education in general. It fielded various criticisms of the schools by financial conservatives, by conservative writers such as Russell Kirk, and right-of-center freelancers such as Roger Freeman. This Commission included important NEA officials such as Dr. Carr. It was called upon to write various position papers during the uncertainties of the McCarthy era, before the advent of Sputnik channelled interest in the public schools into new directions.

For a time the Commission issued Defense Bulletins. These publications reviewed books and articles critical of education and sent to most leading groups and persons concerned with education. In the 1961 reorganization, the Bulletins were discontinued as a regular communication, but are issued on an ad hoc basis by the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission's section on special studies.

Student NEA

The student NEA was established in the centennial year 1957 to publicize NEA on college campuses, and help future professionals. Although the student group complained of domination by the NEA, its chapters have increased recently and a journal, Student Impact, was begun in 1968.

Future Teachers of America

This program, now over 30 years old, is now serving some one-quarter million high school students in over 6,400 chapters. Chartering is done jointly by NEA and the state associations. FTA acquaints its members with the teaching profession and the NEA.

Joint Committees with Important National Organizations

Various joint committees present the NEA position to other organizations interested in education.⁵⁹ Close cooperation is maintained with the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA), whose president traditionally addresses the NEA annual Assembly.⁶⁰ Legislative cooperation with the PTA is

⁵⁹NEA Handbook, 1968, pp. 145-51.

⁶⁰As the PTA speaker at the 1968 NEA Convention said, "in the vernacular of the psychiatrists and other behavioral scientists, we have been playing the game called PTA together for nearly 70 years." 1968 Proceedings, p. 22.

also close. For example, when the NEA was blamed for the defeat of the Kennedy Higher Education assistance bill in 1962, Dr. Carr, in a cabinet meeting, remarked that the PTA should have taken some of the blame also.⁶¹ The NEA has also found it possible to cooperate closely with the American Legion in its fight for quality education for children. A Joint Committee with educational publishers was set up in February, 1955⁶² to help with the efforts of the NEA to pass an adequate classroom construction bill. The cooperation between the NEA and the American Medical Association is also of long standing. NEA allies in general tend to be conservative professional or fraternal organizations.

The Conference of National Organizations (CNO)

This Conference consists of the most important voluntary organizations in the country.⁶³ It has two sessions a year, attended by top delegates from the member organizations. The speeches, many of them by very important men, and the deliberations are off record and no transcripts or summaries of positions are issued. At the present, the NEA,

⁶¹Cabinet minutes for Oct. 1962 (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives).

⁶²News from NEA (February 6, 1955).

⁶³American Bankers Association, American Farm Bureau Federation, American Legion, American Medical Association, Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., Kiwanis, Lions, NAM, PTA, and others.

though its Division of Lay Relations (directed by Corma Mowrey, a former NEA president) fills the duties of the secretariat. Perhaps as a reward for assuming this burden, the topic at the Williamsburg, Va. Conference of May 10-12, 1967 was: "Education and the Demands of Our Changing World." The conference discussed the National Crime Commission report, the manpower needs of the nation, and the "labor-school partnership" (discussed by the director of education, AFL-CIO). The NEA delegate was the NEA deputy executive secretary, Dr. Lyle Ashby.⁶⁴

Other Cooperative Efforts

In the drive to obtain legislation favorable to the public schools, the NEA is a chief participant in the "Big Six," a moderate group that believes in unrestricted grants or, alternatively, in rebates of federal monies to the states. The six consists of the NEA, the PTA, the NEA administrators' group (AASA), the National School Boards Association (NSBA), the American Legion and the Council of Chief State Education Officers. The Big Six commands, thanks to the NEA and PTA, a membership of over one and one-half million and disposition over great sums of private and

⁶⁴"69th Session Program," Conference of National Organizations (May 10, 1967; a pamphlet).

public money. Consequently, it is a very influential league in the halls of Congress.

NEA AND FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

NEA efforts in lobbying for a federal aid bill to education date from the end of World War II. Since that time NEA has consistently demanded general federal aid to education and has opposed the spending of public monies for private or parochial schools.⁶⁵

NEA lobbied for general federal aid (i.e. aid to the states with a minimum of federal conditions or controls attached) for philosophical and practical reasons. On one hand, it believed in self-help by the states and communities and in local control of education. On the other hand, its influence was much stronger on the state level, where its associations had provided technical and general aid to the departments of public instruction for many years. NEA hoped moreover that state allocation of the monies would be more effective than the application of federal formulas.

The NEA was able to obtain general federal aid for "impacted areas," i.e. localities where federal installations (army bases and others) employed personnel whose families used the local public school system. Other general

⁶⁵Cf. R. Butts and L. Cremin, A History of American Education (New York: Holt and Co., 1953).

support bills failed in Congress until the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

This failure may be explained on the basis of federal budget considerations and public policy. Fiscal conservatism marked most of the years between 1946 and 1960. The NEA was reduced to the advocacy of aid formulas such as the allocation of funds to education from the sale of offshore oil concessions by the federal government to the states. During the Eisenhower years, the President and the Cabinet would only recommend emergency or ad hoc appropriations for new public school construction and public school teachers' salaries. Even this emergency proposal failed to pass, despite the post-Sputnik examinations of public education. In the field of public policy, the school segregation decision, Brown vs. Board of Education (1954), complicated congressional support for educational aid.

Under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, there was more willingness by Congress to spend money. A new attitude to social ills plaguing American society also furnished arguments for increased educational spending. The Kennedy programs foundered, however, on the NEA's opposition to any aid to private and parochial schools and an equal insistence by Catholic Congressmen that these schools also constituted a part of the whole picture of education; under President Johnson political compromises were adopted to end this impasse, compromises which NEA supported only reluctantly at first.

NEA's efforts in the passage of categoric education aids, with federal controls were slight; NEA's support of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act⁶⁶ came only after much re-examination of NEA's policies and possibilities.⁶⁷ This lukewarmness undercut much of NEA's influence with the Democratic controlled executive branch and to a lesser extent its influence on Capitol Hill.

Because of this reluctance of the NEA to modify its policies, the Johnson administration did not involve NEA in the drafting of the ESEA of 1965 but asked NEA's support for the bill in Congress. This was finally given, as the classroom teachers of the NEA Assembly continued to pass resolutions oriented to newer political and social attitudes. After the signing of the 1965 Education act, these newer NEA policies became even more dominant and have helped to regain NEA's influence in Democratic-controlled Congresses. The new rise of NEA influence is shown in its role in gaining substantial funding in fiscal 1971 for the U. S. Office of

⁶⁶This law involves the individual child benefit formula and on the basis of this, offers some aid to private and parochial schools.

⁶⁷It will be recalled that the Assembly, dominated by militant classroom teachers, sparked the attitude of support for the 1965 act, while many NEA members continued to oppose any federal aid to private or parochial schools as well as federal controls of aid.

Education (which administers many programs under the 1965 education act), over a veto by President Nixon.⁶⁸

NEA Lobbying During the
Eisenhower Administrations

According to education historians,⁶⁹ three prototypes of education bills developed by 1952. One type was a bill which would provide aid based on the number of pupils in public school systems, ranging from \$5 to \$25 per child according to the need of the states. This type also provided that the states could use some of the money granted to support already existing programs for non-public schools (such as food or bussing). It also allocated money for modernizing minority schools.⁷⁰ The NEA was not enthusiastic for such legislation, but could have supported it if no other bill developed. A second type of bill would have given federal support with the provision that some aid for auxiliary services be given to private and parochial schools as well, even if this meant new programs for the states.

⁶⁸See "Education Lobby Strengthened by Fight Over Nixon Budget," Ohio Schools, vol. XLVIII (February 13, 1970), pp. 9-11.

⁶⁹Cf. R. Butts and L. Cremin, op. cit. (fn. 65, p. 505, supra).

⁷⁰E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, An Act of Congress (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), p. 19. See also, Butts and Cremin, op. cit., p. 535, on Taft-Thomas bill of 1952 (S. 246).

This type of bill was sponsored by Catholics such as Congressman Fogarty (D-Rhode Island).⁷¹ The NEA was opposed to this kind of federal aid because of its opposition to private or parochial school support by public monies.

The type of bill most strongly supported by the NEA was a third type of bill, granting aid to public schools only. Such a bill would not involve federal controls or conditions on state spending. It would be a general, unconditional aid for public schools (emphasis supplied), channelled through the states.⁷² In 1970 this type of aid has been called an exercise in the "new federalism." Such prototypes⁷³ were very acceptable to key southern congressmen, such as Representative G. Barden (D-South Carolina), chairman of the House Labor and Welfare Committee. Under this legislation, it was doubtful if southern states would spend extensively on minority schools.

The NEA, as mentioned, preferred the Barden model of general aid channelled to the states without significant federal supervision or control or conditions. As the 1957 NEA Centennial year approached, much attention was given to

⁷¹Ibid., p. 20. See also, Butts and Cremin, op. cit., p. 536, on Murray-McMahon-Fogarty bills (S. 947, H. 915, in 1952).

⁷²E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, op. cit., p. 19.

⁷³See Butts and Cremin, op. cit., p. 536, on 1952 Barden bill (H. 4643). He was replaced by New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in 1960.

the problem of federal aid. In 1955 and 1956, school construction bills had been defeated in the House.⁷⁴ In the centennial year of 1957 the NEA wished to mount a major new effort for aid.

In these endeavors NEA was hampered by a new factor in Capitol Hill politics that arose in 1954: the decision of the Supreme Court in Brown vs. Board of Education. In the wake of the decision, liberal members of Congress wanted to condition federal aid on the compliance with the 1954 desegregation decision.⁷⁵ The chairman of the House Education Committee, Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, was favorable to a NEA-supported general aid bill, but unfavorable to integration of schools. A further obstacle to aid legislation was the fiscal conservatism of the Eisenhower administration.

In January, 1957, President Eisenhower, in three of his messages, urged aid for school construction; he also opposed anti-segregation amendments in such a bill. Eisenhower's plans were for "temporary, emergency federal assis-

⁷⁴NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 50; NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 397. See also E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁷⁵NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 57, 396.

tance to help needy communities build more schools,"⁷⁶ without federal control.

In 1957, an administration bill, H.R.1, entitled the Federal Aid to School Construction Bill, was introduced by several members of the House. Other versions were also filed. The heart of the proposed legislation was a \$300-million emergency, temporary authorization. In spite of warnings to the NEA Assembly by Vice-President Nixon that its chances in an economy-minded, recession plagued year were slim,⁷⁷ the NEA had high hopes of its passage. The amended bill cleared the Education and Rules Committees, but was defeated by a 208-203 margin on the floor, in July 1957.⁷⁸ The defeat brought NEA charges that the President did not support his own legislative proposals strongly enough.⁷⁹

The defeat of H. R. represents the end of the "era of good feelings" between the NEA administration of Dr. Carr and the Eisenhower administration. As a member of the Educational Policies Commission before his election to the

⁷⁶Letter from President Eisenhower to the NEA, July 4, 1957; NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 56.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁸The measure had passed the Senate. NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 50.

⁷⁹NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 91.

presidency, Eisenhower had been counted on as a staunch ally of the NEA. However, already fears had developed by the end of 1953. Dr. Carr became concerned about reliable information reaching him, indicating that the President might omit education altogether from his State of the Union message. In an interview of December 31, 1953, Dr. Carr reminded the President of his pledge to assist education.⁸⁰ In a subsequent letter, Dr. Carr wrote to the President: "You have made known your awareness of the importance to education to national prosperity and security. May I therefore venture to suggest that in the message in which you will soon outline future policy for your administration, you once more recognize and stress the needs of our educational system?"⁸¹ The state of the Union message eventually did include the NEA plea for more teachers and more school construction in words, that seem lifted from NEA policy statements of the 1940's.⁸² Dr. Carr received a letter dated January 21, 1954 from President Eisenhower who praised the "splendid work of your organization in mobilizing the resources of the nation for the improvement of

⁸⁰Memorandum in Carr files (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, January, 1954).

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²"Our School Population," 1949 report of the NEA Executive Secretary; NEA Proceedings, 1950, pp. 331-345.

education."⁸³ However, no federal aid to legislation was passed in 1954.

In 1955 again the President included education in a special message to Congress dated February 8, 1955, as he had promised in his State of the Union message. Prospects for an aid bill were improved since now Senator Hill (D-Ala.) who had sponsored the NEA Oil for Education amendments was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Again, the emergency school aid measures of 1955 and 1956 did not pass, perhaps because this was still an era in which public schools were under attacks from many quarters. These including the Chamber of Commerce and those who held public schools to be "socialistic."

By 1957 the President was openly criticized by the NEA. The defeat of the administration bill in 1957 brought charges that the President did not support the aid Bill effectively and that he was wavering between his wish to aid education and his desire to heed his conservative fiscal advisors (such as Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey) who wished to keep down public spending in order to combat a recession in 1957. Although Eisenhower had attended the Centennial dinner of the NEA in April 1957, Dr. Carr thought that by the time H.R.1 was in the Rules Com-

⁸³Memorandum Carr files, op. cit., (fn. 19, supra.)

mittee his enthusiasm had waned and he had failed to speak up in support of his program.

The NEA subsequently turned to Democratic legislators for the sponsorship of its federal aid proposals.

In the last days of 1957, another attempt was made to pass aid legislation. The Murray-Metcalf bill⁸⁴ (presented by two Democratic legislators from Montana, a strong NEA state) was designed as a long-range aid program for both school construction and teachers' salaries. It represented the "massive infusion" of aid which the Educational Policies Commission had recently declared so necessary. The bill, as expected, ran into strong opposition from both the Chamber of Commerce and the administration, especially since 1958 was to be a mid-term election year. Hearings on the Murray-Metcalf bill were held in both Houses, with NEA witnesses appearing in February and April, 1958. The NEA sent communications to the Chamber of Commerce, presenting strong arguments for its case. It appealed directly to Adlai E. Stevenson, who promised his help. The NEA was counting on the post-Sputnik climate of public concern for education to pass the bill. In spite of it all, the measure died in committee in both Houses. This time the NEA was unhappy with a Democrat, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the

⁸⁴S. 3311 and H.R. 10763 (December 1957). In the Senate, the bill was co-sponsored by Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana.

Senate majority leader, for failing to refer to educational needs in his program for the 86th Congress.⁸⁵ NEA staff members also complained about the lack of a united front; presumably on the part of those who objected to massive federal aid and feared possible controls.⁸⁶ Thus, ended the first effort of the NEA to seek massive, long-range federal aid based on budget appropriations.⁸⁷

The National Defense Education Act of 1958

A major piece of legislation supported by the NEA that finally did pass was the National Defense Education Act of 1958,⁸⁸ which allotted \$887 million in its first year for programs strengthening critical areas in education.

The Hill-Elliott bill was endorsed by the NEA Representative Assembly in 1958 July before its passage in August.⁸⁹ This endorsement was claimed as a major factor in its passage. Efforts in Congress to cut all appropriations except student loans were fought by the NEA, and an appropriation of \$115 million for the first year was achiev-

⁸⁵NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 243.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷In 1953, a concerted effort was made to gain massive educational aid by setting aside a certain percentage from the lease of off-shore oil lands to the states. The efforts failed.

⁸⁸Hill-Elliott Act, P.L. 864, 85th Congress.

⁸⁹NEA Proceedings, 1959, p. 227.

ed.⁹⁰ At the same time, the NEA was not, and would not be content with such bills, useful though they were. Basically the NEA was aiming at a comprehensive federal aid bill, and tended to underestimate the value of the NDEA. Such legislation was termed by the NEA as "short-term, narrow-gaged, federal aid type programs." However, the NDEA has proved to be extremely useful to education, and to certain categories of teacher candidates in particular.⁹¹

However, James F. McCaskill (NEA assistant executive secretary for federal legislation) claimed that the passage of the NDEA had greatly increased NEA prestige on Capitol Hill. It was emphasized that the effort was a distinct departure from NEA's consistent stand for massive financial support to education. This departure from a one-track approach should have shown the value for NEA of flexibility and of a diversified approach.⁹²

In 1959, the Murray-Metcalf bill was introduced again.⁹³ The bill would have provided, initially, a grant of \$25 for each public school child in every state. The money could have been spent by the states for either school

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 97.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 115.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 251-252.

⁹³S.2, H.R.22 (1959). Senator Metcalf was succeeded in his Senate seat by Rep. Metcalf in 1960.

construction or teachers' salaries at the state's discretion (freedom of choice). The measure was co-sponsored by over 50 senators and representatives. In the Committee of Education and Labor of the House, a compromise was reached on the duration of the aid and the amounts to be spent.⁹⁴ The amended bill was then reported out in May 1959 by an 18-10 vote of the Committee.⁹⁵ Testimony in favor of the Murray-Metcalf bill was given by Walter Heller (later to be Kennedy's Director of the Budget), before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education.⁹⁶ NEA foes continued to be led by the Republican-oriented Chamber of Commerce, joined by such conservatives as Roger Freeman who saw little need to spend huge amounts for schools.

The Committee measure next went before the House Rules Committee, which refused to grant it a rule, keeping it bottled up for about twelve months. Meanwhile, in the Senate, the bill failed through the deciding vote of the presiding officer, Vice-President Nixon.

By November, 1959 the campaign to pass the Murray-Metcalf bill was pushed into high gear by Carr. In a mem-

⁹⁴Duration, 4 years; amount, \$1.1 billion each year. NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 28.

⁹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1959, pp. 98, 329.

⁹⁶The testimony impressed the NEA so favorably that a filmed report of his testimony was made available to interested groups.

orandum dated November 6, 1959, he requested from state and local groups the names of some 1200-1500 influential lay leaders willing to work for federal support. He was ready to assign 5-10 names to each staff member who would contact them (in a private capacity) to urge support of the bill. Out of this activity Carr hoped for a hard-core of some 300 able allies with whom the NEA could maintain personal ties. At the same time, some 18 possible means of bringing the issue before the public and Congress were devised, among them a hand-book for teachers on political involvement.⁹⁷ Other avenues included mobilizing speakers bureaus to advise the state education associations and the local groups of this issue; local group meetings for federal support; a national conference of allied groups; the use of mass media; the writing of articles; and correspondence by both the EPC and NEA members with Congressmen, thereby making federal education an issue in the 1960 campaign.

In 1960, the House education committee reported out an alternate measure⁹⁸ and obtained a rule by threatening

⁹⁷In spite of an old-line dislike by NEA to see teachers involved in partisan infighting partly because it affected the image of the public school teacher as a dedicated public servant; also because of the tax status of the NEA as a charitable and educational institution.

⁹⁸H.R. 10128 by Rep. Thompson (D-New Jersey). The alternate measure was later amended by a Powell anti-segregation rider.

the use of the Calendar Wednesday procedure. This measure was for school construction only and was similar to the administration's bill (H.R.1) of 1957. The alternate bill was passed by the House on May 26 by a 206-189 margin.⁹⁹ Meanwhile the Senate had passed its own alternate bill for the Murray-Metcalf measure.¹⁰⁰ The Senate alternate was a more limited measure in both duration and amounts to be allocated. The two versions would have to be compromised in a Conference Committee. The House Rules Committee, by a 7-5 vote, refused the request of the Senate to resolve the differences between the two versions by conference, thereby killing the bill.¹⁰¹

NEA and Federal Aid Legislation

After 1960

After the failure of the NEA to push through the Murray-Metcalf bill or its alternative through the House Rules Committee in 1959 and 1960, the NEA turned its attention to the 1960 presidential campaigns. It issued position papers by Dr. Carr on the campaign stands of Nixon and J. F.

⁹⁹NEA Proceedings, 1960, p. 29. The alternate was the McNamara bill (S.8).

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹NEA Proceedings, 1961, p. 253. The Rules Committee was chaired by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Virginia). This power was taken from the Rules Committee in 1965.

Kennedy. Carr, because of the Nixon role against the Murray-Metcalf bill in the Senate in 1959, did not take kindly to Nixon's statements and leaned towards Kennedy. Support for Kennedy paid off when on February 21, 1961, President Kennedy sent to Congress a special message hailed by Carr as "one of the great documents in the history of American education."¹⁰² It gave support to the NEA's stand on school construction, salaries and the continuation of the NDEA. There is strong evidence that the NEA cooperated with Secretary Ribicoff on the message, for an advance copy of the message in the NEA archives has a special Salinger note attached to it, cautioning that there was an embargo on its contents until February 20, 1961. Carr's comments on the message were released the same day, February 20th. Carr noted, in addition to laudatory remarks, that national support of schools was passed by both the Houses in 1959, only to be bottled up in the House Rules Committee. Now with the 1961 enlargement of that Committee--one of Kennedy's early and few victories in Congress--it was hoped that such side tracking could be avoided.

An administration bill was introduced early in 1960. Secretary Ribicoff was definitely in favor of aid.

¹⁰²Memorandum, Carr files (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, February, 21, 1961).

On a February 19th television interview he indicated that the time was ripe for general aid. He further observed, however, that the intention of the new administration was to aid individual students, even if the bill's language seemed keyed to increased salaries and school construction. It may be pointed out also that the Kennedy bill did not allow states freedom of choice in applying funds to construction or salaries or both, as the Murray-Metcalf bill had done. It was close to McNamara substitute (S.8) of 1959, in that it was an "emergency measure" only, for three years, instead of obligating the Federal government for a longer period.

Carr noted with some chagrin that the bill provided for federal money as long-term, low rate, investment loans for building facilities at both public and private institutions of higher learning. Such facilities included classrooms, libraries, laboratories as well as renovation and modernization of buildings.¹⁰³

On June 25, 1961 the Senate passed the school aid bill which was applauded by Carr in a statement released the same day.¹⁰⁴ In the House the bill was passed on an understanding to Catholic legislators that parochial school

¹⁰³March 14, 1961 testimony of Dr. Carr and Dr. Lambert before the House Committee on Education and Labor.

¹⁰⁴See Charles O. Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), p. 82. The Senate bill was numbered S.1021.

aid would be included in another bill. However, in the Rules Committee one Catholic voted with five Republicans and two southern Democrats to table all education bills.¹⁰⁵ There was an angry NEA statement when the House Rules Committee refused to release the bill by an 8-7 vote on July 18, 1961. Carr called this action deplorable and short-sighted, and hoped the President would not condone it.¹⁰⁶

As a possible means of averting an impasse and courting the Catholic voter also, the concept of categorical aid was formulated by Ribicoff and his Commissioner of Education, Sterling McMurrin. Categorical aid was seen as multiphase, piece-meal aid legislation to elementary and secondary schools aimed at improving facilities (similar to the plan for higher institutions) but not necessarily teachers' salaries. This concept was at variance with the NEA's stand on a general state-controlled aid based on construction and salaries. NEA's position, however, was getting out-dated since the "construction of classrooms" category allowed much room for debate and need, but not the legislative and administrative flexibility, which the separation of various services and facilities allowed. Salary improvement by the federal government took some financial pressure

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁰⁶E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, op. cit., p. 48.

off the states and was thus promising from the NEA's point of view, yet this type of aid constituted a spread of federal bureaucracy in an area where clear need for federal aid was not proved. Moreover, the formula for allocation to states¹⁰⁷ could become a political football.

NEA's opposition to categorical aid was weakened by the opposition of the new Commissioner of Education to the NEA's position. Sterling McMurrin, in this respect, was a departure from traditional patterns. Former Commissioners of Education, including Secretary Fleming (who before the 1957 defeat of H.R.1 used to be in regular contact with Dr. Carr) and L. Derthick (who took a staff position with the NEA after the Republican defeat in 1960) were close supporters and friends of the NEA. Not so McMurrin, who saw in the NEA a "conspiracy" to control and mold American education to its own image--a position which the President, as a Catholic, may not have entirely ignored.

Thus, the NEA had no advance copy of the February 6, 1962 special message on education, and first received notice of it in the papers. Nor did the NEA have a part in shaping the administration's higher education bill of 1962 (H.R. 8900). It was only through the early morning editions of the Washington papers on February 6 that Carr knew he was to have a Presidential interview that same day. Yet, at

¹⁰⁷Contained in the Murray-Metcalf and McNamara bills.

that interview, Carr reported that the President seemed very cooperative. The President stated that categorical aid would be of little value unless shored up by a general aid bill, and seemed impressed by a survey of the University of Michigan (brought up by Carr) showing that people were ready to pay more for quality education.¹⁰⁸

The year 1962, however, was fated to become a year when President Kennedy and the NEA's executive staff drifted apart. The break came over NEA's opposition to federal grants to private as well as public higher education institutions. A higher education aid bill in the Senate was passed, providing for construction loans for facilities as well as student scholarship programs. This bill was acceptable to both Kennedy and the NEA. In the House, however, a bill provided construction grants to both public and non-public institutions. This version, too, might have been acceptable to the administration, but not to the NEA.¹⁰⁹

Enactment of this bill into law would have presaged the breaking of one type of deadlock over educational aid, and would have been an important legislative victory for President Kennedy. At this point, however, a long-standing policy of the NEA came into play and robbed both the President and the NEA of important benefits. The administra-

¹⁰⁸NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 243.

¹⁰⁹NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 22.

tion of NEA and the Council of School Administrators, annoyed at the preference given to the higher education bill and its aid provisions to private institutions, steered a resolution through the 1962 Denver NEA Convention opposing any direct aid to private institutions of higher learning.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, when the bill (H.R.8900) was reported out of a Senate-House conference on September 18, 1962, Carr sent a now-famous telegram to each member of the House. This was an extraordinary step. For this lobbying activity, the NEA was denounced on the floor of the House. Nevertheless, recommittal of the bill to the Conference Committee was mandated by a 214-186 vote of the House on September 19, which in effect killed the bill.

The NEA was roundly denounced for lobbying on this issue by many including Logan Wilson of the American Council on Education, who accused the NEA of "scuttling" the bill. An article in the Washington Post for September 23, 1962 also took the same position. The somewhat doctrinaire stand of Carr was illustrated at a cabinet meeting of September 24, 1962 when in response to these criticisms, he read quotations from Cardinal Newman on the latter's ideas of a university, implying thereby a Catholic plot to put state and church together again. The quote did not really meet the exigencies of the political situation. Nor were Dr. Carr's

¹¹⁰NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392.

other efforts to enlighten the public and the NEA membership as to the facts of the situation able to stem the tide of adverse criticism. Although he tried to shunt some of the blame on the PTA and the School Boards Association, Carr found it incumbent on himself to defend this position of the NEA, which he did in his report before the 1963 Representative Assembly.¹¹¹ The Assembly, nevertheless, proceeded to withdraw its previous resolution against the higher education grants, though still advocating the separation of church and state.

In the wake of the controversy, Dr. McMurrin resigned as Commissioner of Education. Although at this time Governor Ribicoff left the cabinet to run for a Senate seat from Connecticut, his chief's departure need not have caused McMurrin to resign. On October 20, 1962 an article appeared in the New York Times by Wallace Turner, in which the ex-commissioner levelled some angry charges, saying that the NEA was moving towards the control of education, and that the NEA Secretariat had too much authority. He also charged that the NEA was not interested in higher education, was pathologically opposed to parochial schools, and that the NEA Representative Assembly only rubber-stamped prepared resolutions.¹¹² Of course, Dr. Carr objected to these

¹¹¹NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 22-23.

¹¹²New York Times, October 20, 1962.

charges; in a very brusque, and angry letter, he stated that "no Commissioner of Education ever assumed his office with less knowledge of the NEA than you revealed..."¹¹³

The defeat of the higher education aid bill was a setback from which the Kennedy programs did not recover. No general aid bill or higher education bill was passed while he was alive.¹¹⁴ Nor does this incident demonstrate that he, personally, was adept in Congressional relations; what it demonstrates is the influence of the NEA on Congress in September, 1962.

The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education
Act and Its Aftermath

The significant breakthrough in federal aid to education came in 1964, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.¹¹⁵ The emergence of the act has been described by Eidenberg and Morey, Marento, and Munger and Fenno.¹¹⁶ L. Przewlocki, in a recent thesis

¹¹³Letter by Dr. Carr to Sterling McMurrin (in Carr files, NEA Archives, October, 1962).

¹¹⁴In 1963, the administration caused to be introduced in the House a bill (H.R.3000) called the National Education Improvement Act. The measure failed. NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 23.

¹¹⁵P.L. 89-10, 89th Congress; in U.S. Statutes-at-Large, vol. LXXXIX.

¹¹⁶Philip Marento: The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967); F. Munger and R. Fenno, Jr., National Politics and Federal Aid to Education (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University, 1962); E. Eidenberg and R. Morey, (Cont. on pg. 528).

proposal in educational administration, details the lobbying efforts of the NEA for the bill.¹¹⁷ The bill gave aid on the basis of the "child-benefit" theory and thus skirted the private-public school issue.

The breakthrough was made possible by various new developments since 1962. The NEA, in a "painful reassessment" referred to by Charles O. Jones¹¹⁸ passed Assembly resolutions in 1963 and 1964 which made its support of the 1965 Act possible.¹¹⁹ The 1963 NEA resolution eliminated the 1962 reference¹²⁰ to any specific areas (such as higher education) in which there were plans to aid private as well as public school systems or institutions. It also expressed support for substantial federal "at all levels and of all types." The sharp debates on this resolution are referred to in Chapter V of this thesis. Although the resolution

¹¹⁶(cont. from pg. 527) An Act of Congress (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969).

¹¹⁷L. Przewlocki, "The National Education Association and Public Law 89-10" (Proposed dissertation outline, 1968).

¹¹⁸H.R.2362, introduced by Rep. Perkins (D-Ky.); S.370, introduced by Sen. Morse (D-Oregon); Charles O. Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970), p. 83.

¹¹⁹Resolution 4, 1963, NEA Proceedings, 1963, p. 460; Resolution 4, 1964, NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 442. For debates, see NEA Proceedings, 1963, pp. 218-227; NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 98-99.

¹²⁰Resolution 3, 1962. NEA Proceedings, 1962, p. 392.

continued to demand unconditional aid for the states and respect for the separation of church and state, it was widely interpreted as a liberalizing step on the twin issues of categorical (special) aid legislation¹²¹ and support of children in private or parochial school systems through specific programs. In 1964 the NEA reiterated this new position, dictated by political realities.¹²²

In the meanwhile, the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prohibiting the use of federal funds for segregated public facilities, solved this troublesome issue in the area of educational aid.¹²³ This was a particularly important advance since a Negro Congressman, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, was the powerful chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Moreover, the 89th Congress was thought to be specially concerned with urban problems and civil rights, and could act with more speed because of the large Democratic majority.¹²⁴

¹²¹Such as the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

¹²²NEA Proceedings, 1964, pp. 98-99; Eidenberg and Morey, op. cit., pp. 62-64.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 55-56.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 35; cf. also S. K. Bailey, The New Congress (New York: St. Martins, 1966). Cf. also the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964.

Thus, on December 16, 1964, the NEA announced its support of the administration's aid bill.

The Legislative Commission was the focal point of NEA's efforts to back the bill; the NEA Commission set up a Task Force to aid in the passage of the bill, marshalled witnesses for Congressional committees, alerted its membership and the general public through various publications and public statements.¹²⁵ President Johnson made his peace with the NEA by inviting the NEA Task Force to the White House--an event which was noted by national newspapers--although in the 1965 White House Conference on Education the NEA did not play a leading role as it had in 1955. President Johnson was also anxious to forestall any NEA opposition on the religious issue when he invited Dr. Carr to the White House in February, 1965. The chairman of the Education Subcommittee in the House, C. Perkins (D-Ky.) sought the advice of the Legislative Commission on at least one occasion. The NEA convinced itself and its allies that cooperation with the president, Congress and the Democratic party at this time would be the wisest policy.

Meanwhile, NEA ambivalence on the issues of categorical and private-parochial school aid has returned periodically between 1965 and 1970. At the July, 1967 NEA

¹²⁵L. Przewlocki, "The National Education Association and Public Law 89-10" (proposed dissertation outline, 1968).

Convention, the Representative Assembly called for block-grant or unearmarked aid to states, which would have superseded the child-benefit formula. The resolution was in line with the bill proposed in 1967 by Rep. Quie (R-Minn.), which was rejected by a teller vote on May 24, mainly on the ground that it would have reopened the public-private school aid issue.¹²⁶ In spite of this NEA step, the 1965 Education Act was extended in 1967 through fiscal 1970 and funding was authorized at an unprecedented level.¹²⁷

In 1969 also, the NEA Assembly called for all future supports to be of a general nature without federal controls.¹²⁸ It also reiterated its support for the separation of church and state but refused to call for a restriction of categorical aid to public schools only. This latter position enabled it to maintain flexibility on this issue.

In the first half of 1970, NEA's strategy has been to skirt the issues of categoric aid and the exclusion of

¹²⁶Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 611; however, Title III of the 1965 Act was transferred to the block grant approach.

¹²⁷See Ibid., p. 611; the extension was signed by the President on Jan. 2, 1968 (H.R.7819; P.L. 90-247).

¹²⁸NEA Resolution C-21, 1969, "Federal Support of Public Education."

private-parochial systems from support. Instead, the NEA has concentrated its efforts on the further extension and the full funding of the 1965 Act, as the best way to improve education. The NEA was a leading member of the 80-group Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs, headed by former HEW Secretary Arthur Flemming.¹²⁹ This lobby was able to increase education appropriations for fiscal 1971 by one billion dollars (to \$4.2 billion) over the president's recommendation, only to be met by a televised Nixon veto in January, 1970. The veto was upheld by the House on January 28th.¹³⁰ A later funding measure, still higher than the original Nixon request, was later written into law.¹³¹

As soon as the ESEA funding battle was over, the NEA again shifted its position to emphasize its support for general aid to public schools only. Part of Continuing Resolution C-20 passed by the 1970 Assembly¹³² stated that categorical aids should be modified to aid public schools only

¹²⁹"Education Lobby Strengthened by Fight Over Nixon Budget," Ohio Schools, vol. XLVIII (February 13, 1970), p. 8.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 9.

¹³¹p.L. 91-230 (1970); cf. H. Rept. 91-114 and S. Rept. 91-634. See also NEA Reporter, vol. 9, no. 5 (May 22, 1970), p. 10.

¹³²Today's Education, vol. 59 (November, 1970), p. 41.

and that any further expansion of support be general in nature, without federal controls. Moreover, it rejected the "voucher plan" (designed to pay money to parents for the education of their children, and currently tested by the Office of Economic Opportunity) on the basis that this would help non-public schools, including segregated private schools in the south.¹³³

Thus the old battles over general vs. categorical aid, the separation of church and state issue, segregation and the level of expenditures thus continue into the 1970's.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has detailed the decreasing visibility of the NEA to educators and interested laymen outside of the NEA. The EPC which boasted of many famous members and influential statements, was criticized because it presumed to speak for the NEA and influence its Representative Assembly, even though it was not responsible to or selected by the Representative Assembly or the Executive Committee. As a consequence it was phased out by June, 1968, its place was not filled by a similar commission; the NEA has since operated with task forces and ad hoc committees appointed by the NEA president.

¹³³Ibid., p. 80.

In a reorganization of NEA's political economy to expand services to its members and groups, appropriations for public relations through the media were curtailed. Not only did curtailment save essential money but it stopped a further increase of awareness on the part of the public that post-Sputnik dissatisfactions were due to the neglect of urban schools, the integration problems, the failure to analyze possible unrest among students, and lack of environmental protection and control--a neglect for which NEA's older concept of "public service" was to blame, in part. These problems were widely discussed by the public in the 1960's without NEA spending to bring them to light. Progressives in the organization who wanted to change NEA's goals in this respect did not need publicity either: they were reforming NEA goals and structure through organizational activity and marshalling support in the Assembly.

The political naivete of the old NEA leadership can be illustrated by the fact that it expected so much political support from former EPC member Dwight D. Eisenhower. Although the NEA succeeded in generating education aid proposals from the president from 1952 to 1960, and in staging a White House Conference on Education in 1955, Eisenhower did not really push his proposals in Congress. By 1958 the NEA had turned to Democratic leaders for support, only to come up against the triple issues of school

integration, general aid formulas, and parochial school aid. These last two items it opposed firmly; on the first it was ambivalent. By the time it had finally committed itself to integration and the possibility of aid to private institutions in 1963, it had lost the good will of the Democratic administrations. Recovering some lost ground by its support of categorical aid and the child-benefit theory, NEA has again reverted to its general aid formulas for private schools only.

Even if one understands the fact that non-public schools now include southern segregated private schools, its blanket opposition to non-public school aid and its stubborn insistence on general unrestricted aid administered by the states indicate that change and rejuvenation has not triumphed in the field of lobbying and public policy. The pragmatic attitude of the NEA, however, may save Assembly proposals from becoming part of an all-penetrating ideology.

In 1970, NEA was in the forefront of supporters for the funding of the 1965 Act. One sees divergence between Assembly policy and the 1970 lobbying behavior. Yet, the dissonance between the new classroom teacher leaders and their followers may not be so great, but may constitute an increased political realism and politization with the NEA:

policy positions as well as threat of sanctions are weapons to be used for bargaining purposes.

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION

NEA's chief efforts in the field of international relations in education have been two: (a) the support for the United Nations in general and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in particular. The NEA's role in this field gradually decreases as the United Nations and UNESCO become established. (b) The founding of world teacher organizations, first, the World Organization of The Teaching Profession (WOTP) at the Endicott, New York conference of 1946 and then a successor organization, The World Conference of Organizations of The Teaching Profession (WCOTP) in 1952.

The NEA's involvement in international education dates back to the years before the First World War. In the 1920's, NEA cooperated with such leaders as Thomas Masaryk of Chechoslovakia in the formation of The World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA). Education then became submerged in the power politics and depression politics of the 1930's. However, NEA did institute a War and Peace Fund to keep the peace: the fund's operations were mainly in Latin America. At the end of the war, this

project and an Overseas Relief fund aided distressed teachers in devastated areas.

A revealing incident of history is the hesitation of the San Francisco Conference on the United Nations to include educational provisions in its charter. This hesitancy was partly due to the fear of meddling in educational programs which had become the internal domain of nation-states. The eventual inclusion of a reference to educational and cultural concerns is one of the highlights of NEA influence. The successful initiative of the U. S. delegation, led by Secretary of State E. Stettinius, to include such references, was the result of long and arduous work by the NEA. Dr. William G. Carr, then Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission (EPC) wrote tracts that were widely read; the U. S. delegation was prevailed on (partly by the hold-over position of Stettinius from the Roosevelt administration) to use consultants from voluntary associations in the United States, the NEA among them; a lobbying effort by the NEA succeeded in enacting a Congressional resolution requesting such references; and finally, a lobby group went into operation at the San Francisco Conference itself. The setting up of UNESCO followed soon after.

The UNESCO was already able to send observers to the 1946 Endicott Conference, hosted by International Business Machines (IBM) and the NEA. The conference successful-

ly established WOTP as a successor organization to WFEA. Unfortunately, the support of IBM and the growth of the Cold War brought on charges of "capitalism" and "imperialism" against the new organization by various delegations. Russia boycotted the conference and did not join. Thus, this otherwise successful and worthwhile organization was caught up in political argumentation from the outset.

WOTP's Western leaders found it necessary to re-organize the organization by 1950, when it was apparent that delegations from several nations would be Communist-dominated. The new organization, still in existence, was the World Conference of the Teaching Profession. The WCOTP succeeded in receiving consultative status with UNESCO, in preference to Communist-dominated groups.

WCOTP is still heavily supported by the NEA, with Washington, D. C. headquarters only a few blocks from the NEA headquarters buildings. The organization although it is still labelled as American dominated and propagandist, has done some valuable work in connection with UNESCO and in the promulgation and application of a Magna Carta for Teachers, passed in 1966 to promote freedom of speech and action.

HISTORY OF NEA'S INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

The NEA has a long history of awareness and interest in international relations through education. As early as

1911, Dr. F. F. Andrews was picked by the NEA as representative to an international Conference on Education, to be held in the Netherlands. However, this conference was postponed because of the outbreak of World War I.¹

At the 1911 NEA Convention Dr. Andrews was one of the major speakers who advocated the importance of international education. The conference finally did take place in Oakland, California, in 1915, and Dr. Andrews was a NEA representative.² Also after World War I the NEA sent a representative to the Paris League of Nations Conference in order to urge the inclusion of an International Office of Education in the League's Charter; but no action was taken.³

In 1920, at a time of general United States isolationism, the NEA appointed a temporary Foreign Relations Committee: a more permanent Foreign Relations Committee followed. The 1921 General Assembly at Des Moines (the first Representative Assembly of the NEA) instructed this committee to work out plans for an international education conference.⁴ Two years later, in 1923, the Conference was

¹W. G. Carr, "Reminiscences on the Establishment of UNESCO," Education Panorama, Vol. VIII (No. 2 1966), pp. 18-24.

²1911 Convention Reports, NEA Proceedings, 1911, p. 109.

³W. G. Carr, "Reminiscences on the Establishment of UNESCO," loc. cit., p. 24.

⁴NEA Proceedings, 1921, p. 196.

held at San Francisco, with Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia playing a leading role. The NEA was a very active and also the largest member of the WFEA (World Federation of Education Association) which was formed at this meeting. WFEA was established largely through the efforts of Augustus Thomas, the future chairman of the NEA International Relations Committee, and Masaryk, who had long cherished the idea of a world teachers federation to prevent wars.⁵ Out of this Conference grew also the International Bureau of Education, established in 1925, under the auspices of the WFEA.⁶

The NEA Foreign Relations Committee continued to be active until 1927. Discontinued during 1927-29, it was re-established as the now existing International Relations Committee, but remained fairly inactive until the years before World War II.⁷

⁵E. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957), p. 359.

⁶S. M. Hadley, "An Interpretation of the Role of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession in the Development of World Unity Among Teachers" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The American University, Washington, D. C., 1969), p. 2 and p. 39 ff.

⁷NEA Proceedings, 1927; NEA Proceedings, 1928; NEA Proceedings, 1929 (sections on Committee Reports).

The War and Peace Fund

In 1943, a War and Peace Fund was authorized by the Executive Committee. This fund was to be administered by a special board whose key figures included Messrs. Strayer, Rankin and Stoddard (all prominent EPC members) and Schlagle and was to be funded with contributions from NEA members. Alexander J. Stoddard, chairman-director of the EPC, became its head.⁸ The NEA ran a program of public information (sponsored broadcasts, printed leaflets and pamphlets, and set up conferences in support of internationalism in education) using money from this fund.

One of the stated purposes of this fund was to "assure the educational profession of a more powerful voice in making and keeping the peace."⁹ Of the \$400,000 budget of the War and Peace Fund, raised in special fund drives headed by Morgan Givens and Strickland (both EPC members), \$20,900 was spent directly on education for peace.

Specifically some of the things done with this fund were:¹⁰

⁸NEA Proceedings, 1944, p. 306.

⁹NEA Proceedings, 1944, p. 306 ff., Annual Report of the Executive Secretary for June 1, 1943--May 31, 1944, by Willard Givens before Representative Assembly, Pittsburg.

¹⁰Ibid.

(a) publication of the newsletter, "Among US," jointly financed by a grant from the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (a U.S. Government Agency). This helped to present the U.S. position in Latin America during the war.

(b) publication of "Citizens for a New World" which is a Social Studies Yearbook, first appearing in 1943.

(c) Financing of international relations visits by NEA officers to England, Canada and 12 Latin American nations.

(d) Financing return visits to the United States, through NEA, by Ministers of Education of the Netherlands, as well as representatives of national union of teachers of England, Egypt, Philippines, Canada, China, Brazil and four other Latin American countries. (It will be seen how these visits helped to create not only understanding among teachers but an appreciation of U.S. educational methods as well.)

(e) Financing 11 representatives from the NEA who acted as a liaison committee for international education and attended the Harper Ferry meeting of the International Education Assembly from 1943-

1945 (part of the general program of WFEA as well).¹¹

One of the most influential pamphlets financed by the War and Peace Fund was "Education and the People's Peace" by Dr. William G. Carr, then secretary of the EPC and an assistant secretary of NEA.¹² It was printed in four languages and widely distributed. Some 47,600 copies were sent to key persons all over the USA. Forty-four thousand copies were printed for general distribution, becoming one of the most widely circulated publications of the NEA.¹³ It was given over 100 times as an address at various conferences and before various civic, business and educational groups. It was broadcast 20 times over the radio.¹⁴

¹¹Hadley Thesis, op. cit., p. 51.

¹²NEA Proceedings, 1943, p. 252. First presented as a joint report of the EPC and the AASA, May, 1943.

¹³NEA Proceedings, 1944, pp. 310, 273.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 310. It is interesting to note that in the 1943 NEA financial report only three accounts were overdrawn; one was the EPC, the second, a project in Latin-American education, and the third, a project in Americanization, NEA Proceedings, 1943, p. 303. All three of these dealt directly or indirectly with international education and understanding of American educational philosophy. The same year, six speeches were given before the NEA Representative Assembly dealing with international education.

"Education and the People's Peace" advocated the use of education as a tool in building a lasting peace. This was to be accomplished by an international organization which would then inform the public and promote international cooperation in the field of education.¹⁵

A work supporting this point of view was also published in 1945 by the Foreign Policy Association. Entitled "Only by Understanding," this study by Carr put the argument for international recognition of education as a means of peace in more sophisticated terms than "Education and the People's Peace" had done.¹⁶

The San Francisco Conference

As part of the continued interest of the NEA in international education, it is not surprising to find it actively concerned in the establishment of UNESCO.¹⁷ The U.S. State Department invited 42 national organizations to send representatives as consultants to the U. S. delegation that would meet in San Francisco in 1945 to draw up a U. N. Charter. This procedure for consultants was a never-before-tried experiment. The consultants came from national organ-

¹⁵W. G. Carr, Education and the People's Peace, NEA, 1943 (EPC and AASA joint publication) pp. 1, 5, 7. cf. also Carr's Address before Regional Meeting of the AASA, Seattle, Washington, June 10, 1944. (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives).

¹⁶W. B. Carr, Only By Understanding (Washington, D. C.: Foreign Policy Association, 1945).

¹⁷W. G. Carr, "The NEA at the San Francisco Conference," NEA Journal, October, 1945.

izations representing education, labor, business, religion, law, agriculture, international relations, veterans, women's organizations, service clubs and Negro organizations. In March, 1945, NEA President F. L. Schlagle appointed Dr. Carr (then secretary of the EPC and the assistant secretary of the NEA) to the position of consultant to the U. S. delegation at the San Francisco conference.¹⁸

The following NEA officials completed this team: Ben M. Cherrington, chairman of the NEA Committee on International Relations, president of the University of Denver and cultural relations chief, U. S. Department of State; Flaud C. Wooston, assistant secretary of the EPC; Bernice Baxter, administrative assistant from Oakland Public Schools; and F. L. Schlagle, NEA president.¹⁹

The Conference opened in April of 1945. Through the office of the U. S. Secretary of State, then E. Stettinius, (who also headed the U. S. delegation) and through the Department of State, the consultants were provided with all conference materials and information on the meetings. The team of consultants met at least once a day with mem-

¹⁸W. G. Carr, "Reminiscences on the Establishment of UNESCO," Education Panorama, Vol. VIII, No. 2 1966, p. 208.

¹⁹Ibid., cf. also NEA Proceedings, 1944, pp. 399, 407; NEA Proceedings, 1945-46, p. 491.

bers of the U. S. delegation to ask questions, give answers and make suggestions.²⁰

On the first day of the conference, China, and several of the smaller countries brought forth a proposal (through Prof. Chang) to include provisions for international education in the Charter of the U. N.²¹ A similar suggestion had been rejected in formulating the charter for the League of Nations. No precedent had ever been set for the inclusion of such a proposal. The Big Four powers ignored the Chinese proposal to amend the Dumbarton Oaks document, which omitted education, and which was being used as the basis for formulating the U. N. Charter. The Chinese proposal dealt specifically with education, and read: "The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations should specifically provide for the promotion of educational and other forms of cultural cooperation."²² John Foster Dulles of the U. S. delegation proposed that an agency be included in the U. N. Charter for cultural relations, but not specifically for education. The Big Four accepted

²⁰W. G. Carr, "The NEA at the San Francisco Conference," loc. cit., fn. 17 supra.

²¹W. G. Carr, "Education and the San Francisco Charter," North Dakota Teacher and other State Educational Journals, (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives), September, 1945.

²²Ibid.

this proposal.²³ The U. S. delegation feared congressional disapproval if the word education were used, since it might appear to Congress an invasion of sovereignty. Public disapproval was also feared since there was no precedent for this issue. In addition, there was a May 4 deadline to meet in revising the Dumbarton Oaks proposal. Thus, the specific references to education in the Chinese proposal were omitted, but Dulles' wording was kept.

The NEA's position was clearly in opposition to this action. To their way of thinking, "cultural" and "educational" were not synonymous. By much correspondence through NEA headquarters in Washington, Carr received word of a Congressional resolution proposing U. S. cooperation in an international agency which would include references to education, sponsored by Senators Fulbright and Taft, and Representative K. Mundt. This resolution was strongly supported in principle by both the EPC and the International Relations Committee of the NEA.²⁴

At San Francisco, many of the other consultants agreed on the importance of including education in the U. N. Charter. Together they formed a group known as ABLE,

²³W. G. Carr, "Review Scenes on the Establishment of UNESCO," loc. cit., p. 21 (fn. 18 supra).

²⁴W. G. Carr, "San Francisco Journal," (mimeographed draft, Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, May, 1945).

with representatives from agriculture, business, labor and education, to sway the U. S. delegation.²⁵ The NEA through Carr, presented a survey²⁶ taken of a large sample of U. S. citizens done by the University of Colorado showing that 84 percent of the American people favored the idea of international educational cooperation, i.e. "to see the nations set up a world agency that would help schools in all countries to teach children how to understand the people of other countries."²⁷

This ABLE group was active May 5-21 under Mr. Philip Reed, who represented the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce. On May 22, a telegram arrived informing the consultants of House approval of Mundt's resolution. On May 24, the Senate unanimously approved the Taft-Fulbright resolution.²⁸ Thus, the two

²⁵"Education and the San Francisco Charter," loc. cit., (fn. 21 supra).

²⁶It is interesting to note that this survey had been taken in 1944 for the EPC, and had been financed by the War and Peace Fund of the NEA as part of its information service.

²⁷University of Colorado at Denver, National Opinion Research Center, 1945 findings commissioned by NEA. (Ben Cherrington of the NEA International Relations Committee was from the University of Colorado.)

²⁸Harold E. Snyder, When People Speak to Peoples: An Action Guide (American Commission on Education, 1953) p. 53; Support for these resolutions came from CIER (Committee for International Educational Reconstruction) as well. Snyder, p. 53.

major obstacles from the point of view of the U. S. Delegation had been removed; Congressional approval and popular assent was assured.²⁹

Meanwhile Carr himself restated the position of the NEA in supporting the importance of international education on a radio broadcast of the U. S. State Department.³⁰ On May 22, 1945 the U. S. delegation moved to reconsider the word "education" in the U. N. Charter. This time, it won approval of the Big Three; Russia abstained. The result was that nine specific references to education were made in the Charter, and provisions were made for the establishment of an international Office of Education (to become UNESCO) under the auspices of the Social and Economic Council of the U. N.

The U. N. General Assembly was authorized in a conference resolution to initiate studies and make recommendations for an agency "promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race,

²⁹May 22, 1945, Mundt Resolution (H. Res. 215); May 24, 1945, Taft-Fulbright Res. (S. Res. 122) both unanimous.

³⁰Presented May 12, 1945 entitled "Our Foreign Policy," and Harold E. Snyder, When People Speak to Peoples: An Action Guide, op. cit., p. 40.

sex, language or religion."³¹ There were five specific references to education in the final draft of the U. N. Charter.³²

Provisions were also made at the San Francisco conference to draft proposals for an international educational and cultural organization under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N.³³ This resulted in the London Conference of November-December, 1945, in which again the NEA played an active and major role.

The London Conference

The London conference was organized largely through the efforts of the U. K. Ministry of Education and the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, established 1942 (which had sponsored several international educational conferences between 1942 and 1945, and with which Dr. Carr maintained good relations). The first Conference of Allied Ministers met in London in 1942 with representatives from

³¹"The Defense of Peace," Documents Relating to UNESCO Part II, Department of State Publications (Publication #2475) U. S. Government Printing Office Conference Series 81, 1946. Prepared by the U. S. Delegation, pp. 51-56.

³²U. N. Charter Art. 55, para. 1, sec. b; Art. 51, para. 1; Art. 62, para. 1; Art. 13, para., sec. a; Art. 16, para., sec. b.

³³"The Defense of Peace," op. cit., p. 6.

ten countries.³⁴ The U. S., China, the USSR, India and four British dominions sent observers to the second Conference which opened in April of the following year. Senator Grayson Kefauver (Dean of Education of Stanford University, a friend and associate, through the International Relations Committee of the NEA, of Dr. Carr) had already been stationed in London in a liaison capacity as a consultant of the U. S. State Department, and participated actively in the 1943 Conference. The following year, the U. S. sent a delegation headed by Senator (then Representative) Fulbright, to the Conference in order to discuss cooperative actions in internal education.³⁵

The 1945 London Conference then was the logical conclusion to this series of educational conferences, and the drafting and organizing of an educational and cultural division under the U. N. was the logical topic, at the same time fulfilling the mandate of the San Francisco Conference.³⁶

Forty-four of the 50 member nations of the U. N. were represented at London with the notable exception of the

³⁴Ibid., p. 6. Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 6-7.

³⁶W. G. Carr, "The London Conference on Educational and Cultural Organization," NEA Journal, October, 1945.

USSR.³⁷ However, most of the delegates to the conference were political rather than educational figures--e.g., ambassadors and officials. Archibald MacLeish, former U. S. assistant secretary of state was chairman of the U. S. delegation, which included among its members Dr. George Stoddard, president of the EPC. Among the advisers of the U. S. delegation were Dr. S. W. Studebaker, U. S. Commission of Education and a member of the EPC; Grayson Kefauver, member of the NEA International Relations Committee (a cousin to the late Sen. Estes Kefauver and mentioned as the unofficial U. S. Minister of Education because of his good relations with Harry S. Truman;) Frank Schlagle of Kansas, president of the NEA; and Kenneth Holland of the NEA International Relations Committee.³⁸ Dr. Carr served as an important aide to this conference, and to Julian Huxley who was its secretary general.³⁹

This was, as is apparent, a period of prominence and importance for the NEA in international relations, and U. S. efforts in international education were largely based

³⁷W. G. Carr, "The NEA at San Francisco and at London," address before the NEA Assembly at Buffalo, New York (Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, Carr files, July 3, 1946).

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹W. G. Carr, "Priorities for UNESCO," (Memorandum prepared for use at the Conference with Julian Huxley, Secretary General of the UNESCO Preparatory Committee) May 29, 1946.

on the NEA. The latter not only was the major teacher organization in the USA, but through the EPC and its Committee on International Relations it had the cooperation of many brilliant men. Thus, the 1944 NEA International Relations Committee, in addition to Grayson Kefauver and Kenneth Holland, included Ben M. Cherrington, University of Denver chancellor and chief of the division of Cultural Relations, Department of State; the late Prof. James T. Shotwell, author of various books in international relations; and William Russell, president of the Teachers College, Columbia University. Dr. Carr was of course a member from 1945 on.⁴⁰

Five days after it opened, the Conference approved the name of UNESCO. "Scientific" was included with the words "educational" and "cultural" to emphasize the increased importance of science since the development of atomic energy. The drafting committee, chaired by chief U. S. delegate Archibald MacLeish (with representatives from France, India, Mexico, Poland and the U. K.)⁴¹ stressed the importance of UNESCO's being an active agency for the

⁴⁰W. G. Carr, "The NEA at San Francisco and at London," loc. cit. (fn. 35 supra.).

⁴¹Russia refused a special invitation to attend, giving evidence of a hardening of attitude as far as international cooperation was concerned--an attitude to become harder and colder in the future.

promotion of international education, rather than merely a clearinghouse for information. This was the major decision of the conference, brought about largely through the efforts of the U. S. delegation and staff members. (Dr. Carr and Dr. Huxley worked closely on this point.)⁴²

UNESCO's charter was completed by November 15, 1945. The London Conference made provisions for the first general UNESCO conference to be held in Paris in 1946, and for a UNESCO preparatory conference commission to be set up immediately to study the two major problems facing international education: (1) the re-education of conquered nations, and (2) the rebuilding of ruined school systems in war-torn nations.⁴³ In addition, the commission was entrusted with the agenda for the 1946 meeting.⁴⁴

The London Conference also accepted unanimously several proposals issued through the U. S. delegation, namely:

⁴²W. G. Carr, "Report on UNESCO," The Lion (in English and Spanish) March, 1946. cf. also Huxley Memorandum (fn. 37, supra.).

⁴³Ibid. See also W. G. Carr, "U. N. Educational Conference," NEA Journal, January, 1946.

⁴⁴"Conference for the Establishment of UNESCO," Document of the First General Conference of UNESCO (Doc. ECO/Conference #29) U. N. Social and Economic Council, 1945. W. G. Carr, "How Can We Prevent War? UNESCO," (Article Prepared for State Educational Journals, Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, Dec. 5, 1945).

See also The Defense of Peace, Part I (Documentary Relating to UNESCO, Department of State, 1946).

(1) UNESCO was to have close relationship with adult education agencies, both public and private. In the United States, this relationship would have to rely on the NEA, which had various units engaged in the adult education field. (2) The UNESCO Preparatory Commission was to consult with the International Council of Scientific Unions to strengthen an already developing link. This was the beginning of the "consultative" categories granted by UNESCO to various groups, among them the WOTP in 1949 (after a bitter fight for this status). (3) UNESCO was to facilitate the use of mass-media to promote international understanding. Here the UNESCO would rely on the organizational network of the NEA to promote its materials in the U. S. (4) Any member nation was to be able to act jointly or separately to further these aims of UNESCO.⁴⁵ This was done to prevent fears in the United States that the U. N. was moving towards a "world government" and interference in domestic affairs of nations.

UNESCO Preparatory Commission

Meanwhile, the NEA continued to give leaves of absence to Dr. Carr so he could fulfill his function as an aide to the secretary general of the Preparatory Commission

⁴⁵W. G. Carr, "Report on UNESCO," loc. cit., (fn. 39 supra). cf. also Huxley Memorandum, loc. cit., (fn. 37 supra).

for UNESCO,⁴⁶ Julian Huxley. The Preparatory Commission was active from May 26 to June 29, 1946 with its staff located in London.⁴⁷

Because of this close association with Julian Huxley, Dr. Carr was able to influence the course of UNESCO and provide the NEA, as well as himself, with added status and valuable connections in international educational relations.⁴⁸

U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

On January 28, 1946, joint resolutions to approve the UNESCO Charter were introduced on Congress. The NEA sent representatives to the hearings in both Houses of Congress to support the approval of this charter. In a statement for these hearings, made in April, 1946, Dr. Carr

⁴⁶The setting up of the Preparatory Commission had been the last official act of the London Conference. The Commission consisted of one member from each nation with a 15 member Executive Board. Grayson Kefauver was the U. S. representative on the Preparatory Commission. Preparatory Commission Report--UNESCO/C/2, September 15, 1946. cf. also Charles S. Asher, Program Making in UNESCO (Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1951), p. 181.

⁴⁷"Report of the Preparatory Commission, on the Administrative and Financial Arrangements, Legal Questions and External Relations," UNESCO Document #7, 1946.

⁴⁸W. G. Carr, "How Can We Prevent War? UNESCO." Article prepared for State Educational Journals, December 5, 1945. cf. "Priorities for UNESCO," loc. cit., (fn. 37 supra).

argued the importance of UNESCO as the only agency specifically for international education within the U. N.⁴⁹ The NEA, a voice for over 900,000 combined members favored it, and so did the American people (referring to the University of Colorado survey of 1943 once again). He submitted a list of over 100 civic, professional organizations (national, state and local), endorsing the UNESCO charter. Final Congressional approval came at the end of June, 1946, and was signed by President Truman July 1, 1946--showing the eagerness of the U. S. to move into this field, as well as the thorough preparatory work done by Dr. Carr and his research associates.

Congressional provision was also made for the establishment of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, composed of representatives from a wide field of interests such as education, business, labor, etc.⁵⁰ This Commission was analogous to the ABLE group, formed spontaneously in 1945 at the San Francisco U. N. Conference. The Commission was to act in an advisory capacity as a bridge between the U. S. Government, private organizations and UNESCO. The NEA, with Dr. Carr as its representative, was an influential

⁴⁹W. G. Carr, "Statement for the Hearings by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives" (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives) April 4, 1946.

⁵⁰Public law 80-565 (July 30, 1946, 80th Congress).

member of the Commission. Dr. Carr was also a member of the Commission's Executive Committee for some years (1945-1950).

The first meeting of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO (week of September 23, 1946, at Washington, D. C.) addressed itself to the above problems. Dr. Carr who through the EPC had helped to effect the Mundt and Taft-Fulbright resolutions setting up this body, was elected a member of the Executive Committee which also included Rev. F. G. Hochwalt, later to cross swords with Dr. Carr over the NEA position on church-state issues, and Ben M. Cherrington (temporary Commission chairman before Milton S. Eisenhower assumed the chair, and Chancellor of the University of Colorado). The NEA was one of 60 national organizations selected by the State Department for representation; it drew a one-year term, with Dr. Carr as its delegate. The American Teacher Association, with whom the NEA had liaison relationship, also drew a one-year term.

Among the 40 outstanding people from various levels of government that had individual membership, were included three EPC members: George Stoddard, Education Commissioner of New York State; A. J. Stoddard, also of the EPC, formerly chairman, from Pennsylvania; and Pearl A. Wanamaker, from the state of Washington. The list of 40 also included several other NEA members, not part of any NEA body. A fourth

EPC member, representing another national organization, was James B. Conant of Harvard.⁵¹ The Commission was consulted as to the appointment of the U. S. delegates to the UNESCO Paris Conference and discussed the report of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission in anticipation of the Paris Conference.⁵²

UNESCO faced many hurdles before it could assume the "active" role decided upon at the London Conference. Important objections were that, (a) UNESCO could impinge on the sovereignty of member nations as it became more and more active, (b) it could exercise little control anyhow in member states where education was not a nationally controlled enterprise but subject to state and local control as in the USA. Dr. Carr proposed a liaison committee of national organizations from the member states be formed (similar to the U. S. Commission on UNESCO) to obviate objection (b).⁵³ As to objection (a) he reiterated that each member be allowed control over implementation, as had been proposed at the London Conference by the U. S. delegation. In addition, he

⁵¹Public Law 80-565, July 30, 1946. See also W. G. Carr, "What They Say --," Minnesota Journal of Education, October, 1946.

⁵²These were among Dr. Carr's activities until 1952.

⁵³W. G. Carr, "Priorities for UNESCO," Memorandum prepared for use at the Conference with Julian Huxley, Secretary General of the UNESCO Preparatory Committee, May 29, 1946.

supported a scheme of international organizational affiliation with UNESCO to help bridge both problems (a) and (b).

The Paris Conference

The Paris Conference of UNESCO (First General Conference) November 20-December 10, 1946, elected Dr. Julian Huxley as Director-General of UNESCO.⁵⁴ He would only accept the post for a two-year term and retired at the end of 1948. Among the official U. S. Delegates were William Benton, assistant secretary of state, Archibald MacLeish, Pearl Wanamaker, president of the NEA, (state superintendent of schools from the state of Washington), all of whom would later battle conservative political foes. George Stoddard of the EPC and Kenneth Holland of the International Relations Committee were among the advisors.⁵⁵ Dr. Carr attended as an expert aiding the Conference, and delivered one of the four lectures on education requested by the Conference.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Julian Huxley, "UNESCO: It's Purpose and Philosophy," Pamphlet. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1947). Prepared in connection with his Secretaryship of UNESCO.

⁵⁵"The First Session of the General Conference of UNESCO," Report of the U. S. Delegation to Paris (Nov. 20-Dec. 10, 1946). Department of State Publications, Office of Public Affairs--Division of Publications, 1947.

⁵⁶W. G. Carr, "The Conditions Necessary for the Success of UNESCO," Lecture before the First General Conference of UNESCO. (Paris, November 21, 1946, N. 0021).

Carr was elected a member of the Education Sub-Commission of UNESCO, established at Paris. These activities again show the heavy involvement of both NEA and Dr. Carr in UNESCO.

Two of the projects marked most urgent before the Conference were (a) a seminar for teachers on education for international understanding, planned for 1947, and (b) a study for a framework in which this understanding could take place. Dr. Carr, who was at the Conference in the capacity of a WOTP, (World Organization of the Teaching Profession), observer as well, wanted that organization to be a vehicle for this concept.⁵⁷ UNESCO did approve this project and the seminar was held in Paris in the summer of 1947 with Dr. H. E. Wilson, the deputy director-general of UNESCO, member of the NEA International Relations Committee and later to be EPC Secretary in 1952, in charge.⁵⁸ Funds for it were supplied by both UNESCO, Carnegie Endowment for

⁵⁷Willard E. Givens, (prepared in cooperation with W. G. Carr), "The NEA and UNESCO," Report 4, April 14, 1957. W. G. Carr, "Report from Paris," NEA Journal, (April-May issue, 1947). cf. also Section on WCOTP herein.

⁵⁸W. G. Carr, "From Maison UNESCO," A Report for School Executive, prepared Nov.-Dec., 1946. (Carr files, Washington D. C.: NEA Archives).

International Peace and NEA War and Peace Fund.⁵⁹ Again Dr. Carr was invited to lecture.⁶⁰

Another important item before the Conference concerned the establishment of relations with international non-governmental organizations. It was decided to follow the proposals of the Preparatory Commission to set up affiliation procedure for NGO's (Non-Governmental Organizations). The Conference set up three categories of affiliation, (a) relation of consultation and advisement (note American constitutional terminology), (b) relation of consultation, and (c) relation of information exchange, items of interest to UNESCO to be reviewed yearly.⁶¹ In 1949, a fight was to develop for category (b) status between WOTP (Dr. Carr, secretary-general) and the Comité d' Entente, which included among one of its three groups the Communist-dominated FISE;⁶² (Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d'

⁵⁹W. B. Carr, "Panel on UNESCO," an outline for use of the Department of Classroom Teachers of NEA. (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives), October, 1947.

⁶⁰W. G. Carr, "Some Current Problems of UNESCO," A lecture before the UNESCO Teachers' Seminar, Paris (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives), August 1, 1947.

⁶¹W. G. Carr, "UNESCO and Non-Governmental International Organizations in Education." Prepared for "E" in UNESCO Conference, April 10-12, 1950 of U. S. National Commissions for UNESCO. (Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives).

⁶²Ibid. See also Hadley thesis, op. cit. (fn. 6, supra), pp. 123-125. Cf. William Ebers, "UNESCO AND WCOTP," Education Panorama, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (Nov. 2, 1966), pp. 24-29.

Enseignements). WOTP finally won the representational struggle in spite of near-acquiescence to the Entente by U. S. State Department officials, still hoping for some avenues of contact with Communist-dominated governments.⁶³

CIER (The Committee for International
Educational Reconstruction)

The Paris Conference also appealed to member states to aid international rehabilitation in devastated areas--a job UNRRA was unable to do. Dr. Carr had warned of neglecting the devastated areas in 1945 already and had initiated the NEA Overseas Relief Fund.⁶⁴ (This fund operated in enemy countries also, although such countries were not invited to NEA-backed international education conferences such as the one in Endicott in 1946.

Dr. Harold E. Snyder⁶⁵ has detailed the establishment of CIER, established by the American Council on Educa-

⁶³W. G. Carr, "UNESCO in a Divided World," Address before U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, Boston, Mass., (Carr files, Washington, D.C.: NEA Archives) Sept. 27, 1948, cf. S. Hadley, op cit. (fn. 6, supra), pp. 217-218.

⁶⁴Harold E. Snyder, When Peoples Speak to Peoples: An Action Guide (American Council on Education, 1953), pp. 39-40.

⁶⁵Dr. Snyder is with the American Council on Education and was director of the CIER project.

tion, with aid from the Carnegie Corporation, which spent about \$214 million and involved about 400 organizations in its existence between 1946 and 1948. The CIER is given credit also for playing a role on the 1948 Fulbright Act, the Smith-Mundt Act and appropriations for educational exchanges.⁶⁶ In CIER, Dr. Carr and Dr. Ashby of the NEA were vice-chairmen, along with Milton S. Eisenhower and Msgr. F. G. Hochwalt. NEA departments also participated. Dr. Carr was on the Executive Committee of the project under Dr. Snyder, who was director. The NEA also contributed to the CIER's budget.⁶⁷

With the establishment of UNESCO, the U. S. National Commission and category (a) status for WCOTP,⁶⁸ the energies of the NEA staff and of Dr. Carr became focused more on WOTP (later to be WCOTP) as a vehicle for international cooperation, and contacts with UNESCO became channelled through these groups instead of being direct. The conclusion is warranted that the NEA and Dr. Carr played substantial roles in the establishment of the above bodies both on the official and on the unofficial level. In the 1950's,

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 41-43, 53.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 51.

⁶⁸Education Panorama, Vol. VII (No. 2, 1966), p. 28.

conservative newspaper columnists would refer to Dr. Carr as one of the "midwives of UNESCO."

THE NEA AND INTERNATIONAL TEACHER GROUPS

Overview

The NEA participates in international teacher organizations through the WCOTP, formed in August, 1952, as a confederation of three already existing groups: (a) the International Federation of Teachers Associations (IFTA), (b) the International Federation of Secondary Teachers (FIPESCO), and (c) the World Organization of the Teaching Profession (WOTP).

IFTA, formed in 1926 for primary school teachers, and FIPESCO, established in 1912 for secondary school teachers, were both European in their foundation, and in their orientation. From the first WOTP had a more international outlook. Formed at the World Conference of the Teaching Profession by educators from the United Nations (August 17-31, 1946 at Endicott, New York), WOTP was a post-war realignment of the earlier World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) founded in 1923.⁶⁹

The NEA was an important participant in this chain of successor organizations, consisting of WFEA, WOTP, and

⁶⁹"WCOTP 1968," Education Panorama, Vol. X (No. 1, March, 1968), pp. 1-2.

the present WCOTP.⁷⁰ The NEA had caused President Harding to issue the call that resulted in the 1923 World Educational Conference (in San Francisco--July, 1923) where WFEA was born.⁷¹ U. S. Commissioner of Education, Augustus Thomas, also the first chairman of the NEA International Relations Committee, became the first president of WFEA.⁷² After the Second World War, to put new life into the old organization, and to insure continuing international cooperation among educators, the NEA again sponsored a World Teachers' Conference which resulted in the formation of WOTP. The NEA International Relations Committee was especially active through its Chairman, Ben Cherrington chancellor of the University of Colorado, and other members who were leaders in international education programs, such as Kenneth Holland, Grayson Kefauver, William Russell, and James Shotwell.⁷³ When WCOTP was formed in 1952, William G. Carr, who was then still the Executive Secretary of the NEA, became its first and present Secretary General.

⁷⁰ See S. Hadley, op. cit. (fn. 6, supra), for a good historical overview.

⁷¹ NEA Proceedings, 1921, pp. 179-180.

⁷² Wesley, op. cit., pp. 359-360.

⁷³ NEA Proceedings, 1944, pp. 399, 407; Ibid., 1945-46, p. 491.

Thus, largely through the NEA's efforts, WCOTP united three million teachers in 55 countries in one organization. In 1953, the year after its formation WCOTP was granted consultative status by UNESCO in the first category (Category A "information relations"). By 1961 it had achieved Category C, that of the closest possible association with UNESCO ("relations of association and consultation.")⁷⁴

The NEA had been instrumental in the founding of UNESCO and in the creation of WCOTP, and also in forging links between these two major organizations to further "peace through understanding," the aim of important educators from Comenius of the 17th century, to William G. Carr of the twentieth century.⁷⁵

Thus, NEA has moved on both official and unofficial levels for an international climate of reason and goodwill. A third level of influence has consisted of the personal efforts and connections of the best-known man the NEA has produced in the past 50 years, William G. Carr.

⁷⁴Cf. Section on UNESCO (this chapter) for more detailed description of NGO and UNESCO relations. Education Panorama, Vol. VIII, (No. 2, 1966), pp. 24-29.

⁷⁵W. G. Carr, Only by Understanding, (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series No. 52, May-June, 1945), p. 6.

The Founding of WOTP at Endicott

At the time of the Endicott Conference (August 17-31, 1946, the World Conference of the Teaching Profession), the first general conference of UNESCO at Paris was but little over two months off, (the London preparatory conference for UNESCO having been held less than a year previously). Thus, the Endicott Conference was a parallel development with the November, 1946 Paris conference, and many participants attended both. The host organization was the NEA.⁷⁶ Secretary Givens, in his letter of invitation to participants, had reiterated two great issues facing the profession:⁷⁷ (a) a discussion of the most fruitful relationship between segments of the teaching profession, and (b) a discussion to identify key issues to be solved by international cooperation. The site of the conference was an estate owned by IBM near Endicott, made available by IBM President Thomas J. Watson. The facilities included a gracious mansion, the simultaneous-translation device developed by IBM and later used at the United Nations, tried here for the first time on any scale, and catering donated

⁷⁶NEA Proceedings, 1945-46, p. 338.

⁷⁷Willard E. Givens, "Education and the Peoples' Peace," Our Schools, Annual Report of the Profession to the Public by the Executive Secretary of the NEA of the U. S. (Washington, D. C.: NEA, 1945), p. 8. See also S. Hadley, op. cit. (fn. 6, supra), p. 60.

personally by Thomas J. Watson. IBM's spokesman expressed the hope that the conference would become an important force for world peace.⁷⁸

The American Federation of Teachers immediately criticized the choice of the IBM estate as a site, finding fault with their rival organization, the NEA. It was charged by the president of AFT, Joseph F. Landis, that the conference was being influenced by big business.⁷⁹ On the other hand, others defended the choice and saw no undue influence. The then President of the NEA, F. L. Schlagle, used the Landis charge to affirm his belief and NEA's in the private enterprise system.⁸⁰ The charge, however, still cast a cloud over an otherwise successful conference. The European countries in particular, many of them with socialist governments, shied away from the conference: among them France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and Denmark.⁸¹

⁷⁸Preparatory Commission World Organization of the Teaching Profession, Proceedings of the World Conference of the Teaching Profession, August 17-30, 1946. Endicott, N. Y., U.S.A. (Washington, D. C.: The Commission, 1947), p. 98.

⁷⁹I. R. Kuenzl, "AFT and WOTP," American Teacher, Vol. XXXIV (February, 1950), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰"Peru Sending Delegation, Dr. Schlagle Answers Landis," The Endicott (N.Y.) Daily Bulletin, August 21, 1946.

⁸¹Christian Science Monitor, August 27, 1946.

Otherwise the Conference was well-organized, well-attended and accomplished much business. Observer-advisors from the United States Department of State, the U. S. Office of Education, and other government agencies were present as well as some from the Pan-American Union, the United Nations and UNESCO. Thirty-eight educational organizations from 28 countries attended.⁸² Of the countries represented, ten were from Latin-America, a region which had benefited by the NEA War and Peace Fund; six were from English-speaking countries (not including the United States), with whom the United States and the NEA had fostered good relations over the years; two from the Middle East had been under English influence; and Czechoslovakia which had been interested in international education movements since the time of Thomas Masaryk (who, together with NEA International Relations chairman Augustus Thomas of the NEA, "Nebraska dynasty," had been instrumental in the founding of WFEA in 1923).⁸³ The seven other European countries

⁸²NEA, "A Great NEA Achievement," Leaders Letter, #57, (Washington: The Association, October 14, 1946), pp. 1, 3, mimeographed. List of nations represented at Endicott Conference: Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Equador, Egypt, Eire, El Salvador, England, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, Iraq, Mexico, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Peru, Poland, Scotland, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, United States.

⁸³Interview with Sara M. Hadley by the writer, Washington: May 23, 1969.

attending were in some way beholden to the Allies (such as Greece, the Netherlands and Poland) or else neutrals (Sweden, Switzerland). Thus, the Conference was oriented toward the Western alliance (ex-enemies were excluded).

The absence of Russia caused some concern, especially among buffer zone states such as Czechoslovakia and Poland. Following the precedent of its absence from the London UNESCO conference, Russia ignored the invitation and inquiries of Secretary Givens.⁸⁴ However, the conference proceeded along lines that would have made it easy for Russian teachers to affiliate with the group.⁸⁵

The Conference passed an important resolution calling for the foundation of the WOTP to replace the earlier WFEA. The question has been asked why it was necessary to change the old organization in favor of a new name; the most likely answer is that the old order had passed and there was an eagerness to make a new start after World War II. That the delegates were motivated by a desire to leave their mark on the educational scene is less likely. The Endicott Founding Conference Document on Transitional Arrangements stated:

⁸⁴Walter H. C. Laves and Charles A. Thompson, UNESCO, Purpose, Progress, Prospects (Bloomington, Ind.: University Press, 1957), p. 304.

⁸⁵Louis E. Sweet, "World Educators to Seek Loophole for Russian Participation in Setup," The Binghamton (N.Y.) Daily Press, August 23, 1946.

It shall be the power of the Preparatory Commission to take any and all necessary steps to bring the World Organization of the Teaching Profession into existence at the earliest possible moment and to call the first meeting of the Delegate Assembly.⁸⁶

The five-member preparatory Commission was dominated by English-speaking members, and the latter by NEA men. Dr. William G. Carr was unanimously chosen to be the Secretary of the Commission, and its head was the NEA President, F. L. Schlagle.⁸⁷ The NEA provided Dr. Carr's time, staff and office space, through the EPC; NEA headquarters became the address of WOTP until its merger of 1952.⁸⁸

WOTP's Endicott conference has been called one of the most important educational conferences of those years.⁸⁹ It was also recognized by most that the WOTP was American-sponsored and American-led; American leadership was exerted through the NEA and especially through one key man, Wil-

⁸⁶World Conference of the Teaching Profession, "Documentation Transitional Arrangements" (Endicott, N. Y.: The Conference, August, 1946. Statement #31-mimeographed).

⁸⁷NEA, "A Great NEA Achievement," (fn. 82, supra), p. 4.

⁸⁸NEA Proceedings, 1945-46, p. 338.

⁸⁹NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 231. Cf. also William F. Russell, "The Struggle for Unity in the Teaching Profession," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XXXI (March, 1950), p. 343.

liam G. Carr. NEA continued to contribute heavily to WOTP budgets.

Foundations were laid for WOTP relations with UNESCO. The deputy executive secretary of UNESCO, Howard E. Wilson (later to be the secretary of the EPC, from 1952-57) was at Endicott to explain to delegates the purposes of UNESCO, just come into existence. A committee of the Endicott conference (Fourth Committee) considered formal relations and recommended that an active teacher or an appointed official of a teacher organization should be included among the members of each national delegation to General Conferences. The Preparatory Commission wrote a letter requesting consultative status for WOTP, when formally established, with UNESCO. A similar request went to the U. N. Economic and Social Council, where a delegate at Endicott was not a member of the staff.⁹⁰ Consequently, Dr. Carr represented WOTP as an observer during the first General UNESCO Conference in Paris, 1946, November, and lectured at the Sorborne at the request of UNESCO on the relation of education and world peace.⁹¹ WOTP in turn asked UNESCO to

⁹⁰WOTP Preparatory Commission, News Letter (December 30, 1946), pp. 3-4.

⁹¹W. G. Carr, "Conditions Necessary for the Success of UNESCO," op. cit. (fn. 56, supra).

consider an international Teachers' Charter.⁹² Dr. Carr also participated, at the invitation of the U. N. staff, in the UN-NGO Conference of International non-governmental organizations at Lake Success, February 9-14, 1947, called to organize support for the United Nations.⁹³

The Glasgow Conference

The required ten ratifications for the WOTP draft constitutions were completed in May, 1947 and a call was issued for the first general WOTP Conference in Glasgow, August, 1947. At this conference, however, the number of nations represented had dwindled to seven (China, Greece, Luxembourg, N. Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland and the U.S.A.). Observers were sent from four additional countries, the U. N. and UNESCO.⁹⁴ Part of this small participation can be explained by delays in the ratification of the WOTP constitution--only 12 countries had ratified it and of these 12, two were Poland and Czechoslovakia, on which the Iron Curtain was descending. Czechoslovakia was in the process

⁹²This finally came into being at a Special UNESCO Conference, September-October, 1966. This document was hailed as the "Magna Carter" for the Teaching Profession.

⁹³WOTP Preparatory Commission, News Letter (March 20, 1947), pp. 1-2.

⁹⁴Paul M. Cook, "A World Front for Education," Phi Delta Kappa, XXXIX (October, 1947), p. 53.

of repudiating Endicott and did so in a formal letter of October 20, 1947.⁹⁵

WOTP and the East-West Struggle

After its overtures to Russia had failed, WOTP took a strong anti-communist stance. As its critics were quick to point out, it had been organized in an anti-labor atmosphere in Endicott, New York, with IBM money and influence playing no small part in its founding conference. Furthermore, WOTP was dominantly English speaking and western in its membership and especially its leadership.

1947 became a turning-point in east-west relations (Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, etc.) and the WOTP was caught up in part of this cataclymic cleavage. Communist bloc nations from this time on gravitated towards FISE (Federation Internationale des Syndicates d' Enseignement), founded in 1946 at French instigation.⁹⁶ Continued labor attacks on WOTP aggravated this cleavage, FISE itself being regarded as a department of the International Federation of Trade Unions (DPIE) which was strongly Socialistic. Even so, WOTP found it difficult to force the issue of an East-

⁹⁵Ladislav Koubek, letter to WOTP, October 20, 1947.

⁹⁶FISE had been organized in 1946 just prior to and in competition with WOTP. From the first many teachers organizations from the communist bloc were among its members.

West split and the tensions of the "cold-war" which had just begun. (The Stalin era in Russia, the gradual takeover of the satellite nations, Hungary, 1948, Czechoslovakia, 1949, etc.) Under the perspicacious and at times impatient William G. Carr, WOTP moved to accept the non-cooperation of the communist world while others (even such men as NEA's William F. Russell) could not quite bring themselves to accept the East-West split.⁹⁷ Carr's position (he calls himself a practical realist) can be analogized more to the position of John Foster Dulles than to that of Sir Ronald Gould, present WCOTP President, who in 1951, in a personal and totally unofficial capacity, but as a member of the WOTP Executive Committee, visited the Soviet Union with two of his English National Union of Teachers (NUT) colleagues.

By 1949, the East-West split became more evident. Russia had not joined UNESCO and in fact had lowered the Iron Curtain. Some of the satellite nations and Russia finally did join UNESCO in 1954, after the death of Stalin.⁹⁸

⁹⁷Russell finally did, however. cf. NEA Proceedings, 1950, WOTP Report given by Russell (then WOTP President) before the Representative Assembly July 6, 1950, pp. 128-130.

⁹⁸W. Laves and C. Thompson. UNESCO: Purposes, Progress and Prospects (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1957), p. 333.

1949 was also an important turning point in WOTP's history. FISE (Federation Internationale des Syndicates d' Enseignement), organized under DPIE auspices in 1946, was clearly communist dominated. Now UNESCO was on the verge of giving consultant status to the triumvirate of FISE (The International Federation of Teachers Unions) FIPESCO (the secondary school teachers group) and IFTA (the primary school teachers group) which had combined into Comite d' Entente.⁹⁹

As early as 1947 Dr. Carr had taken steps to assure the recognition of WOTP by UNESCO.¹⁰⁰ Dr. Carr had been the WOTP representative at the U. N. Conference of International Non-Governmental Organizations at Lake Success, New York, which resulted in WOTP's receiving consultative status with the U. N. Economic and Social Council in 1947 (shortly after the ratification of the WOTP Constitution).¹⁰¹ However, recognition by UNESCO came only in 1949. WOTP had been invited to join the Comite' d' Entente. Even State Department officials whom Carr consulted in some

⁹⁹Hadley interview (fn. 83, supra).

¹⁰⁰One of the 15 points on the agenda of the WOTP Preparatory Commission dealt with UNESCO. Dr. Carr was prominent in both organizations. Cf. section on UNESCO. See also "WOTP Launched in Scotland," NEA Journal, XXXVI (October, 1947), p. 518.

¹⁰¹WOTP Preparatory Commission, "The UN-NGO Conference, Lake Success, New York, February 4-14, 1947," News Letter (December 30, 1946).

alarm, consented to this relationship. Carr, however, mobilizing every resource at his power, including his friendship with UNESCO deputy executive secretary Howard E. Wilson, managed to block consultant status for the Comité d'Entente and managed to win this role for the WOTP without having to merge with the Comité.¹⁰² This was an important decision in recognizing the threat of a communist dominated organization. The Iron Curtain was definitely lowered, and the East-West split became evident to everyone, even to the most reluctant.¹⁰³

WOTP continued to function and receive heavy NEA support till its successful merger with FIPESCO and IFTA, a goal of the WOTP from the beginning. At that time, in 1952, its name was changed to WCOTP, or the World Conference of the Teaching Profession. FIPESCO and IFTA had decided against merger prior to the first WOTP Conference, due partly to their European national character and partly because they were not an inclusive organization like the American organization, NEA, or even the WOTP, but formed strictly to

¹⁰²WOTP, Proceedings (3rd Del. Assembly), pp. 35, 2; Id., (4th Del. Assembly), p. 15. L. E. Beeby, Carr correspondence files (WCOTP Archives, Washington, D. C.: for Feb. 3-March 25, 1949).

¹⁰³William F. Russell, "The Struggle for Unity in the Teaching Profession," op. cit. (fn. 89, supra), pp. 342-343; see also The New York Times, August 7, 1947, p. 10.

serve special categories of teachers limited to working with specific age-groups, i.e. elementary and secondary teachers.¹⁰⁴ But by the 1920's the Cold War had assumed alarming proportions and it was clear that Communist teachers could not be trusted with the educational plans and would not share in many aspirations of other WOTP members. Thus, at the merger of IFTA and FIPESCO with WOTP to form the newly-named WCOTP, the Communist organizations (FISE) were excluded.

FISE had extracted some concessions for allowing IFTA and FIPESCO to withdraw from the Comité d' Entente and to merge with WOTP to form the new WCOTP. Joint conferences of WCOTP and FISE were still held, but NEA leaders especially were angered at the uncooperative attitude of the Communist bloc teacher organization.¹⁰⁵ Final vestiges of cooperation with FISE were removed at the 1956 Manila conference of WCOTP, when it was made explicit that the external relations of WCOTP were no longer influenced by any FISE participation.¹⁰⁶ WCOTP declared itself to be anti-

¹⁰⁴William F. Russell, "The Struggle for Unity," op. cit.; see also New York Times, August 7, 1947, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵NEA Proceedings, 1950, p. 231.

¹⁰⁶NEA Proceedings, 1957, Report of President, p. 248.

communist and was free to carry on its own responsibilities in international affairs.

This resolution constituted a victory for the Western teacher groups. The resolution was referred to by Carr as a step which would "strengthen associations in the free world."¹⁰⁷ Here the position of the two constituent members IFTA and FIPESCO as spokesmen for WCOTP in international affairs was ended, giving the teaching profession of the Western world a united voice.

The semi-official nature of WCOTP as a guardian of the "security of the United States" is strongly apparent in Carr's report to the Executive Committee in 1957.¹⁰⁸ He reports that in Manila it was made clear "who the communist teachers were," i.e. the Comité d' Entente. When preparing for the Manila Conference he met in Bonn with the American Ambassador and some of the "principal members of the State Department concerned with cultural affairs." He also reported of possible UNESCO contracts with WCOTP. The concern was that these international groups be American-oriented or at least not hostile to the Western world.

It is obvious that the WCOTP was in an advantageous position to take the U. S. message to other countries, and

¹⁰⁷NEA Proceedings, 1958, p. 248.

¹⁰⁸NEA Proceedings, 1957, pp. 302-303.

moreover, to people overseas who were in a key position to influence thought. The control of the teaching profession is obviously a vital problem in the political life of any country. Thus, the National Socialists in Germany had persecuted IFTA in Europe, and thus the Communist soon recognized the value of the teaching profession as ideological and psychological instruments of power. It was also obvious that in exerting a great effort to organize the teachers of the world, and in the efforts of an outstanding organization man such as William G. Carr, the United States was receiving valuable aid as an incident of WOTP and WCOTP functions.

The NEA has had through the years many liaisons with USA Congressmen and officials, and so its role was even more visible than otherwise. Thus, Senators Fulbright, Morse and others were well aware of NEA's role in WOTP, and many Commissioners of Education (such as Lawrence G. Derthick, presently a NEA staff member) maintained close relations with NEA leadership.

Consequently, it is not surprising that at the time Ramparts magazine exposed the CIA funding of many educational organizations the WCOTP would be revealed as receiving substantial subsidies from the USA government.¹⁰⁹ The so

¹⁰⁹Ramparts, Vol. 5 (No. 10, April, 1967), pp. 17-28.

called Vernon Fund was being used behind the scenes to finance WCOTP activities especially in the field of human rights.¹¹⁰

Dr. Carr, who had many close associates in the State Department, was always vocal in his support of the American position. It was he who first became alarmed at the Communist domination of some of the European teachers associations.¹¹¹ That he was willing to accept CIA funds shows the strong wish of Dr. Carr to act in an official or at least semi-official capacity as a spokesman for the U. S. position, and as a leader in international education with a message. The revelation of CIA funding rather than causing an embarrassment to Carr, was rather an affirmation of his position and loyalty to American ideals and anti-communist stance. Under the guidance of Dr. Carr, the WCOTP has taken a firmly pro-American position.¹¹²

Nevertheless, WCOTP plays an important role in unifying the teachers of the Western world. It was largely

¹¹⁰Evening Star, Washington, D. C., February 22, 1967, Sec. A, p. 3.

¹¹¹Beeby-Carr correspondence (cited in fn. 102 supra).

¹¹²Dr. Carr personally believes strongly in the American position in Vietnam, and objected to McCarthy tactics at the Chicago convention of 1968, when "both sides had their say, but the losing side took to the streets." Interview of Dr. Carr by the writer, March 10, 1969.

through the efforts of Dr. Carr and the NEA that this came about. By accepting monies from the CIA through the Vernon Fund, Carr emphasized his strong pro-American position, and showed his influence in the affairs of WCOTP.

As can be seen, WCOTP is strongly pro-Western and very much NEA dominated and was especially so during the Carr administration. He saw the role of WCOTP as a leader in furthering international exchange of information and understanding, a goal that is evident throughout his career. He also saw WCOTP as a vehicle for expressing the views of American educators, and of extending their influence.¹¹³ He had always stressed the international aspects of education, and thus was strongly in favor of NEA's involvement in WCOTP.

WOTP-WCOTP Relations with NEA

Dr. Carr's resignation from the NEA brought questions as to the extent of NEA involvement in WCOTP. The animosity between Dr. Carr and the elected NEA leadership might have had an adverse affect on NEA-WCOTP relations as well. Since WCOTP relies heavily on the NEA for financial

¹¹³Interview of Dr. Carr by the author, Washington, D. C., March 10, 1969; interview of Dr. Lyle C. Ashby, deputy NEA Secretary, by the author, Washington, D. C., March 13, 1969. Dr. Carr has been associated with WOTP since 1946 and with WCOTP since 1952.

assistance, and on Dr. Carr for leadership, this might have weakened the whole effectiveness of WCOTP.¹¹⁴ However, the NEA has continued its support of WCOTP. The Board of Directors hears a report on its activities at every meeting. Even now, the NEA contributes substantial monies to the WCOTP, thereby representing the U.S.A. to the world teaching profession. Some figures are as follows:¹¹⁵

56/1957	--	NEA expended	\$15,157
67/1968	--	NEA expended	35,996

The rate will go up to \$50,700 for the year 1968-69. In addition delegate expenses to WCOTP conferences have been paid by the NEA.¹¹⁶

NEA involvement has also been extended to the extent of financing for delegates to WCOTP on a continuing basis to avoid single-meeting attendance. It was also recommended that the president-elect be included in the delegation to relieve the president of this work. Questions were raised regarding the selection of delegates, which formerly had been done on the recommendation of Dr. Carr. New guidelines have been adopted in this regard. The elected officers, President, past President and President-elect would all be

¹¹⁴Interview with B. Alonso, NEA past president, by the author, Washington, D. C., February, 1969.

¹¹⁵NEA Proceedings, 1968, p. 482.

¹¹⁶NEA Proceedings, 1957, p. 299.

involved, plus two others chosen on the basis of past WCOTP work.¹¹⁷

The Accomplishments of WCOTP

The role of WCOTP has consisted of advocating programs for the benefit of education in general or of teachers in particular. WCOTP has involved itself with large scale issues such as the refugee question after the 1956 Hungarian uprising, and the effect of East Germany, and the Berlin wall.

In 1959, the WCOTP established an Educational Policy Commission for Africa (parallel to the NEA's policy-forming body the EPC; shades of Carr and research). Regional meetings for Asia and the Americas followed. These steps met with difficulties because the surveys and data were missing. Consequently, the first survey was undertaken in 1961 in Africa by WCOTP with assistance from UNESCO and the Ford Foundation.¹¹⁸ Similar studies have been made for Asia and for the Americas.¹¹⁹ One such case was in Peru in 1961. In response to Peru teacher groups, the WCOTP supported them in their campaign for adequate pro-

¹¹⁷NEA Proceedings, 1968, pp. 362-363.

¹¹⁸WCOTP African Program, 1962.

¹¹⁹Education Panorama, Vol. X (No. 1, 1968), p. 5.

fessional salaries. A new salary law, was adopted by the Peruvian government shortly thereafter.¹²⁰ However, the laws were constantly violated and in 1967 some 85,000 teachers were out on strike, again supported by WCOTP. They were finally successful in gaining their demands.

In Africa the WCOTP has actively campaigned for literacy and effectiveness. The WCOTP Committee on Education asked WCOTP to accept for membership only one national organization of teachers from each African country, thereby causing unified organizations and at the same time preventing the proliferation of corrosive splinter groups, one of which inevitably would have been Communist dominated.¹²¹ By unifying these dissident groups, the effectiveness of the education profession was also increased.

In Japan, the WCOTP has been concerned with the position of the Japan Teachers' Union (JTU). There the situation has been bad due to the administration of an "efficiency rating" system for the determination of teacher salaries. Standards were not objective and professional enough and thus salaries lagged. The WCOTP Assembly expressed its concern several times, especially in 1959. In May, 1967, the Asian Committee of WCOTP appealed to the

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 29.

¹²¹Ibid., pp. 10 ff.

Japanese government to reconsider its position to JTU and grant it more rights and responsibilities. The Japanese government complied, and the situation was ameliorated.¹²²

To better further its aims of benefits for the teaching profession like WOTP before it, WCOTP had applied for consultative status with UNESCO at its inception and had received the status of information exchange (Category c). By 1961, it had achieved the status of consultative and advisement the closest possible, with UNESCO.¹²³

At its annual conference, held in Istanbul, the 1955 WCOTP Delegate Assembly had for its theme "the status of the teaching profession." It was here that the bases of consensus were laid as to (1) status of teachers, (2) standards, (3) teacher institutions and (4) professional organizations.¹²⁴

Largely through the efforts of WCOTP, a Special Conference on the Status of Teachers was called by UNESCO in 1966. The groundwork for this conference had been laid by

¹²²Education Panorama, Vol. X (No. 1, 1968), p. 29. This was one of the first cases to test the 1966 "Magna Carta" for Teachers discussed infra.

¹²³WCOTP also maintained liaisons with other U.N. bodies, among them the U. N. Economic and Social Council. Education Panorama, Vol. VIII (No. 2, 1966), pp. 25-26 and 28.

¹²⁴W. G. Carr, "The Manila Conference," draft of report, Carr files, Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives, 1966.

a series of expert meetings of UNESCO, the ILO (International Labor Organization) and WCOTP. The last of these meetings was held in Geneva, where the basic document on the status of teachers was assembled.¹²⁵ This meeting was chaired by the vice-president of WCOTP and Dr. Carr (WCOTP Secretary General) was the chairman of the editing committee.

When the 1966 Special Intergovernmental Conference convened, it was presented with this basic document on the status of teachers for approval.¹²⁶ The delegates at the Conference hailed this declaration as a historical precedent, and a major victory for the world's education profession.¹²⁷ The document went far in defining the rights and responsibilities of members of the teaching profession. Educators all over the world acclaimed it as the "Magna Carta" of the teaching profession.¹²⁸ WCOTP and UNESCO had both taken a giant step in fulfilling their role as

¹²⁵W. G. Carr, "New Magna Carta," NEA Journal, April, 1966, pp. 38-46. See also, "WCOTP and the Status of the Teaching Profession," Education Panorama, Vol. VIII (No. 2, 1966), pp. 15-17.

¹²⁶W. G. Carr, "Report on Geneva," February 14, 1966. (draft of Report in Carr files Washington, D. C.: NEA Archives).

¹²⁷NEA Handbook, 1968-69, pp. 382-384; see also Education Panorama, Vol. X (No. 1, 1968), pp. 10-14. WCOTP has 132 member associations in 79 countries representing over 4 million educators.

¹²⁸Education Panorama, Vol. VIII, (No. 2, 1966), p. 16.

vehicles for the promotion of international understanding and cooperation through education and the teaching profession.

CONCLUSION

Periods after wars necessitate new adjustments, new policies, new organizations. The NEA and its executives were well aware of this, remembering the failure of the League of Nations. A new beginning was to be made after World War II also.

The NEA which had long advocated democracy through education, was in a good position to take the initiative in 1945. Its Educational Policies Commission and International Relations Committee had many distinguished names,¹²⁹ among them Grayson Kefauver, Truman's unofficial "education minister." NEA's assistant secretary William G. Carr had published various works on the role of education in the post-war world. NEA's friends in Congress included Senator Robert Taft of Ohio. Furthermore, the head of the delegation to the San Francisco founding conference of the United Nations was politically insecure and wanted the advise of voluntary associations.

The NEA played a major role in the inclusion of

¹²⁹NEA Proceedings, 1944, pp. 399, 407. NEA Proceedings, 1945-46, p. 491.

references in the Charter to education and culture.¹³⁰ It lobbied extensively for the Fulbright-Taft-Mundt resolutions in both houses of Congress which made such references possible. Dr. Carr was a chief aide to Dr. Julian Huxley, head of the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO, established under the Charter. The NEA supported both the United Nations and UNESCO through its membership on the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and participated in the formulation of UNESCO projects.¹³¹

NEA also moved on the non-governmental level to organize national teacher groups into a world federation. It accomplished this through the formation of WOTP at Endicott, N. Y., in 1946, a successor to the WFEA it had helped to found in 1923. In 1952, to avoid the presence of Communist-dominated groups in WOTP, the latter reorganized itself into the present World Conference of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). WCOTP obtained consultative status with UNESCO in 1961.

The activities of the NEA in connection with the United Nations Charter, the founding of UNESCO and the international teacher organizations (WOTP and WCOTP) show the following:

¹³⁰U. N. Charter, Arts. 1, 13, 55, 57.

¹³¹NEA Proceedings, 1950, pp. 103-106.

(a) NEA believed in the force of education to achieve social progress;

(b) NEA's initial efforts for UNESCO, WOTP and WCOTP were spearheaded by Dr. Carr, who had a fierce determination to work for social order through democratic education;

(c) NEA's influential membership in post-World War II years enabled it to bring about international structures for educational cooperation;

(d) NEA, UNESCO and the WOTP soon had to contend with the hostility or apathy of Communist countries and teacher groups. The Soviet Union never joined UNESCO. This situation greatly impeded "rational" cooperation among all nations;

(e) NEA, Dr. Carr, WOTP and WCOTP have not been unwilling to use contributions from American business and the federal government despite the adverse criticism from some nations and teacher groups. Again, one sees an implicit faith in "rationality" that can resist undue influence; nor did NEA question the good faith of U. S. government and business in supporting international education policy. This kind of sincerity was, however, called into question increasingly as the post-war years went on, a trend NEA seemed to ignore.

Consequently, one sees a plateau of NEA's efforts around 1953, when WCOTP achieves full consultative status with UNESCO. International tensions halt educational cooperation and the NEA suffers disenchantment as a result. By the time tensions and disenchantment ease in the early 1960's, the NEA is more concerned with membership benefits and domestic policy than with international relations. Its concern is accentuated by the U. S. engulfment into the war in Vietnam.

Thus, by 1970 one sees the following situation emerging:

(a) NEA has achieved its goal of helping to set up international structures for educational cooperation;

(b) The continuing Communist hostility to these structures, coupled with the Vietnam war, have gravely impeded progress in this field;

(c) The idealist enthusiasm for international cooperation has ebbed by now, and the nation states see international education programs as an interference in their domestic domain;

(d) NEA's membership is more concerned with domestic issues and membership benefits than with international relations;

(e) The leaders of Dr. Carr's caliber and vision are passing from the scene. This is now

occupied by men to whom the League of Nations and fascism are more remote and who see progress not through education and rationality, but through technological advances.

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The NEA in the last twelve years has changed substantially in three respects: (I) organizational goals, (II) internal structure and decision-making, and (III) external policy.

GOALS

In terms of goals, the NEA has moved from an organization primarily devoted to the welfare of public education in this country and the professional advancement of the teaching profession to an organization actively engaged in furthering the economic and political status of its membership. In doing so, it is now paying considerable attention to the urban and Negro groups within it, is spending much money to protect individual teachers' rights, and is supporting the demands of its affiliates to the extent of financially supporting striking teachers.

I. Change in Organizational Goals

The indices of the NEA change in goals can be indicated as follows:

A. Service to Members.

1. Protection of Individual Rights. Within the past decade, NEA has moved from a Defense Commission which answered attacks on public schools to heavy funding of the DuShane Fund to give legal protection to individual teachers whose rights have been infringed.

2. Protection of group rights. While in 1957 the NEA was reluctant to give affiliates in conflicts with school boards more than expert advice and moral support, it will now advise teachers not to accept employment in insured school districts and offer loans and other financial assistance to striking groups.

3. Economic Benefits for Members. Within the past year, the NEA has initiated various life and disability insurance programs for its members and their families, has started a low-cost auto leasing for members, a discount book service by mail, founded a mutual funds company charging very low broker's fees for NEA members, and has offered group travel plans on an extended basis. It has also instituted a computerized system to match qualified applicants with job openings (called NEA-Search).

4. Recently, the classroom teachers with the NEA (ACT) have sparked a new NEA program for

getting grass roots feedback on the services it offers. The program takes the form of regional conferences to discuss the concerns of teachers. They will increase the amount of information already provided to NEA members in the monthly newsletter, NEA Reporter.

B. Encouraging Political Activity of Members.

1. From a reluctance to let affiliates participate in political activity except to support NEA's legislative stand in Congress, the NEA has moved to instituting a "Teachers-in Politics" program, to generating support for party candidates favorable to NEA's views on education, to an encouragement of the formation of Political Action Committees by state affiliates, a wide publication of Congressmen's voting records on NEA-supported issues, and endorsement of candidates for both elective and appointive office.

2. It has publicized its new attitude on the political involvement of teachers by editorials in its monthly newsletter and articles in its monthly journal; and by speeches by the elected leadership.

3. Its Representative Assembly has passed resolutions on such political issues as the war in Vietnam and segregation in the South, abandoning a former attitude of non-partisanship and non-

involvement in sensitive political issues.

C. Encouraging community involvement of members.

The NEA, through its recently created Division of Human Rights, has engaged in and has encouraged involvement of its members in efforts to promote respect for and protection of the human rights (including civil rights) of citizens who are disadvantaged or discriminated against. In the 1950's, such concern for human rights at divisional level, with an Assistant Secretary for Human Relations in charge of the field, was non-existent in the NEA.

Recently, the ACT has been encouraging its members to participate in the better environment movement.

D. Services to Special Groups of Members.

1. NEA's affiliates operating in urban areas formed the NC of Urban Education Association in 1960. This group became a social movement organization with the NEA, especially after the latter's defeat in the New York City teacher elections in 1961. It has lobbied successfully for more money and services to urban affiliates and has pointed out NEA neglect of the urban teacher problems before 1960.

2. After 1957, the NEA initiated serious efforts to integrate its segregated state affiliates in 13 Southern and border states. The process of integration has now been completed. The NEA has made concerted efforts to monitor school integration in the South and support strict federal guidelines for school systems receiving federal support. It has made great efforts to prevent the dismissal of Negro teachers as a result of the integration of school systems.

3. The NEA national organization in Washington, D. C. now employs Negroes, Catholics and Jews in higher staff positions. In 1957, none of these three groups had a representative at higher staff level.

E. New Professional Goals.

1. The NEA's Commission of Teacher Education and Professional Standards was a moving force behind a bylaw resolution that now requires that any new NEA member entering after August of 1964 have a B.A. degree or a vocational or technical certificate. Up to 1964, a number of teachers, especially in the elementary education field, were admitted to membership without a bachelor's degree.

2. The NEA has successfully supported a number of state laws on professional autonomy.

Although such a measure failed in New York State in 1970, a number of Western States have granted a fair amount of self-governance to the profession.

3. The NEA has successfully supported a number of state negotiation laws which gives the bargaining representative group the right to negotiate for all teachers of the system. Michigan now has a law which requires teachers to pay a service fee to the bargaining unit's organization as a condition of continued employment. The NEA has proposed a nationwide Professional Negotiations Law serviced by a federal agency similar to the National Labor Relations Board. The concept of bargaining representatives for all teachers in the system had been alien to the NEA before the 1960's but is now seen as a necessary tool for advancing the status of teachers.

4. The NEA has supported such newer ideas as internships for teachers and the hiring of paraprofessionals in schools to do administrative and supervisory chores; it has moved away from its support for merit promotions for teachers.

F. New Public Service Goals.

As will be discussed further in Section III below, the NEA from 1963-1970 broadened its horizons to support categorical federal aid and the

child-benefit theory which aided disadvantaged children and children in private and parochial schools to a great degree. The NEA has also broadened its concerns by voicing dissatisfaction over the condition of Indian reservation schools and overseas schools. It has also expanded its activities to the areas of drug abuse, housing and environmental control. On the other hand, it has restricted its role in public opinion formation by the abolition of the Educational Policies Commission and the curtailing of NEA-supported television and radio programs. It has also curtailed the amount of research work done at the implied request of the U. S. Office of Education which benefited mostly the latter.

G. Modernizing the Organization.

1. The expansion of the physical plant in Washington, D. C. was given new priority and the NEA has purchased half a city block and a hotel within the past few years. It has also announced plans for a 56-acre education park in Reston, Virginia.

2. It has decentralized its field services by setting up 11 regional offices throughout the country in the past decade.

3. The NEA's goals in modernization have included the computerization of membership records and accounting services (now almost completed) and program budgeting instead of item-by-item allocation of monies.

4. Since the late 1950's the NEA has been engaged in a process of "unification," i.e., making agreements with state and local affiliates that a new member (regardless of entry on the state, local or national level) must join all three NEA levels simultaneously and continuously. About two-thirds of the state affiliates now have unification agreements with NEA.

Summarizing the above, one can discern a definite trend to increase the status and involvement of teachers, make the organization "socially conscious" of the issues of urban education and integration, protect human and teachers' rights and increase the aggressives and demands of teacher rights, and finally to modernize its plant and operational procedures. Generally, NEA goals have become more welfare-oriented (in contrast to the older laissez-faire and self-help philosophy) and have been similar to an increasing degree to union goals in the economic field and the area of sanctions (such as strikes) possible to teacher groups. They have also become more politically oriented.

Demands or pressures for changes in organizational goals came from (a) membership, especially the Classroom Teachers Group (ACT) and (b) environmental factors. Included in the latter must be the (i) advent of Sputnik in 1957, which caused a thorough examination of the deficiencies of public schools and their staffs; (2) the competition of teacher unions which started in earnest in the late 1950's and took away teacher groups in the major cities of the country from NEA's control; (iii) the school desegregation decisions of the federal courts and the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960; (iv) the Civil rights movement of Dr. Martin Luther King beginning in 1963 and the political socialization of the American public in this field; (v) the greater number (though not the greater percentage) of men in public school teaching. Membership, on the other hand, sparked demands for more economic benefits; NEA surveys bear this out. A number of vocal classroom teachers raised their voice in the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly and sparked resolutions demanding that the NEA pay more attention to the ACT, representing 85 per cent of membership. The 1957 Centennial Celebration at the same time proved to be a year of thorough self-examination for the NEA, and the extended professional services envisaged by NEA leaders of that time were eventually transformed under classroom teacher pressure into

extended economic services for membership and a greater NEA involvement in social work and politics.

II. Changes in Structure and Decision-Making

The change in organizational goals in part preceded and in part paralleled changes in the structure of the NEA. Underlying these changes is the attitudes of Classroom Teachers in the 1960's in the Representative Assembly which formally reasserted its supremacy in organizational law-making and mandated proportional representation for Classroom Teachers in the Executive Committee in 1965.

A. Changes in the Governing Structure.

1. Executive Committee. As mentioned above, in 1965, the Assembly mandated that at least one-half of Executive Committee members elected by the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly, respectively, have classroom teacher status. This factor, added to the near certainty that three other members of the Committee, president, vice-president and immediate past president would be classroom teachers, ensures a classroom teacher majority on the Executive Committee.

2. A long-standing representational grievance of the classroom teachers was removed with the abolition in 1968 of a five-man Board of Trustees which had managed the investments of the NEA and

appointed the executive secretary. These functions were transferred to the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, respectively.

3. The NEA president, from 1968 on, was given an annual salary at least equivalent to his pay as a teacher, which made the presidency into a full-time job and augmented the role of the presidency.

4. The Executive Secretary of ACT was promoted to an assistant executive secretary of the NEA, enabling her to participate in the executive secretary's "cabinet," an important group without bylaw status. Gradual delegation of authority of the executive secretary's power occurred in 1959 with the creation of the staff position of Deputy Executive Secretary, the creation in 1968 of two Associate Executive Secretaries to supervise the operations of the NEA, and the elevation of the research director to an assistant executive secretary in 1968.

5. The holding of a Constitutional Convention, to be convened in 1972, was authorized by the Representative Assembly in 1970. It will explore the whole range of organizational goals and structure.

B. Changes in the Interrelation of Governing Structures.

1. The Executive Committee at a Conference in August, 1967, met to review Assembly resolutions comprehensively for the first time and pledged itself to follow closely and promptly the resolutions of the Assembly. Previously, Assembly statements had been ignored on such issues as insurance policies for members.

2. The Executive Committee assumed more and more initiative vis-a-vis the Board of Directors from the middle 1960's on. This was partly because it was given a mandate to plan action on such issues as the integration of state affiliates in the South. In part, the new trend was due to the fact that the Executive Committee began meeting more frequently, on a monthly basis, while the Board continued to meet three times a year only. In part, the trend was sparked by more aggressive classroom teachers in the Executive Committee.

3. The previously unchallenged task of the Executive Secretary to make up agendas for the Executive Committee and Board meetings was challenged successfully by the Executive Committee in 1965, which later on proceeded to take part in formulating an agenda for the Board.

4. Staff help for the president was expanded in 1968-69 which enabled him to deal with adminis-

trative issues previously handled by the executive secretary, such as the President's schedule of tours and presidential speeches to various NEA bodies and affiliates.

C. New Organizational Structures and Programs to Reflect New Goals.

1. Urban Concerns. In line with NEA's growing attention to urban affiliates, the formation of a National Council of Urban Education Associations was not opposed in 1960 and office space was given to the new organization.

2. Human Rights Concerns. In line with NEA's new focus on human rights, a Human Relations Center was created, with a director holding assistant executive secretary status.

3. Teachers in Politics. In line with the NEA emphasis on political involvement of teachers, a new Teachers-in-Politics (TIP) program was inaugurated within the framework of the NEA Citizenship Committee organized in 1939.

4. Modernization and Increased Sensitivity of the Organization. To monitor the increased demands voiced by more militant classroom teachers, a Survey Research branch of the NEA Research Division was set up, equipped with computers.

An office of the Budget, with a Budget Director, was set up in the mid-1960's to introduce program budgeting.

An office of Convention management and coordination was set up which has speeded the elimination of perfunctory speeches and greetings by visiting dignitaries.

An Archives division was set up to allow members easier access to organizational material.

Further, an office of Organizational Planning was set up at the end of 1968 on the urging of a NEA Development Project. However, the office is thought to be a competitor for the executive secretary's office and has been poorly staffed and funded.

Finally, a Division of Legal Services was set up in 1969 to have house counsel available at all times to help review organizational problems.

4. Services to Members and Affiliates. In order to speed NEA information and expertise to local affiliates, 11 regional NEA offices have been set up in the past ten years. These regional offices, in turn, transmit local demands to the NEA.

A ~~Training~~ Academy for interested national, state and local staff was set up in 1969 for train-

ing in teacher negotiations and combatting union influence.

A computerized service to match NEA members available to openings in teaching and administrative positions was set up (NEA-Search).

A new Teacher Services Corporation was set up to handle car-leasing services to members; an Education Fund Management Corporation was set up to manage the mutual fund investments of members; and a Special Services Division was established in 1966 to handle insurance policies and annuities, and discount book purchases for members. Economic services are supervised by a NEA Committee on Special Services (established in 1967). The above services complement the already existing services of the Travel Division.

In sum, the organizational structure changes include both formal and informal redistribution of influence and the institutionalization of new goals and policies. There is also a growing complexity and decentralization of services to reflect increasing concern and involvement of members and affiliate groups.

III. Changes In External Policy

The external policy of the NEA can be divided into two parts: (a) efforts to influence domestic legislation and American public opinion, and (b) NEA activities in connection with the United Nations' educational concerns and its support for international teacher organizations.

A. Domestic Legislation and American Public Opinion.

1. The Educational Policies Commission. This agency sponsored jointly by the NEA, and the administrator's group (AASA) issued many well publicized and well received statements on key issues in American education. Its membership included many prominent public figures such as Dr. James B. Conant and Dwight D. Eisenhower. However, the EPC was terminated because its policy statements at times conflicted with both NEA and AASA policy positions.

2. The use of public media and publications. In the early 1950's, the NEA sponsored various television shows and radio programs. Today the emphasis is more on news conferences and press releases. The NEA continues to publish extensively on all kinds of educational subjects. Its journal Today's Education continues to be a leading journal in public school education. NEA has also supported

several nationwide observances such as National Education week in October.

3. In the field of national legislation, the NEA has moved from a policy of supporting general unconditional federal aid for public school construction and public school teacher salaries to supporting the concept of categorical aid (1963) and the child benefit formula (1965). In doing so, reluctantly, it has helped to break the impasse on such aid bills created by the spokesmen for private and public schools.

Paradoxically, at the 1970 Convention the NEA has reverted to its old stand of opposing all federal aid to non-public schools, but now on the theory that the present formulas might help private segregated schools in the South.

In the meanwhile since 1957 the NEA has successfully sponsored a number of public laws designed to give tax benefits or postal rate benefits to teachers and increase the federal support for scholarships and loans.

Recently, the NEA has been instrumental in extending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for two more years and in overriding President Nixon's veto of the fiscal 1971 appropriation for the U. S. Office of Education. It has also

succeeded in extending federal backing for educational television and radio.

NEA has also supported legislation affecting the quality of life: manpower, legislation, environmental control, drug abuse, and women's rights.

One major failure of the NEA has been its lack of success in obtaining the passage of a national Negotiations Law for teachers.

Thus the NEA has been drawn, reluctantly, to the support of successful federal formulas in the mid-1960's while sparking on its own several laws designed to aid teachers.

4. State legislation. In this field, NEA affiliates have been successful in obtaining the passage of several state professional autonomy laws, mostly in the West and of several public employees negotiations laws.

B. International Activities.

On the international level, NEA's role has been to (a) support the United Nations and its educational, scientific and cultural endeavors, (b) fight against the influence of Communist dominated teacher groups in both the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO) and in international teacher organizations.

An overwhelming majority of NEA members, including almost all teachers and administrators, supported NEA in this role; disputes, if any, occurred over the arbitrary selection of delegates to international conferences by the former NEA executive secretary, Dr. Carr.

1. The NEA was a moving force in the founding of UNESCO and has supported it since its inception; a high UNESCO official became the chairman of its Educational Policy Commission in 1952.

2. In 1961, the World Conference of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) which was founded largely on NEA initiative in 1952, and for which NEA has provided the headquarters space in Washington, D. C. and a secretary general in the person of Dr. William Carr (1953-1970) achieved a "relation of association and consultation" (Category C) with UNESCO. At the same time, such status was refused to a Communist led international teacher group at WCOTP's urging.

3. In 1953, the NEA, as mentioned above, was instrumental in founding the World Conference of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) as a successor organization to the World Organization of the Teaching

Profession (WOTP, founded on NEA initiative in 1946) which by 1953 contained Communist led teacher groups. The WCOTP contains no such groups and was financed in part by the Central Intelligence Agency through the Vernon Fund.

4. The NEA has been given representation on the U. S. National Commission in the United Nations, founded with State Department support to generate domestic support for the United Nations.

IV. Theoretical Conclusions

1. The two organizational dilemmas posed by Blau and Scott. The dilemmas have been indicated in the Introductory Chapter. They are (a) a decision on the kind of public the organization is going to serve, (b) for mutual (membership) benefit groups, the extent of member participation on the group's efficiency, and (c) for commonwealth organizations, the extent of control by various publics vs. organizational effectiveness.

The NEA has been moving from a commonwealth type organization to a mixed form where membership benefit aspects are accorded more and more prominence. This development can be traced to the post-1957 (centennial year) era. The change is due to, as mentioned above, to (a) non-systemic outside

factors, such as post-Sputnik examination of the public schools, increased unionization of teachers in large cities, increased number of men in the public school teaching, a growing awareness of economic injustices, and an awareness of social injustice where Negro members and Negro affiliates were concerned, (b) systemic factors such as the self-examination of the 1957 centennial year but mainly the increasing restiveness and awareness of NEA's classroom teacher group under the prodding of able leaders such as R. Wyatt, R. Batchelder, B. Alonzo and G. Fisher.

The observations of the writer make him conclude that organizational change, new goals and structure modification arise not only where a new organizational public is substituted for a previous public as postulated by Blau and Scott, but also in situations where group members who had previously accepted the role of serving the commonwealth now realize their own needs and desires and posit new directions that are serving the public less and the membership more. In the case of the NEA, this dual goal is actually written into the Congressional Charter granted in 1920.

The field work done by the writer shows clearly that after 1957 members demanded more economic

benefits from the NEA as a return for their dues, and that the executive secretary from 1952-67, Dr. William G. Carr, was reluctant to reshape the political economy of the NEA in favor of membership benefits. His reluctance was supported by a financially cautious Board of Trustees and a Board controlled then by the bureaucracy of the state affiliates or administrators. Both of these latter groups feared the increased NEA role in the welfare of teachers. The states, because they resented a control bureaucracy, and the administrators because they were unwilling to have the economic appetites of teachers aroused.

A struggle ensued in which the classroom teachers demanding more membership benefits were eventually victorious. The classroom teachers reasserted the legislative supremacy of the Representative Assembly, where they had a large majority, gained proportional representation on some governing structures, modified, abolished or added others, and achieved the integration of segregated affiliates in the South. They also demanded, successfully, increased backing of urban affiliates.

2. Modification of "Commonwealth" attributes.

The ascendancy of young economy--and social justice --minded classroom teachers in the NEA also brought

on a modification of NEA's "commonwealth" attitudes. Where in 1957 the NEA had abhorred strikes, it now moved to the concept of "professional sanctions" (withholding some teacher services) to the condoning and financial support of strikes. The older philosophy of reasoning and negotiations was displaced by varying displays of force. The new philosophy too was based on the maxim that "good teachers are for the public good!" It might be argued however that the condoning of strikes was not a public service by the NEA but a new-found support for the economic demands of membership. The increased incidence of strikes modified the prevailing concept of public school teachers as public employees who do not strike.

The support for federal aid to education has also been, traditionally, a public service of the NEA. The major modifications in this area have been the acceptance of the child-benefit theory of the 1965 ESEA Act, long opposed by the NEA on the grounds that it benefited private and parochial schools. In the wake of this act, the relationship between NEA and the Catholic legislators and educators has eased.

On the level of state legislation, NEA has been pushing, more aggressively, laws for profes-

sional autonomy and professional negotiations.

In recent years, the NEA has also urged the political activity and community involvement of its members as a public service. Consequently, NEA's lobbying efforts at Washington, D. C. have been increasingly supported by politically involved teachers at the grass-roots level.

In sum, the NEA undergoes substantial change between 1957-1970, and becomes a mixed commonwealth-mutual benefit organization. The change is brought about largely through the agency of classroom teachers.

3. Participation of publics in organizational decision-making. Turning to the second organizational dilemma posited by Blau and Scott (membership participation or control by publics vs. organizational performance), one may conclude the following:

(a) Mutual benefit aspects of this organization. Meaningful participation in decision-making by membership was made possible in the NEA as early as 1920, when the Representative Assembly was created. The amendment of the 1906 Congressional Charter and the Bylaws designate this body as the main group to transact NEA business and set the policy of the association. Therefore since 1920

there is the possibility of extensive membership participation in organizational policy-making. However, the exploitation of these possibilities does not occur until after 1957, when the Assembly restructures or modifies the existing governance to give classroom teachers--representing some 85 per cent of NEA membership--more weight in decision-making.

(b) "Commonwealth organization" aspects. The traditional NEA attitude has been to consult with various groups of the general public it serves. Consultation has not included competitive groups such as labor unions, teacher unions, Catholic educators, nor has it included until recently, social movement groups such as the civil rights and anti-segregation organizations. In the field of federal legislation, the NEA is part of an informal grouping called the "Big Six," and on educational policies in general it is part of the industry--and business-oriented Conference of National Organizations (CNO). However, the NEA has consistently rejected the implantings in its decision-making structure of an Advisory Council to be drawn from all interested publics. In this it differs from such organizations as the National Science Foundation.

The NEA has also maintained close liason with the U. S. Office of Education in the fields of policy application and research. The thesis contains interesting examples of the way NEA has regarded the Commissioner's office as its own preserve.

The reverse to the problem of allowing influence by various external publics is the consideration of NEA behavior to influence these publics. The thesis supports the conclusion that the NEA has maintained its status as an important lobby group on federal aid to education. Although its support of categorical aid and the child-benefit theory was reluctant, with consequent loss of status in the eyes of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and loss of consultative status in connection with the 1965 White House Conference on Education, it has recaptured some lost ground by its enthusiastic backing of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act in recent years. Its contribution to the August 1970 reversal of President Nixon's veto of \$4.4 billion to the U. S. Office of Education was also an important victory for the NEA.

Its recent actions show that apart from a liason with the U. S. Office of Education, it has

recognized that working with individual members of Congress, preferably key committee members, has brought more success than its efforts to influence the Executive branch directly (as was done during the Eisenhower administrations).

The NEA as of 1968, abolished the Educational Policies Commission, an important voice in public opinion formation. The vacuum left by the EPC has been only partially filled by NEA ad hoc task forces on special issues and the continuing services of the Research Division. The stress now is on increased political socialization and the political activities of teachers; the goals and assessment of public school education in this country is left to national agencies such as the U. S. Office of Education and the National Assessment of Education, federally sponsored, now in progress.

4. Organizational Adaptation. The change and renewal within the NEA goes counter to assumptions found in some texts on interests groups¹ that older organizations grow more and more conservative and averse to change; the case of the AFL-CIO is cited in this connection. The case study of the NEA, on

¹Homer Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1964), p. 81.

the other hand, shows the possibility of rejuvenation and evolution in goals in line with a more radical direction.

This process shows the invigorating effect of inter-group competition among other factors. It may be surmised that the threat of teacher unions which arose in the late 1950's forced NEA to adapt a more aggressive stance on membership benefits, urban problems and political involvement. This adaptation succeeded so well that in 1968 the United Federation of Teachers applied for merger with the NEA (the application was rejected because NEA realized its new-found strength).

The rigid stand of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, evident in the 1950's, which opposed federal aid for school construction and teacher salaries, also helped NEA to move away from its former identification with conservatism in general and ally itself with more groups and individuals willing to realign the political economy of the nation in favor of more public spending on current concerns.

5. Representation and Elitism. A question raised in the introductory chapter dealt with elitism in an organization such as NEA. Many texts assert that organizations are dominated by an active "minority." They go on to say that the

active minorities govern "virtually" and that leaders' perceptions and followers perceptions and beliefs differ widely.² The writer's observations of the NEA necessitate modifications to both of these statements. He concludes that there was an "active minority" in operation during most of the years of Dr. William G. Carr's tenure as executive secretary. Dr. Carr drew up the agendas for the governing boards, did not activate the office of the presidency, and influenced the important Resolutions and Budget Committees to about 1962. His perception of the NEA as a public service, commonwealth organization devoted to raising the standards of education and of professional service were not challenged until the late 1950's, and research surveys show that only about one-fourth of membership was dissatisfied with the state of affairs.

The small activist group led by Dr. Carr which believed in a public service philosophy could not however maintain its hold on NEA decision-making, and much less perpetuate it. In other words, the

²Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler, The Irony of Democracy (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), p. 208.

maintenance of the NEA elite dominant in the 1950's was dependent on the following factors:

(a) a determination to use power arbitrarily, at times at least, and no excessive reliance on persuasion and rational argument. Put in other words, a willingness to consolidate position by the use of political infighting, i.e., the systematic undercutting of rivals;

(b) an ability to yield on issues, temporarily at least, in order to allay fears or suspicions of the opposition. In other words, flexibility to maintain the image of the responsive leader, giving followers the impression that their wishes are being followed;

(c) a structure where the main organizational decisions can be made by one board or if there is an organizational assembly, by one subgroup made responsible for the application of general policy.

None of the above factors were available to the elite leadership of the 1950's. Dr. Carr prided himself as a rational man, and was devoted to reasonings as a key to progress; to a large extent he was sympathetic to the linguistic school of philosophy started by Bertrand Russell. He detested political intrigue, the spread of rumors and speaking about opponents behind their backs. He had a

sense of preeminence and legitimacy paralleling those of national leaders such as DeGaulle and Adenauer; he relied on these personal attributes to keep him in power. These characteristics, however, only increased an aloofness in his leadership style. They also militated against bargaining and compromise on issues he perceived as important. Consequently, his administration was marked by rationality, little use of organizational politics and little bargaining or compromise.

The NEA structure, moreover, was in the 1950's fragmented in the field of decision-making. Neither the Executive Secretary's office, nor the Representative Assembly, nor the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee, and certainly not the Board of Trustees or the permanent NEA commissions, can be regarded as the central seat of power. These offices and bodies vied for power and influence, with the result that the power base of the elite of the 1950's was uncertain and capable of shifting.

However, the real threat to a bureaucratic elite such as Dr. Carr's group lay in the Representative Assembly, where the classroom teachers, devoted to the membership-benefit philosophy to a large extent, would be dominant. The Assembly was, constitutionally, the central policy- and legisla-

tion-making body if only it chose to assert itself.

After 1957, there emerges a new militant movement of classroom teachers devoted to raising the level of teacher salaries by the use of sanctions, including strikes, if necessary; the movement wants a change in the public-service philosophy of the NEA and a move toward a mutual benefit organization, as well as one more aware of social injustices in American society. Once this new movement controlled the Assembly, the old elite would be swept aside. This control was achieved by the early 1960's and a gradual erosion of the old elite's policies and power structure follows.

It was a weakness of the old elite of the 1950's that there was no concerted effort to strengthen one body--e.g., the Executive Committee--to an extent where it could resist dictation by other governing bodies. The new movement was able to modify the old goals, to put an aggressive, member-benefit philosophy into effect, to modify the existing governing structure and force the premature resignation of Dr. Carr by 1967.

The new leadership, represented by militant teachers, has moved to consolidate its position, without the excessive use of study groups, ad hoc

committees or appeals to reason. They have institutionalized the urban and human rights groups in NEA structure, strengthened the office of the presidency, and have called a Constitutional Convention (to be held in 1972) to formalize the new situation. Although they have alienated some NEA subgroups, they have been able to compromise also. The new leadership's perceptions, after a few years of ascendancy, do not differ substantially from the views of its followers--active followers at least. A massive process of political socialization has resulted in a situation where the percentage of followers approving leadership policies is very high and is growing. Whether this situation, which calls for a high degree of statesmanship can be kept up, is somewhat problematical. The supporters of the older, service philosophy are still in the NEA, even if they have modified their views, and reactionary trends in the new movement can occur also.

V. Final Observations.

The importance of the NEA as a lobby and as a professional group influencing public opinion has not been fully exploited by political scientists. Although attention has been given to recent federal legislation in educa-

tion, the NEA's structure, evolution and goals are not well known. Yet this organization does and will play a major role in the allocation of at least 5 per cent of the federal budget,³ and a much higher percentage of state and local government budgets. Its functions also affect a vast educational materials industry in the United States. Its views on public school education continue to be heard by members of the executive and legislative branches on national and state levels, and by influential groups in this area. Then political scientists as well as practical politicians should find the present thesis to be of some help in filling a gap in the understanding of key educational associations.

³Special Analyses, Budget of the United States, Fiscal Year 1970 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 113.

APPENDICES

	<u>Page</u>
A-I: Glossary	629
NEA Departments	629
Other NEA Units and Programs	629
Other Frequently Used Abbreviations	629
A-II: NEA Executive Secretaries and Presidents	636
NEA Executive Secretaries	636
NEA Presidents	636
A-III: NEA Membership, 1965-1970	638
A-IV: NEA Membership Report, March 7, 1969	639
A-V: Number of NEA Members Needed Per One Allowed Representative Assembly Delegate in 1968.	642
A-VI: A Study of Delegates Attending the NEA Representative Assembly at Dallas, July 1-6, 1968	643
A-VII: A Detailed Breakdown of 1968 Representative Assembly Delegates by Roles	646
A-VIII: Breakdown of NEA Representative Assembly Delegates by Role 1968, 1967, 1966, 1965 and 1964	649
A-IX: Declared Orientation of Major State Dele- gations of the 1967, 1966 and 1965 Assemblies	659
A-X: Motions to Limit Debate of NEA Conventions 1964-1968	665
A-XI: Noted NEA Members on International Affairs	666
EPC Members 1943-1946	666
International Relations Committee Members 1943-1946	667

APPENDICES

Page

U. S. Delegation to London Conference on UNESCO	667
A-XII: NEA Bylaws 1969	670

A-I

GLOSSARY

I. NEA Departments (For full information see 1968 NEA Handbook, pp. 155-208)

1. AACTE American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1947)
2. AAHE American Association for Higher Education (1952, 1967)
3. AAHPER American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (1937)
4. AASA American Association of School Administrators (1870)
5. AASL American Association of School Librarians (1960)
6. ACT (also CTA DCT) Association of Classroom Teachers (formerly Department of Classroom Teachers) (1913, 1967)
7. FTA (Under ACT) Future Teachers of America (1937)
8. ADTSEA American Driver and Traffic Safety Education Association (1960)
9. AIAA American Industrial Arts Association (1942)
10. ASCD Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1929, 1946)
11. AST Association for Student Teaching (1920)
12. CEC Council for Exceptional Children (1941)
13. CTA See ACT

14. DAVI Department of Audio-Visual Instruction (1923, 1947)
15. DCT See ACT
16. DESP Department of Elementary School Principals (1921)
17. DFL Department of Foreign Languages (discontinued 1969)
18. DHE/NEA Department of Home Economics (1927)
19. DRE Department of Rural Education (1907, 1919)
20. DSN Department of School Nurses (1968)
21. DVE Department of Vocational Education (1950, discontinued 1968)
22. E-K-N-E Department of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Education (1884, 1927, 1961)
23. FTA See ACT
24. JEA Journalism Education Association (1939, 1963)
25. MENC Music Educators National Conference (1925)
26. NACUA National Association of College and University Administrators (1969)
27. NAEA National Art Education Association (1933, 1948)
28. NAES National Association of Educational Secretaries (1946, 1952)
29. NAPSAE National Association for Public School Adult Education (1953)
30. NASSP National Association of Secondary School Principals (1916)

- 31. NAWDC National Association of Women
Deans and Counselors (1918)
- 32. NBEA National Business Education
Association (1946)
- 33. NCAWE National Council of Administrative
Women in Education (1932)
- 34. NCSS National Council for the Social
Studies (1925)
- 35. NCTM National Council of Teachers of
Mathematics (1928)
- 36. NHEA National Higher Education Asso-
ciation (1969) (successor to AAHE)
- 37. NFA National Faculty Association for
Community and Junior Colleges
(1967)
- 38. NSP National Society of Professors
- 39. NRTA National Retired Teachers Asso-
ciation (1947)
- 40. NSP See NHEA
- 41. NSPRA National School Public Relations
Association (1950)
- 42. NSTA National Science Teachers Asso-
ciation (1895, 1944)
- 43. NTL - IABS National Training Laboratory In-
stitute for Applied Behavioral
Science (1952, 1962) (est. as an
independent, non-profit corpora-
tion in June, 1967)
- 44. SAA Speech Association of America
(1939)

II. Other NEA Units and Programs

- 1. CAP Centennial Action Program
(1951-1957)
- 2. CEF - NEA Committee on Educational Finance--
informs the public about problems
and trends in school financing

3. CIR (also IRC) Committee on International Relations (est. 1920) is appointed by the president
4. CPOD Committee on Planning and Organizational Development. A subcommittee of NEA Board of Directors with seven members appointed by the president subject to consent of the Executive Committee, five members from NEA Board of Directors
5. CSI Center for the Study of Instruction, focuses on curricular and instructional issues
6. DuShane Fund Est. in present form in 1968. Fund for Teachers Rights (cf. Chapter on Membership Benefits)
7. EPC Educational Policies Commission (abolished in 1968)
8. IRC See CIR
9. NASSTA National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Associations (precursor of NCSEA)
10. NCATE National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
11. NCEA National Council of Education Associations--members include presidents and executive secretaries of all state educational associations. (replaced NASSTA in 1966)
12. NCTEPS See TEPS
13. NCTR National Council for Teacher Retirement
14. NCUEA National Council of Urban Education Associations--an association of urban education associations with 1,000 or more members
15. NEA National Education Association

16. NEA-DP NEA Development Project--an outside study of the NEA organizational structure (1965-1968). Study group included R. Lippit (U. of Michigan) and Dale Zand (New York U.)
17. NEA*SEARCH Computerized Teacher--job matching service (cf. Chapter on Membership Benefits)
18. NEA-SO NEA Staff Organization--bargaining agents for NEA intermediate and lower staff members
19. NTL National Training Laboratory, independent research institute for leadership training
20. PEP Professional Expansion Program (1951-62)
21. PR&R Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission (est. 1941)--function is to establish teachers' rights and responsibilities, investigate complaints and administer the Code of Ethics
22. RA Representative Assembly
23. TEPS (also NCTEPS) National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (est. 1946) function is to raise professional standards
24. TIP Teachers in Politics--a program where field specialists aid state and local associations in organizing politically
25. TSC Teachers Services Corporation in charge of managing all teacher services programs such as car-leasing, insurance, etc. Carries out all business administration for the NEA Special Services
26. VAP Victory Action Program (1946-51). Redefined NEA Goals

Note

For abbreviations of State associations this is the procedure:

The first letter of the State

Plus the first letter of the designation of the state group, i.e. Education Association or State Teachers Association.

For example:

Ohio Education Association becomes - OEA

New York State Teachers Association becomes - NYSTA

III. Other Frequently Used Abbreviations

1. AEW American Education Week
2. AFofT American Federation of Teachers--
(see also UFT) affiliated with the
AFofL-CIO
3. ALA American Library Association
4. AMA American Medical Association
5. ATA American Teachers Association, an
umbrella organization of Negro
State Education Associations,
merged with NEA in 1965.
6. CIA Central Intelligence Agency (see
also Vernon Fund)
7. ESEA Elementary and Secondary Education
Act, passed 1965
8. FIPESCO International federation of second-
ary school teachers--Federation
Internationale des Professeurs d'
Enseignement Secondaire Officiel
(founded 1912)
9. FISE An international federation of
teacher organizations founded in
1956 under French Labor influence

- Federation International des
Syndicates d'Enseignement
10. IFTA Federation of Associations for elementary school teachers, International Federation of Teachers' Associations (founded in 1926)
 11. IRS Internal Revenue Service
 12. NAM National Association of Manufacturers
 13. NCCSEO National Council of Chief State Education Officers
 14. NDEA National Defense Education Act passed 1958
 15. NGO Non-Governmental Organization
 16. NLRB National Labor Relations Board
 17. NSBA National School Board Association
 18. PTA Parent Teachers Association
 19. UFofT United Federation of Teachers-- a New York City local affiliate of the AFofT
 20. UNESCO United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
 21. Vernon Fund Fund partly supplied by the CIA to support WOTP and WCOTP activities
 22. WCOTP World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (founded in 1952)--the NEA is a member
 23. WFEA World Federation of Education Associations (active between WWI and WWII) predecessor of WOTP

A-II

NES EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES AND PRESIDENTS

I. NEA Executive Secretaries

1893 - 1912	Irwin Shepard
1913 - 1917	Durant W. Springer
1918 - 1934	J. W. Crabtree
1935 - 1952	Williard E. Givens
1952 - 1967 (Aug. 1)	William G. Carr
1967 - present	Sam M. Lambert

II. NEA Presidents

Elected at Convention - Chaired Convention

July 1944 - July 1946	F. L. Schlagle (Kansas)
July 1946 - July 1947	Pearl A. Wonamaker (Wash.)
July 1947 - July 1948	Glenn E. Snow (Utah)
July 1948 - July 1949	Mabel Studebaker (Pa.)
July 1949 - July 1950	Andrew Holt (Tenn.)
July 1950 - July 1951	Corma Mowrey (W. Va.)
July 1951 - July 1952	J. Lloyd Miller (N. Mex.)
July 1952 - July 1953	Sarah C. Caldwell (Ga.)
July 1953-- July 1954	William A. Early (Neb.)
July 1954 - July 1955	Waurine Walker (Texas)
July 1955 - July 1956	John Lester Buford (Ill.)
July 1956 - July 1957	Martha A. Shull (Wash.)
July 1957 - July 1958	Lyman V. Ginger (Ky.)
July 1958 - July 1959	Ruth A. Stout (Kansas)

July 1959 - July 1960	W. W. Eshelman (Pa.)
July 1960 - July 1961	Clarice Kline (Wisc.)
July 1961 - July 1962	Ewald Turner (Oregon)
July 1962 - July 1963	Hazel Blanchard (Calif.)
July 1963 - July 1964	Robert H. Wyatt (Ind.)
July 1964 - July 1965	Lois V. Edinger (N. Car.)
July 1965 - July 1966	Richard D. Batchelder (Mass.)
July 1966 - July 1967	Irvamae Applegate (Minn.)
July 1967 - July 1968	Braulio Alonso (Florida)
July 1968 - July 1969 (resigned)	Elizabeth Koontz (N. Car.)
Feb. 1969 - July 1970	George Fisher (Iowa)
July 1970 - July 1971	Helen Bain (Tenn.)
July 1971 - July 1972	Don Morrison (Calif.)

A-III

NEA MEMBERSHIP, 1965-1970*

1965 - 1966	986,113
1966 - 1967	1,028,456
1967 - 1968	1,081,660
1968 - 1969	1,014, 675
1969 - 1970	1,100,155

*The NEA membership year ends May 31.

Source: NEA Handbooks, 1968-69; NEA Reporter, July 24, 1970,
p. 7.

A-IV

NEA MEMBERSHIP REPORT*
March 7, 1969

<u>State</u>	<u>Members 3/7/69</u>	<u>Members 3/7/68</u>	<u>Gain-Loss over same time</u>	<u>Members 5/31/68</u>	<u>Members Needed to equal 1967-68</u>
Ala.	16,149	20,421	-4,272	21,388	5,239
Alaska	2,861	2,447	414	2,470	Exceeded
Arizona	13,449	14,312	-863	14,381	932
Ark.	7,975	10,247	-2,272	10,304	2,329
Calif.	46,994	76,515	-29,521	83,716	36,722
Colo.	13,356	16,111	-2,755	16,122	2,765
Conn.	10,139	9,693	446	9,801	Exceeded
Del.	3,376	2,979	397	3,101	Exceeded
D. C.	1,828	2,074	-246	2,325	497
Florida	10,548	20,321	-9,773	33,359	22,811
Georgia	19,716	23,931	-4,215	25,528	5,812
Hawaii	5,869	6,934	-1,065	6,926	1,057
Idaho	6,055	7,131	-1,076	7,152	1,097
Illinois	33,833	40,545	-6,712	40,772	6,939
Indiana	28,396	32,652	-4,256	32,833	4,437
Iowa	23,430	27,266	-3,836	27,296	3,866
Kansas	23,745	25,866	-2,121	25,960	2,215
Ky.	29,826	24,191	5,635	23,346	Exceeded
La.	4,290	4,010	280	4,389	99
Maine	6,769	6,898	-129	6,900	131
Maryland	14,578	23,146	-8,568	23,132	8,554
Mass.	16,495	15,906	589	16,696	201
Mich.	35,008	65,088	-30,080	65,302	30,294
Minn.	20,568	22,464	-1,896	22,510	1,942
Miss.	5,831	5,665	166	6,124	293
Mo.	21,403	28,498	-7,095	29,354	7,951
Mont.	7,173	7,319	-146	7,350	177

A-IV (cont)

NEA MEMBERSHIP REPORT*
March 7, 1969

<u>State</u>	<u>Members 3/7/69</u>	<u>Members 3/7/68</u>	<u>Gain-Loss over same time</u>	<u>Members 5/31/68</u>	<u>Members Needed to equal 1967-68</u>
Neb.	10,871	11,417	-546	11,436	565
Nev.	4,712	4,777	-65	4,811	99
N. Hamp.	3,550	3,861	-311	3,883	333
N. Jer.	24,604	28,341	-3,737	29,199	4,595
N. Mex.	9,838	9,798	40	9,838	Equalled
N. Y.	31,165	34,321	-3,156	34,640	3,475
N. Car.	26,992	31,890	-4,898	34,751	7,759
N. Dakota	4,410	5,064	-654	5,076	666
Ohio	40,084	51,881	-11,797	52,051	11,967
Okla.	15,704	18,833	-3,129	18,867	3,163
Oregon	19,849	20,724	-875	20,907	1,058
Overseas Dep. School	1,915	2,532	-617	2,684	769
Pa.	51,477	63,023	-11,546	64,038	12,561
P. Rico	2,590	3,005	-415	3,025	435
R. I.	1,224	1,381	-157	1,491	267
S. Caro.	13,204	15,910	-2,706	15,967	2,763
S. Dakota	4,182	5,084	-902	5,104	922
Tenn.	27,390	29,725	-2,335	30,248	2,858
Texas	38,409	49,051	-10,642	49,285	10,876
Utah	8,478	11,147	-2,669	11,153	2,675
Vermont	1,798	2,202	-404	2,207	409
Va.	23,670	26,008	-2,338	26,286	2,616
Wash.	39,937	28,744	11,193	36,532	Exceeded
W. Va.	16,160	17,381	-1,221	17,465	1,305
Wisc.	14,838	17,275	-2,437	17,318	2,480

A-IV (cont.)

NEA MEMBERSHIP REPORT*

March 7, 1969

<u>State</u>	<u>Members 3/7/69</u>	<u>Members 3/7/68</u>	<u>Gain-Loss over same time</u>	<u>Members 5/31/68</u>	<u>Members Needed to equal 1967-68</u>
Wyoming	4,021	3,732	289	3,764	Exceeded
Foreign and Others	971	1,050	-79	1,097	126
Total	871,703	1,040,787	-169,084	1,081,660	209,957

These membership figures reflect losses because of a dues increase to \$15 per year.

* (NEA Archives, Washington, D. C.).

A-V

NUMBER OF NEA MEMBERS NEEDED PER ONE ALLOWED
REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY DELEGATE IN 1968

Alabama	- 72.2	Montana	- 99.3
Alaska	- 77.0	Nebraska	- 90.9
Arizona	- 72.4	Nevada	- 81.2
Arkansas	- 64.9	New Hampshire	- 96.9
California	- 50.3	New Jersey	- 47.4
Colorado	- 50.5	New Mexico	- 87.8
Connecticut	- 92.3	New York	- 82.5
Delaware	- 51.6	N. Carolina	- 40.5
D. of Col.	- 35.4	N. Dakota	-141.1
Florida	- 70.2	Ohio	- 41.2
Georgia	- 87.4	Oklahoma	- 43.9
Guam	-118.0	Oregon	- 48.8
Hawaii	- 65.9	Pennsylvania	-110.5
Idaho	- 90.0	Puerto Rico	-112.0
Illinois	- 50.9	Rhode Island	- 93.0
Indiana	- 54.8	S. Carolina	- 43.5
Iowa	- 48.6	S. Dakota	-101.9
Kansas	- 86.6	Tennessee	- 86.6
Kentucky	- 61.4	Texas	- 42.6
Louisiana	- 93.3	Utah	- 88.4
Maine	- 84.1	Vermont	- 88.5
Maryland	- 83.8	Virginia	- 41.9
Mass.	- 54.3	Washington	- 86.7
Michigan	- 47.0	W. Virginia	- 38.5
Minnesota	- 51.5	Wisconsin	- 72.4
Mississippi	- 92.8	Wyoming	- 83.6
Missouri	- 55.9	For Dep. Schs.	- 65.8

A-VI

A STUDY OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE NEA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY AT DALLAS, JULY 1-6, 1968

State	State Del. Allow. w/		Local Del. Allow. w/		Statewide & Reg'l. Allow. w/		Ex-Officio Del. Attend.	Total Del. Allow. w/		NEA Membership 5/31/68	Ratio Del. Attend. to Membership
	No. At-tend. in Brackets	in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets	in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets	in Brackets		No. At-tend. in Brackets	in Brackets		
Ala.	51 (49)	245 (147)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2	296 (198)	21,380	108			
Alaska	9 (8)	23 (12)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	32 (21)	2,464	117			
Arizona	33 (32)	114 (35)	51 (11)	0 (0)	3	198 (81)	14,340	177			
Ark.	29 (24)	109 (58)	19 (10)	0 (0)	1	157 (93)	10,297	111			
Cal.	171 (104)	916 (292)	579 (42)	0 (0)	6	1666 (444)	83,665	188			
Colo.	36 (35)	155 (67)	128 (5)	0 (0)	4	319 (111)	16,109	145			
Conn.	24 (24)	82 (34)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	106 (59)	9,784	166			
Del.	10 (9)	50 (24)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2	60 (35)	3,096	88			
D.C.	8 (5)	9 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	17 (10)	2,302	230			
Fla.	71 (45)	404 (111)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4	475 (160)	33,337	21			
Ga.	59 (56)	233 (154)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4	292 (214)	25,521	119			
Guam	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0	1 (0)	118	0			
Hawaii	18 (11)	87 (15)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	105 (27)	6,926	256			
Idaho	18 (15)	61 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	79 (24)	7,112	296			
Ill.	85 (73)	342 (114)	372 (119)	0 (0)	4	799 (390)	40,713	104			
Ind.	69 (62)	283 (98)	244 (25)	0 (0)	6	596 (191)	32,732	171			
Iowa	59 (54)	218 (139)	284 (36)	0 (0)	3	561 (232)	27,267	117			
Kansas	56 (75)	243 (159)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4	299 (238)	25,921	109			
Ky.	51 (45)	233 (92)	96 (16)	0 (0)	4	380 (157)	23,330	149			
La.	17 (17)	30 (26)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	47 (44)	4,384	100			
Maine	18 (15)	64 (21)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1	82 (38)	6,899	182			
Md.	50 (46)	228 (115)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3	278 (184)	23,109	141			

A-VI
(cont.)
A STUDY OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE NEA REPRESENTATIVE
ASSEMBLY AT DALLAS, JULY 1-6, 1968

State	State Del. Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	Local Del. Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	Statewide & Reg'l. Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	Ex-Officio Del. Attend.	Total Del. Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	NEA Member-ship 5/31/68	Ratio Del. Attend. to Membership
Mass.	37 (34)	270 (57)	0 (0)	1	307 (92)	16,678	181
Mich.	135 (129)	735 (197)	525 (6)	2	1395 (334)	65,259	195
Minn.	49 (13)	191 (35)	200 (117)	5	440 (170)	22,461	132
Miss.	20 (19)	46 (34)	0 (0)	1	66 (54)	6,123	113
Mo.	63 (52)	281 (135)	180 (17)	3	524 (207)	29,326	142
Mont.	19 (11)	55 (9)	0 (0)	1	74 (21)	7,347	350
Neb.	27 (38)	100 (57)	0 (0)	2	127 (97)	11,429	118
Nev.	14 (11)	45 (22)	0 (0)	2	59 (35)	4,788	120
N. Hamp.	12 (11)	28 (1)	0 (0)	1	40 (13)	3,876	298
N. J.	62 (26)	473 (44)	80 (3)	3	615 (76)	29,174	384
N. Mex.	24 (21)	88 (51)	0 (0)	1	112 (73)	9,834	135
N. Y.	73 (41)	329 (93)	15 (6)	5	417 (145)	34,513	238
N. Car.	78 (73)	533 (176)	247 (23)	7	858 (279)	34,733	124
N. Dak.	14 (14)	24 (16)	0 (0)	1	38 (31)	4,961	160
Ohio	108 (106)	567 (160)	588 (48)	4	1263 (318)	52,017	164
Okla.	42 (38)	237 (115)	150 (23)	1	429 (177)	18,849	106
Oregon	44 (25)	198 (24)	157 (12)	3	399 (64)	19,848	310
Penn.	132 (122)	447 (116)	0 (0)	5	579 (243)	63,976	263
P. Rico	10 (10)	17 (10)	0 (0)	1	27 (21)	3,025	144
R. I.	7 (5)	11 (0)	0 (0)	1	18 (6)	1,488	248
S. Car.	36 (32)	201 (104)	130 (14)	1	367 (151)	15,962	106
S. Dak.	14 (14)	36 (17)	0 (0)	2	50 (33)	5,093	154
Tenn.	64 (53)	285 (142)	0 (0)	3	349 (198)	30,231	153

A-VI
(cont.)
A STUDY OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE NEA REPRESENTATIVE
ASSEMBLY AT DALLAS, JULY 1-6, 1968

State	State Del.		Local Del.		Statewide & Reg'l.		Ex-Officio Del. Attend.	Total Del. Allow. w/ tend. in Brackets		NEA Membership 5/31/68	Ratio Del. Attend. to Membership
	Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets	Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets	Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets		Allow. w/ No. At-tend. in Brackets	No. At-tend. in Brackets		
Texas	102 (99)	556 (405)	488 (138)	4	1146 (646)	48,777	76				
Utah	26 (24)	100 (50)	0 (0)	1	126 (75)	11,145	149				
Vermont	8 (8)	17 (3)	0 (0)	1	25 (12)	2,204	184				
Virginia	56 (42)	316 (139)	210 (10)	4	582 (195)	26,242	135				
Wash.	77 (30)	344 (106)	0 (0)	2	421 (138)	36,504	256				
W. Va.	39 (29)	258 (55)	146 (15)	2	453 (101)	17,461	173				
Wisc.	39 (39)	151 (45)	49 (7)	2	239 (93)	17,305	186				
Wyo.	12 (10)	33 (18)	0 (0)	1	45 (29)	3,762	130				
For. Dep. Schools	0 (0)	39 (21)	0 (0)	0	39 (21)	2,565	122				
	2385 (2024)	11,151(4182)	4938 (783)	130	18,474(7119)	1,077,762*	151				

* NEA membership column does not include 3,898 in Foreign, U. S. Possessions or the associate members.

A-VII

A DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF 1968 REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY DELEGATES BY ROLES

State	Total Del. Attend.	Del. Tchrs.	Del. Supts.		Del. Prins.		Del. Coords. Supvrs. Dir.	Del. State Staff	Delegate	
			Asst.	Supts.	Asst. P. Vice P.	State Staff			Others	
Alabama	198	120	9	38	15	5	11	11		
Alaska	21	15	0	1	1	2	2	2		
Arizona	81	60	1	4	6	3	7	7		
Arkansas	133	83	11	22	7	8	2	2		
California	444	338	3	12	19	24	48	48		
Colorado	111	79	2	11	10	3	6	6		
Connecticut	59	45	0	7	4	1	2	2		
Delaware	35	23	1	4	1	2	4	4		
Dist. of Col.	10	5	0	2	0	0	3	3		
Florida	160	114	0	11	11	6	18	18		
Georgia	214	111	13	57	14	7	12	12		
Guam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Hawaii	27	17	0	5	1	2	2	2		
Idaho	24	13	0	6	1	2	2	2		
Illinois	390	254	23	43	35	11	24	24		
Indiana	191	134	0	14	20	11	12	12		
Iowa	232	163	8	23	19	12	7	7		
Kansas	238	168	6	25	15	10	14	14		
Kentucky	157	91	13	19	15	6	13	13		
Louisiana	44	23	0	16	3	1	1	1		
Maine	38	24	2	5	3	3	1	1		
Maryland	164	103	0	24	19	7	11	11		
Massachusetts	92	66	0	14	5	5	2	2		
Michigan	334	268	1	2	34	9	20	20		

A-VII (Cont.)
A DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF 1968 REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY DELEGATES BY ROLES

State	Total Del. Attend.	Del. Chrs.	Del. Supts.		Del. Prins. Asst. P. Vice P.	Del. Coords. Supvrs. Dir.	Del. State Staff	Delegate Others
			Asst.	Supts.				
Minnesota	170	136	1	9	9	2	13	
Mississippi	54	32	3	8	6	2	3	
Missouri	207	159	9	11	16	5	7	
Montana	21	16	0	1	0	3	1	
Nebraska	97	66	10	8	3	1	9	
Nevada	35	29	0	1	2	1	2	
New Hampshire	13	5	0	2	2	2	2	
New Jersey	76	48	1	8	8	5	6	
New Mexico	73	56	0	6	4	3	4	
New York	145	107	1	8	18	3	8	
North Carolina	279	183	6	58	15	7	10	
North Dakota	31	24	0	2	0	4	1	
Ohio	318	235	4	36	21	9	13	
Oklahoma	177	134	5	16	8	9	5	
Oregon	64	46	2	8	0	4	4	
Pennsylvania	243	180	5	18	21	2	17	
Puerto Rico	21	6	1	1	4	2	7	
Rhode Island	6	4	0	0	0	1	1	
South Carolina	151	83	15	32	6	6	9	
South Dakota	33	22	2	4	2	1	2	
Tennessee	198	121	8	39	20	4	6	
Texas	646	506	18	54	31	14	23	
Utah	75	54	1	9	4	1	6	
Vermont	12	6	0	3	0	2	1	
Virginia	195	107	7	43	18	10	10	
Washington	138	96	0	9	14	6	13	

A-VII (Cont.)

A DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF 1968 REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY DELEGATES BY ROLES

State	Total Del. Attend.	Del. Tchrs.	Del. Supts.		Del. Prins.		Del. Coords.		Del. State Staff		Delegate Others	
			Asst. Supts.	Supts.	Asst. P. Vice P.	Prins.	Supvrs. Dir.	Supvrs. Dir.	State Staff	State Staff	State Staff	State Staff
West Virginia	101	71	4	14	5	5	2	2				
Wisconsin	93	71	2	4	7	2	7	2				7
Wyoming	29	22	1	1	2	1	2	1				8
Foreign Dep. Schools	21	16	0	2	2	0	2	0				1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7119	4958	199	780	506	257	401					

Raymond K. Butler, Jr., Director
Division of Records

August 13, 1968

A-VIII

1968BREAKDOWN OF NEA REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY
DELEGATES BY ROLE

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
		Alabama	198	121	61	62	31
Alaska	21	15	40	2	20	4	40
Arizona	81	60	73	11	14	10	13
Arkansas	133	83	63	40	30	10	7
California	444	340	76	34	8	70	16
Colorado	111	79	71	23	21	9	8
Connecticut	59	45	75	11	20	3	5
Delaware	35	23	66	6	17	6	17
D. of Columbia	10	6	60	2	20	2	20
Florida	160	114	71	22	14	24	15
Georgia	214	111	51	84	40	19	9
Guam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hawaii	27	17	62	6	22	4	16
Idaho	24	13	54	7	29	4	17
Illinois	390	256	66	101	26	33	8
Indiana	191	135	70	34	18	22	12
Iowa	232	163	70	50	22	19	8
Kansas	238	168	70	46	20	24	10
Kentucky	154	93	59	47	30	17	11
Louisiana	44	23	52	19	43	2	5
Maine	38	24	64	10	26	4	10
Maryland	164	103	62	43	27	18	11
Massachusetts	92	66	71	19	21	7	8
Michigan	334	268	80	37	11	29	9
Minnesota	170	136	81	19	10	15	9
Mississippi	54	32	59	17	32	5	9
Missouri	207	159	81	36	13	12	6
Montana	21	16	76	1	5	4	19
Nebraska	97	66	68	21	22	10	10
Nevada	35	29	82	3	9	3	9
New Hampshire	13	5	38	4	31	4	31
New Jersey	76	49	65	17	22	10	13
New Mexico	73	56	76	10	14	7	10
New York	145	107	73	27	19	11	8
N. Carolina	279	183	66	79	28	17	6
N. Dakota	31	24	75	2	6	5	19

A-VIII (Cont.)

States	Total Delegates Attending	Delegate Teachers		Delegate Supervisors		Delegate Others	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Ohio	318	235	74	61	19	22	7
Oklahoma	177	137	68	29	16	11	6
Oregon	164	46	43	29	45	8	12
Pennsylvania	243	180	75	43	17	19	8
Puerto Rico	21	9	42	6	29	6	29
Rhode Island	6	4	67	-	-	2	33
S. Carolina	151	83	56	53	34	15	10
S. Dakota	33	22	73	8	24	3	3
Tennessee	198	121	61	67	34	10	5
Texas	646	506	78	103	16	37	6
Utah	75	55	73	14	19	6	8
Vermont	12	6	50	3	25	3	25
Virginia	195	107	55	68	35	20	10
Washington	138	97	70	23	17	18	13
West Virginia	101	71	70	23	23	7	7
Wisconsin	93	71	76	13	14	9	10
Wyoming	29	22	55	4	14	9	31
Foreign Dep. Schools	21	16	76	4	19	1	5

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1967

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegates Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Alabama	187	105	56	72	39	10	5
Alaska	20	12	60	2	10	6	30
Arizona	69	54	68	8	12	7	10
Arkansas	89	64	62	14	16	11	12
California	364	287	79	19	5	68	16
Colorado	103	73	71	21	20	9	9
Connecticut	63	51	80	8	13	4	7
Delaware	44	32	71	8	18	5	11
D. of Columbia	19	14	74	-	-	5	26
Florida	156	103	66	37	24	16	10
Guam	1	1	100	-	-	-	-
Georgia	192	105	52	76	39	17	9
Hawaii	29	20	69	7	24	2	7
Idaho	36	22	61	11	31	3	8
Illinois	406	285	71	87	21	34	8
Indiana	164	128	79	16	9	20	12
Iowa	238	166	70	54	22	18	8
Kansas	192	143	74	32	17	17	9
Kentucky	150	92	61	45	30	13	9
Louisiana	37	16	52	12	32	6	16
Maine	37	22	59	11	30	4	11
Maryland	175	111	63	44	25	20	12
Massachusetts	94	74	79	12	13	8	8
Michigan	239	219	91	6	3	14	6
Minnesota	347	286	82	43	13	18	5
Mississippi	52	27	52	21	40	4	8
Missouri	192	149	77	32	17	11	6
Montana	43	30	69	8	19	5	12
Nebraska	88	55	62	28	32	5	6
Nevada	34	26	76	6	18	2	6
New Hampshire	13	8	61	2	16	3	23
New Jersey	72	51	70	13	19	8	11
New Mexico	56	40	72	9	16	7	12
New York	146	110	75	23	16	13	9
N. Carolina	292	201	69	73	25	18	6
N. Dakota	42	34	81	2	5	6	14
Ohio	296	237	82	43	13	16	5
Oklahoma	112	75	67	27	24	10	9

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1967

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Oregon	75	60	80	11	15	4	5
Pennsylvania	239	182	81	45	14	12	5
Puerto Rico	22	12	54	7	32	3	14
Rhode Island	7	5	71	-	-	2	29
S. Carolina	162	99	61	54	33	9	6
S. Dakota	47	36	76	7	15	4	9
Tennessee	192	122	75	60	21	10	4
Texas	265	193	73	51	19	21	8
Utah	92	59	64	23	25	10	11
Vermont	13	8	62	2	15	3	23
Virginia	173	86	50	73	42	14	8
Washington	134	109	81	16	12	9	7
West Virginia	120	89	75	23	18	8	7
Wisconsin	113	89	78	20	18	4	4
Wyoming	32	26	81	5	16	1	3
Foreign Dep. Schools	24	18	74	2	9	4	17

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1966

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Other</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Alabama	190	104	55	77	40	9	5
Alaska	15	9	60	3	20	3	20
Arizona	71	55	79	10	13	6	8
Arkansas	101	61	60	27	27	13	13
California	350	264	66	36	10	50	14
Colorado	112	75	66	29	26	8	8
Connecticut	62	48	78	12	19	2	3
Delaware	40	27	68	8	20	5	12
D. of Columbia	30	21	70	4	13	5	17
Florida	340	231	77	84	15	25	8
Georgia	206	115	56	76	37	15	7
Hawaii	22	17	77	1	5	4	18
Idaho	28	19	68	5	18	4	14
Illinois	364	232	63	104	29	28	8
Indiana	197	144	73	35	18	18	9
Iowa	217	151	70	48	22	18	8
Kansas	171	120	70	34	20	17	10
Kentucky	167	97	58	52	31	18	11
Louisiana	31	14	65	12	19	5	16
Maine	44	29	66	10	23	5	11
Maryland	212	117	55	79	37	16	8
Massachusetts	108	79	73	24	22	5	5
Michigan	242	204	84	27	11	11	5
Minnesota	176	132	75	29	16	15	9
Mississippi	43	23	73	17	20	3	7
Missouri	183	129	71	37	20	17	9
Montana	31	20	64	4	13	7	23
Nebraska	74	50	68	15	20	9	12
Nevada	27	19	70	5	19	3	11
New Hampshire	13	7	54	3	23	3	23
New Jersey	113	86	76	17	15	10	9
New Mexico	56	42	75	9	16	5	9
New York	171	129	66	33	29	9	5
N. Carolina	327	211	65	96	29	20	6
N. Dakota	19	12	63	4	21	3	16
Ohio	345	274	79	58	17	13	4
Oklahoma	97	64	67	20	20	13	13
Oregon	71	51	72	10	14	10	14

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1966

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
		Pennsylvania	330	239	73	81	25
Puerto Rico	26	14	54	10	38	2	8
Rhode Island	7	4	58	2	28	1	14
S. Carolina	171	112	65	49	29	10	6
S. Dakota	35	26	74	7	20	2	6
Tennessee	209	127	60	64	31	18	9
Texas	284	199	68	68	26	17	6
Utah	77	57	74	12	16	8	10
Vermont	11	6	55	3	27	2	18
Virginia	219	108	49	91	42	20	9
Washington	119	84	71	17	14	18	15
West Virginia	140	103	74	27	19	10	7
Wisconsin	80	55	69	16	20	9	11
Wyoming	22	17	77	3	14	2	9
Foreign Dep. Schools	29	20	69	7	24	2	7

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1965

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
		Alabama	154	91	58	53	36
Alaska	18	14	78	2	11	2	11
Arizona	81	65	81	10	12	6	7
Arkansas	112	84	75	19	17	9	8
California	442	331	75	61	14	50	11
Colorado	129	91	69	31	24	9	7
Connecticut	64	49	76	12	19	3	5
Delaware	36	24	66	6	17	6	17
D. of Columbia	30	17	57	4	13	9	30
Florida	151	101	67	30	20	20	13
Georgia	172	92	53	61	35	19	11
Hawaii	48	33	70	10	20	5	10
Idaho	32	20	63	9	28	3	9
Illinois	361	245	81	95	13	21	6
Indiana	166	123	74	27	16	16	10
Iowa	200	134	66	55	28	11	6
Kansas	181	134	74	32	18	15	8
Kentucky	150	90	66	37	25	13	9
Louisiana	27	12	45	12	44	3	11
Maine	57	35	61	17	30	5	9
Maryland	180	101	57	62	34	17	9
Massachusetts	153	116	75	27	18	10	7
Michigan	254	208	82	35	14	11	4
Minnesota	203	162	80	27	13	14	7
Mississippi	45	27	65	11	24	5	11
Missouri	171	128	75	32	19	11	6
Montana	32	18	47	10	41	4	12
Nebraska	75	54	72	14	19	7	9
Nevada	31	23	74	4	13	4	13
New Hampshire	13	5	39	5	38	3	23
New Jersey	250	178	72	56	22	16	6
New Mexico	73	54	74	13	18	6	8
New York	286	235	82	40	14	11	4
N. Carolina	422	284	67	114	27	24	6
N. Dakota	30	22	74	4	13	4	13
Ohio	334	260	78	59	18	15	4
Oklahoma	136	104	77	22	16	10	7
Oregon	133	105	80	21	15	7	5

A-VIII (Cont'd.)

1965

<u>States</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Delegate</u>		<u>Delegate</u>		<u>Delegate</u>	
	<u>Delegates</u>		<u>Teachers</u>		<u>Supervisors</u>		<u>Others</u>	
	<u>Attending</u>		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Pennsylvania	349		259	71	80	26	10	3
Puerto Rico	30		19	64	10	33	1	3
Rhode Island	6		3	50	2	33	1	17
S. Carolina	140		93	66	43	31	4	3
S. Dakota	33		25	82	5	15	3	3
Tennessee	182		99	54	72	40	11	6
Texas	246		174	57	59	38	13	5
Utah	89		62	70	18	20	9	10
Vermont	15		9	60	5	33	1	7
Virginia	222		122	55	83	37	17	8
Washington	175		137	79	20	11	18	10
W. Virginia	153		114	75	28	18	11	7
Wisconsin	78		50	64	21	27	7	9
Wyoming	41		26	65	12	29	3	7
Guam	1		1	100	-	-	-	-
Foreign Dep. Schools	29		19	53	8	18	2	29

A-VIII (Cont.d)

1964

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Alabama	145	97	77	41	18	7	5
Alaska	15	10	67	3	20	2	13
Arizona	58	43	74	7	12	8	14
Arkansas	76	49	65	17	22	10	13
California	413	316	76	41	10	56	14
Colorado	126	89	70	31	25	6	5
Connecticut	44	32	72	10	23	2	5
Delaware	27	21	74	4	19	2	7
D. of Columbia	14	9	65	2	14	3	21
Florida	97	60	62	23	24	14	14
Georgia	158	90	57	59	37	9	6
Hawaii	35	21	60	9	26	5	14
Idaho	44	29	66	12	27	3	7
Illinois	347	238	79	92	17	15	4
Indiana	174	126	72	33	19	15	9
Iowa	226	148	76	62	27	16	7
Kansas	175	120	79	38	22	17	9
Kentucky	138	89	74	37	27	12	9
Louisiana	23	11	48	11	48	1	4
Maine	47	24	51	21	45	2	4
Maryland	119	61	51	43	36	15	13
Massachusetts	84	59	70	19	23	6	7
Michigan	231	179	77	39	17	13	6
Minnesota	176	118	57	46	26	12	7
Mississippi	35	20	58	11	31	4	11
Missouri	140	97	69	36	26	7	5
Montana	47	34	72	8	17	5	11
Nebraska	65	39	68	19	21	7	11
Nevada	27	21	78	3	11	3	11
New Hampshire	10	6	60	2	20	2	20
New Jersey	72	45	63	15	20	12	17
New Mexico	55	37	67	12	22	6	11
New York	140	101	72	31	22	8	6
N. Carolina	287	211	74	61	21	14	5
N. Dakota	33	22	67	5	15	6	18
Ohio	312	240	77	60	19	12	4
Oklahoma	115	69	60	36	31	10	9
Oregon	231	177	76	41	18	13	6

A-VIII (Cont.d)

1964

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Delegates Attending</u>	<u>Delegate Teachers</u>		<u>Delegate Supervisors</u>		<u>Delegate Others</u>	
		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Pennsylvania	267	190	71	70	26	7	3
Puerto Rico	12	2	17	9	75	1	8
Rhode Island	5	1	20	3	60	1	20
S. Carolina	113	71	63	34	30	8	7
S. Dakota	33	22	67	8	24	3	9
Tennessee	130	73	56	47	36	10	8
Texas	239	158	66	63	26	18	8
Utah	84	63	76	12	14	9	10
Vermont	11	6	55	3	27	2	18
Virginia	138	79	57	45	33	14	10
Washington	334	244	73	65	20	25	7
W. Virginia	96	76	86	13	7	7	7
Wisconsin	84	57	68	23	27	4	5
Wyoming	37	29	78	7	19	1	3
Foreign Dep. Schools	24	16	67	7	29	1	4

A-IX

DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATIONS AT THE 1967 ASSEMBLY*

Note: + indicates support by the state delegation
 ++ indicates the introduction of an issue by the state delegation
 - indicates opposition
 Only support or opposition by the entire delegation is noted

Major Political Issues Raised by Resolutions and Items of New Business	Major State Delegations (200 and over)					
	Ill.	Iowa	Mich.	N. Car.	Ohio	Penn. Tex.
	406	238	239	292	296	239 265

1. Federal Support of Public Education (Res. 67-4) 1.+ 1.+
2. Urban Educational Problems (Res. 67-8) 2.+ 2.+
3. Desegregation of Public Schools (Res. 67-12) 5.+
4. Fair Housing (Res. 67-13)
5. Professional Sanctions (Res. 67-16)
6. Censorship (Res. 67-21) passed with no debate
7. Staff Negotiations in Professional Organizations (Res. 67-24)

A-IX
(Cont.)
DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATIONS AT THE 1967 ASSEMBLY*

Note: + indicates support by the state delegation
 ++ indicates the introduction of an issue by the state delegation
 - indicates opposition
 Only support or opposition by the entire delegation is noted

		Major State Delegations (200 and over)					
		Ill.	Iowa	Mich. N. Car.	Ohio	Penn.	Tex.
Major Political Issues Raised by Resolutions and Items of New Business		406	238	239	292	296	265

- 8. Home Rule for District of Columbia (Res. 67-28) 8.+
- 9. Florida Sanctions (Res. 67-30)
- 10. Task Force on Human Rights (carried) 10.++
- 11. Federal Aid to Deprived Areas (carried) 11.++

* See NEA Proceedings, 1967, pp. 81, 119, 154, 159, 179, 187, 195, 202, 203, 204, 206, 224, 225, 235.

A-IX (Cont.)

DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATES OF THE 1965 ASSEMBLY*

	Major State Delegations (200 and over)											
Major Political Issues Based by Resolutions and Items of New Business	Cal.	Ill.	Iowa	Mich.	Minn.	N.J.	N.Y.	N.Car.	Ohio	Pa.	Tex.	Va.
	442	361	200	254	203	250	286	422	334	349	246	222

1. Disaster Aid to Public Schools (Res. 65-3) no discussion
2. Federal Support of Public Education (Res. 65-4) 2.+
3. Tax Deductions for Professional Expenses (Res. 65-6) no discussion
4. Disadvantaged Americans (Res. 65-8) no discussion
5. Desegregation in the Public Schools (Res. 65-12) 5.+
6. Urban Problems (Res. 65-14) no discussion
7. Professional Sanctions (Res. 65-16) 7.+

A-IX (Cont.)

DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATES OF THE 1965 ASSEMBLY*

	Major State Delegations (200 and over)
Major Political Issues Based by Resolutions and Items of New Business	Cal. Ill. Iowa Mich. Minn. N.J. N.Y. N.Car. Ohio Pa. Tex. Va.

8. Cabinet Department of
Education (Res. 65-23)

*See NEA Proceedings, 1965, pp. 142, 143, 145, 157, 159, 164, 167, 168, 187.

A-IX (Cont.)

DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATIONS OF THE 1966 ASSEMBLY*

	Major State Delegations (200 and Over)												
Major Political Issues Raised by Resolutions and Items of New Business	Cal.	Fla.	Ga.	Ill.	Iowa	Md.	Mich.	N.Car.	Ohio	Pa.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.
	350	340	206	364	217	212	242	327	345	330	209	284	219

1. Expansion of Educational Opportunities (Res. 66-3)
2. Tax Deductions for Professional Expenses (Res. 66-6)
3. Desegregation of Public Schools (Res. 66-12)
4. Censorship (Res. 66-21)
5. Teachers and Selective Service (Res. 66-22)
6. Home Rule for the District of Columbia (Res. 66-27)
7. Fair Housing (Res. 66-28)

7.+

7.+

A-IX (Cont.)

DECLARED ORIENTATION OF MAJOR STATE DELEGATIONS OF THE 1966 ASSEMBLY*

	Major State Delegations (200 and Over)												
Major Political Issues Raised by Resolutions and Items of New Business	Cal.	Fla.	Ga.	Ill.	Iowa	Md.	Mich.	N.Car.	Ohio	Pa.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.
	350	340	206	364	217	212	242	327	345	330	209	284	219

8. Support of Ending de facto Segregation (failed)

9. Support of Vietnam War (carried) 9.-

9.++

* See NEA Proceedings, 1966, pp. 135, 151, 152, 172, 188, 213, 214, 225, 227, 228, 257.

A-X

MOTIONS TO LIMIT DEBATE AT NEA CONVENTIONS

1964-1968

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Number of Motions</u>	<u>Number Failed</u>	<u>Number Proposed Per Leading State</u>
1964	18	0	5-California 3-New York
1965	29	0	7-California 3-Maryland 3-Wisconsin
1966	37	1	8-California 5-Florida 4-Maryland 4-New Jersey
1967	45	0	10-Virginia 6-California
1968	64	4	15-Florida 5-Nevada 5-Wyoming 4-Kansas 4-Virginia

Note: Florida also
seconded 11 motions
to limit debate.

A-XI

NOTED NEA MEMBERS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

I. EPC MEMBERS, 1943-1946

- A. Dr. A. J. Stoddard--Chairman till 1944, Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia.
- B. William G. Carr--Secretary.
- C. J. B. Conant, 1943-1945, President of Harvard Univ.
- D. Edm. E. Day--1943-1945, President of Cornell.
- E. Willard E. Givens--Executive Secretary of NEA.
- F. Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker--State Superintendent of Public Schools, Olympia, Washington.
- G. George D. Stoddard--State Commissioner of Education, Albany, New York.
- H. Paul T. Rankin--Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools, Detroit.
- I. Edwin A. Lee--Dean of School of Education, University of California at Los Angeles.
- J. George D. Strayer--Teachers College, Columbia University. (to 1945).
- K. Francis L. Bacon--Chairman in 1945.
- L. O. C. Carmichael--President of Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- M. Worth McClure--President of AASA 1943--Executive Secretary in 1944.
- N. Mable Studebaker--President of Department of Classroom Teachers.
- O. Paul Mort--President of Teachers' College at Columbia from 1945.

II. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS--1943-1946.

- A. Ben M. Cherrington--Chairman Chancellor of University of Denver.
- B. Mrs. Rachel Evans Anderson.
- C. Kenneth Holland--Office of Emergency-Management--Division of Cultural Relations (1945--Department of State, Asst. Division of Office for International Information and Cultural Affairs).
- D. James T. Shotwell--joined 1944--Director of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, New York.
- E. Grayson Kefauver--1943-1944 (his death)--American Council on Education.
- F. William G. Carr--1945, joined (Secretary of EPC).
- G. William F. Russell--Dean of Teachers College at Columbia University.

1947--Howard E. Wilson

III. U. S. DELEGATION TO LONDON CONFERENCE ON UNESCO*

Delegates

The Hon. Archibald McLeish--State Department.

The Hon. William Benton--State Department.

The Hon. Chester E. Merrow--Congress

Dr. Harlow Shapley--)	EPC Members (N. Y. State Commissioner of Education)
Dr. George D. Stoddard--)	
Dr. C. Mildred Thompson--)	

Advisers

Dr. Harriet W. Elliott

Mr. Herbert Emmerich

The Hon. Luther H. Evans

Mr. B. Gerig

Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver--NEA International Relations
Committee

Dr. Waldo Leland

Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn

Mr. Frank Leslie Schlagle--President NEA

Dr. George N. Shuster

Mr. Mark Starr

Dr. John W. Studebaker,--EPC, U. S. Commissioner
of Education

Secretary General

Dr. Warren Kechner

Dr. Bryn J. Hoode

Dr. Walter M. Kotsching

Technical Experts

Dr. Harold Benjamin

Mr. Eric H. Biddle

Dr. Esther C. Brunamer

Dr. George Kenneth Holland--International Relations
Committee, Asst. Director off. for International
Information and Cultural Affairs

Dr. Donald Stone

Mr. Charles A. Thompson

Press Relations Officer

Mr. Victor Weybright

Secretary

Mr. Donald B. Eddy

Mr. Richard A. Johnson

Assistant Secretary

Dr. Herbert J. Abraham

Miss Mary Stewart French

Administrative Assistant

Miss Frances E. Pringle

London, November 16, 1945

Instrument Establishing a Prep. Educational
Science and Cultural Commission. p. 97.

BYLAWS

As amended at the Annual Meeting of the
Association, July 1969

Article I--Membership

Qualifications

Section 1. Any person who is actively engaged in the profession of teaching or other educational work, or any other person interested in advancing the cause of education, shall be eligible for membership in the National Education Association of the United States, hereinafter referred to as the Association. No person, however, shall be admitted to or continued in membership in the Association who is a member of the Communist party, or who advocates, or who is a member of any organization which advocates, changing the form of government of the United States by any means not provided for in the Constitution of the United States. Any person joining the Association shall agree to subscribe to its purposes and objectives and to abide by the provisions of these Bylaws. An application for membership shall be subject to review, and may be rejected, by the Executive Committee.

Classifications

Section 2. The membership of the Association shall consist of seven classifications: Active, Life, Reserve,

Associate, Educational Secretary, Retired, and Student.

Active Members

Section 3. (a) Requirements. Any person who is actively engaged in educational work of a professional nature shall be eligible to become an active member of the Association if he (1) has an earned bachelor's or higher degree or holds a regular vocational or technical certificate and (2) where required, holds or is eligible to hold a regular legal certificate of any kind except an emergency substandard certificate or permit. Beginning with the membership year 1968-69 any new active member must also be, and remain, a member of local and state affiliated associations, where available.

(b) Continuation of Membership. Any person who was an active member of the Association for the membership year 1963-64 is entitled to continue as an active member of the Association.

(c) Rights and Dues. An active member shall be entitled to receive the Journal of the Association, to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, to serve as a delegate to the Representative Assembly, and to hold elective or appointive office. Annual dues of active members shall be \$15. Beginning with the 1970-71 membership year, dues shall be \$25.

Life Members

Section 4. Any person eligible for active membership may become a life member upon the payment of an amount in cash equal to 20 times the annual active membership dues, or 22 times the annual active membership dues if paid in equal installments over a period of 10 years, pursuant to regulations adopted by the Board of Directors. A life member shall have all rights and privileges of an active member for life and in addition shall receive Today's Education, the Research Bulletin, and the annual volume of Proceedings. Any person eligible for associate membership may become an associate life member upon the payment of the same dues as those for active life members, pursuant to regulations adopted by the Board of Directors. An associate life member shall have the rights and privileges of an associate member for life and in addition shall receive Today's Education, the Research Bulletin, and the annual volume of Proceedings.

Reserve Members

Section 5. Any person who has been an active or student member of the Association may, upon request, continue his affiliation as a reserve member during any period of time in which his employment status does not qualify him for active membership, or in which he is employed less than half time as a substitute teacher. Any graduate student who is preparing to enter service in higher education on at least

a half-time basis and whose principal occupation is that of graduate student may enroll as a reserve member.

A reserve member shall have the privilege of requesting automatic transfer to active membership at the time he resumes or assumes active status. A reserve member shall be entitled to receive such publications and services of the Association as may be approved by the Board of Directors. Reserve members shall not have the right to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, to serve as delegates, or to hold elective or appointive office. Annual dues of reserve members shall be one-half those of active members.

Associate Members

Section 6. Any person interested in advancing the cause of education but who is not eligible for active membership may become an associate member. An associate member shall be entitled to receive the Journal of the Association but shall not have the right to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, to serve as a delegate, or to hold elective or appointive office. Annual dues of associate members shall be the same as those of an active member.

Educational Secretary Members

Section 7. Any office employee in a public or private school system, college or university, county school unit, state department of education, or an educational organization may become an educational secretary member.

An educational secretary member shall have all the rights and privileges of an active member except the right to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, to serve as a delegate, or to hold elective or appointive office.

Annual dues of educational secretary members shall be \$10.

Retired Members

Section 8. Any person who has been an active member of the Association for at least five years immediately prior to retirement may become a retired member. Annual dues of retired members shall be \$2. A retired member shall have all the rights and privileges of an active member.

Student Members

Section 9. Any student enrolled in a teacher-education program in a college or university may become a Student NEA member by joining a chapter of the Student National Education Association. Annual dues of student members shall be \$2. A student member shall have all the rights and privileges of an associate member. A student member may become an associate life member upon the payment of the same dues as those for active life membership, pursuant to regulations of the Board of Directors, which membership may be converted to an active life membership when the member fulfills the qualifications for active life

membership.

Life Directors

Section 10. All Life Directors shall have all the rights and privileges of active members without the payment of annual dues and shall receive free without application or condition the publications of the Association.

Membership Year

Section 11. The membership year shall be from September 1 to August 31. Any member who is in default in the payment of dues for a period of four months shall be deemed delinquent and shall be dropped from membership.

Certificate of Membership

Section 12. The executive secretary of the Association shall furnish each member of the Association a membership certificate, declaring him to be a member of the Association for the year for which his dues are paid, and entitled to all the rights and privileges granted him by the Charter and Bylaws of the Association. Arrangements may be made with local and state affiliated associations for the issuance of an all-inclusive membership certificate, or insignia, or both.

Adherence to the Code of Ethics--

A Condition of Membership

Section 13. Adherence to the Code of Ethics adopted by the Association shall be a condition of membership. The Committee on Professional Ethics shall after due notice and hearing have power to censure, suspend, or expel any member for violation of the Code subject to review by the Executive Committee. A member may within sixty days after a decision by the Ethics Committee file an appeal of the decision with the Executive Secretary.

Expulsion and Reinstatement of Members

Section 14. The Executive Committee shall have power in cases other than ethics to censure, suspend, or expel any member for cause, after due notice and hearing. The Executive Committee shall have the power to review a hearing conducted by the Committee on Professional Ethics and to affirm, reject, or modify the decision rendered therein. However, any member who stands convicted by a court learned in the law of a crime involving moral turpitude shall be automatically suspended from membership in the Association. The Executive Committee shall have the power to reinstate any suspended or expelled member.

Cessation of Property Interest

Section 15. All right, title, and interest, both

legal and equitable, of a member in and to the property of the Association shall cease and desist in the event of any of the following: (a) suspension, expulsion, or dropping from membership; (b) death or resignation.

Article II--Officers

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be: president, vice-president (who shall be president-elect and who shall become president after one year's service as president-elect), immediate past president, treasurer, executive secretary, deputy executive secretary, Board of Directors, and Executive Committee. The officers shall perform the duties which usually devolve upon officers of such an association, together with the duties which are prescribed by the Charter and these Bylaws. The terms of officers shall begin at the close of the annual session of the Representative Assembly.

Qualifications

Section 2. A candidate for office shall have been an active or life member of the Association; of a state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia association; and of a local association, if such exists and he is eligible, for the five-year period immediately preceding his election.

Article III--Executive Officers
of the Association

Composition

Section 1. The executive officers of the Association shall be: president, vice-president, immediate past president, treasurer, and executive secretary.

Selection

Section 2. The vice-president and treasurer shall be nominated and elected by the Representative Assembly in accordance with requirements set forth in the Standing Rules. In the event of the death or incapacity of the vice-president as of the time when he would assume office as president, the Representative Assembly shall select a president to serve in his stead. The executive secretary shall be selected by the Executive Committee in accordance with the provisions of Article V, Executive Committee; Section 3 (i), Election of Executive Secretary.

Terms of Office

Section 3. The president and the vice-president shall be elected for terms of one year. The president, upon the expiration of his term, shall serve as immediate past president for one year. The treasurer shall be elected for a term of three years. The executive secretary shall be elected for a term not to exceed four years.

Powers and Duties of the President

Section 4. The president shall preside at all meetings of the Association. He shall perform the duties which usually devolve upon the chief officer of such an association and the duties which are prescribed by the Charter and these Bylaws. He shall be a member ex officio of the Board of Directors, Executive Committee, and all committees of the Association, and shall serve as chairman of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors. The president shall appoint the chairman and members of all committees of the Association, and fill any vacancies except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws and Standing Rules. The program of the annual meeting shall be prepared under his direction.

Powers and Duties of the Vice-President

Section 5. In the absence of the president at a meeting of the Association, the vice-president shall be the presiding officer. In the absence of both the president and the vice-president, a chairman pro tempore shall be elected. The vice-president shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Directors. In the event of a vacancy in the office of president, the vice-president shall become president and shall assume the duties and authority of the office.

Powers and Duties of the Immediate Past President

Section 6. The president, upon the expiration of his term of office, shall be designated the immediate past president. He shall serve on the Executive Committee for a period of one year, and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned by the president.

Powers and Duties of the Treasurer

Section 7. The treasurer shall receive and be responsible for the safekeeping of and accounting of the general funds of the Association. He shall make an annual financial report to the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly, and such other financial reports as may be required by the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee. He shall be an ex officio member of the Budget Committee with voting rights. He shall perform the other duties required of him under Article XI, Finance; Section 3 of these Bylaws.

Powers and Duties of the Executive Secretary

Section 8. The executive secretary shall supervise and coordinate the administrative, financial, and professional activities of the Association, and shall direct its employed staff in accordance with policies and procedures authorized by the Representative Assembly, Board of Directors, and Executive Committee. He shall be secretary of the Representative Assembly, the Board of Directors, and the

Executive Committee. He shall keep a record of the proceedings of stated meetings of the Association; notify officers and members of committees, commissions, and council of their election or appointment; provide assistance to committees, commissions, and council in connection with their activities; render such reports as may be required by the Representative Assembly, or by the officers and executive bodies of the Association; be the keeper of the official seal of the Association. The deputy executive secretary shall perform the duties of the executive secretary when the latter is unable to perform them because of absence or death, or when, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, the executive secretary is unable to perform said duties because of illness.

Article IV--Board of Directors

Composition

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall consist of one member from each state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia; and each such unit shall be entitled to an additional director for each 20,000 or more active and life members of the Association. The position of an additional director shall be continued for an additional term if the state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia has the required membership on May 31 of the third

year after its establishment and such determination shall be made on May 31 of each succeeding third year. Directors selected from the states, commonwealths, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia shall be known as state directors. The president, vice-president, immediate past president, treasurer, other members of the Executive Committee, and former presidents of the Association elected prior to July 1, 1937, shall be members of the Board of Directors ex officio.

Election and Term of State Directors

Section 2. Each state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia shall elect its own director or directors in accordance with procedures and safeguards provided in the Standing Rules. The term of state directors shall be for three years except that when a state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia qualifies for more than one state director, the state delegation may establish a first term of less than three years to prevent simultaneous terms. Members of the Board of Directors may not serve more than three (3) consecutive elected terms. If the position of an additional director is initially filled for a term of less than three years, the state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia shall be entitled to elect the same or another person for the unused

portion of the three-year position. All terms shall begin as of midnight on the day of adjournment of the Representative Assembly. The nominees shall be specifically designated according to position and term of office at the time of their nomination. Vacancies arising in the office of state director shall be filled upon recommendation of the state association by the Board of Directors when in session or when not in session, by the Executive Committee. Terms of persons filling vacancies shall extend to the next annual session of the Representative Assembly at which time a director shall be elected for the remainder of the unexpired term.

Meetings

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall meet in connection with the annual session of the Representative Assembly, and may hold other meetings at such times and places as may be determined by the president or by a majority of the members of the Board. Due notice of all meetings shall be given in advance of the meeting dates. Elected members from 25 states, commonwealths, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia shall constitute a quorum. The Board shall be empowered to enact rules and procedures governing the conduct of its meetings.

Powers and Duties

Section 4. (a) General. The Board of Directors shall have such powers and shall perform such duties as are prescribed in the Charter and these Bylaws. Subject in all respects to the authority and direction of the Representative Assembly, it shall have in charge the general policies and interests of the Association, except those entrusted to the Executive Committee. It shall be the duty of each state director to promote the program of the Association within his own state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia, and, to this end, to develop and maintain cooperation of state and local associations affiliated with the NEA.

(b) Election of Members of the Executive Committee. The Board of Directors, at its first meeting following the annual meeting of the Association, shall elect members from the Board of Directors to the Executive Committee for terms of two years, as required in Article V, Section 1 of these Bylaws. It shall fill any vacancy arising in the foregoing categories for the unexpired term.

(c) Annual Meeting. The Board of Directors shall determine the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association, after due consideration of recommendations made by the Executive Committee in accordance with the provisions of Article VI.

(d) Preparation of Annual Budget. The Board of Directors shall select a Budget Committee of five members from among its state directors for each ensuing fiscal year which, with the advice and assistance of the executive secretary, shall prepare and present a budget for the Association, as provided in Article XI, Section 6, of these Bylaws. The treasurer shall be an ex officio member with the right to vote.

(e) Other Fiscal Powers. The Board of Directors shall have power to determine fiscal policies and procedures governing the administration of the General Fund, except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws. In the event of a surplus in the General Fund at the close of the fiscal year, the Board of Directors, after due consideration, shall have power to make disposition of such surplus. Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Board of Directors may recommend to the Representative Assembly expenditures from the principal of the Permanent Fund, as provided in Article XI, Section 4. The Board of Directors shall review and transmit the reports of the financial condition of the Association to the Representative Assembly at its annual meeting, including the reports of the treasurer and the auditor. In addition, as of the close of the membership year, the Board of Directors shall transmit copies of these reports, or a summary of them in a form approved by the Board of Directors, to active members of the Association, to members having the

rights and privileges of active members, and to such other members as the Board of Directors may determine.

(f) Reports and Recommendations. The Board of Directors shall establish policies governing the publication of reports and proceedings of the Association. It shall receive, consider, and publish the annual reports of the executive secretary, the treasurer, and the committees, commissions, and council, and transmit the same with recommendations to the Representative Assembly. It shall outline requirements for affiliation and devise procedures for the censure, suspension, or reinstatement of an affiliated association, and shall submit them to the Representative Assembly for appropriate action. It may recommend to the Representative Assembly the creation or discontinuance of any committee, commission, council, or department. It may submit to the Resolutions Committee of the Representative Assembly such proposals as it deems to be in the interests of the Association.

Article V--Executive Committee

Composition

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of 10 members: president, vice-president, immediate past president, treasurer, two members elected by and from the Board of Directors, at least one of whom shall be a classroom

teacher, for terms of two years, one to be elected each year; and four members elected at large by the Representative Assembly, at least two of whom shall be classroom teachers, two to be elected each year. A member of the Board of Directors elected to the Executive Committee shall cease to be a member of the Executive Committee upon the expiration of his term as state director. Members of the Executive Committee shall be members ex officio of the Board of Directors. Members of the Executive Committee shall not hold office for more than three (3) elected terms.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall hold meetings at such times and places as may be necessary for the proper conduct of its business and shall be empowered to enact rules and procedures governing the conduct of its meetings.

Powers and Duties

Section 3. (a) General. The Executive Committee shall represent and act for and on behalf of the Board of Directors on all matters affecting the general policies and professional interests of the Association between meetings of the Board of Directors.

(b) Admission, Expulsion, and Reinstatement of Members. Application for membership in the Association shall be subject to review and may be rejected by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have power to cen-

sure, suspend, expel, or reinstate members pursuant to the provisions of Article I, Sections 13 and 14.

(c) Admission, Expulsion, and Reinstatement of Affiliates. Application for affiliation shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for approval or disapproval. The Executive Committee shall have power to censure, suspend, expel, or reinstate an affiliate pursuant to procedures adopted by the Representative Assembly.

(d) Annual Meeting of the Association. The Executive Committee shall make recommendations to the Board of Directors as to the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association, pursuant to the provisions of Article VI of these Bylaws.

(e) Fiscal Powers. Pursuant to policies adopted by the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee shall be responsible for the distribution of unallocated items authorized in the annual budget adopted by the Representative Assembly. It shall require adequate bonds of the executive secretary, treasurer, and such other fiscal officers as it shall determine. The Executive Committee shall administer such fiscal functions as may be approved by the Board of Directors and shall be authorized to make specific provision from NEA funds to safeguard the state program in any jurisdiction having unified dues where an increase in dues would work unusual hardship.

(f) Control of Permanent Fund. The Executive Committee shall have charge of the Permanent Fund of the Association and shall provide for the safekeeping and investing of said Fund, and for all accretions which the Association may receive by donation, bequest, transfer, or devise for deposit in the Permanent Fund.

(g) Financial Report. The Executive Committee shall make a full report of the condition of the Permanent Fund of the Association to the Board of Directors at the first regular meeting of the Board held in connection with the annual meeting of the Association.

(h) Appointments and Vacancies. The Executive Committee shall select members of commissions and council of the Association, except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws or by the Representative Assembly. Except as otherwise provided in the Charter, these Bylaws, or by the Representative Assembly, the Executive Committee shall fill all vacancies occurring in the body of officers, commissions, council, and special committees of the Association. The terms of persons filling such vacancies shall be for the unexpired term.

(i) Election of Executive Secretary. The Executive Committee shall elect the executive secretary of the Association for a term of office not to exceed four years and shall fix his compensation.

Article VI--Annual Meeting

Time and Place

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place to be determined by the Board of Directors, after due consideration of recommendations made by the Executive Committee; provided, however, that the Executive Committee shall recommend and the Board of Directors shall select only those places where it is possible to provide a maximum degree of equality for the housing, feeding, seating at meetings, and for the general welfare of all members of the Association. During an emergency, the Board of Directors may postpone the annual meeting until such time as the emergency no longer exists. In the event of such postponement of the annual meeting, all officers, members of boards, committees, commissions, and council authorized by these Bylaws shall remain in office until the close of the next annual session of the Representative Assembly.

Representative Assembly

Section 2. The annual meeting of the Association shall include the session of the Representative Assembly.

Program

Section 3. The program shall be prepared under the direction of the president of the Association.

Article VII--Representative Assembly

Composition

Section 1. The Representative Assembly shall consist of delegates selected by state and local affiliates of the Association as provided in Sections 4 and 5 of this Article. The president, vice-president, immediate past president, treasurer, executive secretary, members of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, the president or one other elective officer of each department and national affiliate of the Association, the chairman of each NEA committee, commission, and council, and the United States Commissioner of Education shall be ex officio delegates.

Qualifications and Voting Rights

Section 2. Only those having the rights and privileges of active members of the Association shall be eligible to serve as delegates or as ex officio delegates. Upon proper certification all delegates shall have equal rights and each shall have one vote.

Powers and Duties

Section 3. The Representative Assembly shall be the legislative and policy-forming body of the Association. It shall have power to elect the officers of the Association, adopt the annual budget, act on the annual reports, approve resolutions and platforms, and following consideration of the advice and recommendation of the Board of Directors may

create and discontinue committees, commissions, council, departments, national affiliates, and associated organizations and shall adopt procedure to be followed in disqualifying, censuring, or reinstating an affiliate. The Representative Assembly shall be the final judge of the qualifications of delegates, and of the requirements determining the eligibility for affiliation with the Association. It shall have the power to approve amendments to or revisions of the Bylaws as provided in Article XIV of these Bylaws, and shall adopt Rules Governing the Annual Meeting. It may conduct any other business of the Association and shall be the final authority in all matters not otherwise specified in these Bylaws.

State Delegates

Section 4. Each affiliated state, commonwealth association, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to one state delegate and one alternate for each 100 of its members, or major fraction thereof, who are active or life members of the Association, up to and including 500 members. An association shall be entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each additional 500 such members or major fraction thereof. Delegates and alternates from states requiring both NEA and state association membership of delegates to the state's

representative assembly must be members of both the state association and the NEA.

Local Delegates

Section 5. Each affiliated local association shall be entitled to one local delegate and one alternate to the Representative Assembly for each 100 of its members, or major fraction thereof, who are active or life members of the Association. When there are two or more associations in a single local, regional, or state unit to which professional educators belong, each member of such associations shall indicate the one association which is to be credited with his NEA membership for delegate purposes. A local association may retain or transfer its NEA delegate representation to the state education association and may designate the type of representation the state shall select. Delegates and alternates from states requiring both NEA and state association membership of delegates to the state's representative assembly must be members of both the state association and the NEA.

Selection of Delegates

Section 6. The procedure for the selection of delegates in a state or local affiliated association shall be determined by the active, life, and retired Association members in the affiliate.

Apportionment of Delegates

Section 7. Apportionment of delegates to the Representative Assembly shall be based on the number of active, life, and retired members of the Association in the respective affiliates as of May 31 of the current year. The executive secretary shall notify all state and local affiliates as to the number of delegates to which they are entitled.

Seating and Quorum

Section 8. The Representative Assembly shall adopt procedures for the proper seating of delegates, alternates, and non-delegates. A majority of the accredited delegates, representing not less than 25 states, commonwealths, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia whose delegates have been seated, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Article VIII--Standing Committees, Joint Committees, Commissions, and Councils

Establishment

Section 1. Following consideration of the advice and recommendation of the Board of Directors, standing committees, joint committees, commissions, and council may be established and discontinued by the Representative Assembly.

Programs and Activities

Section 2. The programs and activities of committees, commissions, and council shall be subject to policies set forth by the Representative Assembly, and to such interpretations of these policies as may, from time to time, be developed by the Board of Directors. The executive secretary shall be responsible for coordinating the staffs of committees, commissions and council in order to achieve a maximum degree of efficiency.

Selection of Members

Section 3. The president of the Association shall appoint the members of the standing committees, including the chairmen except that appointments to the Committee on Professional Ethics shall be approved by the NEA Executive Committee. Unless otherwise provided by the Representative Assembly, members of commissions and council shall be selected by the Executive Committee. Each commission and council shall select its own chairman. Except as otherwise provided by the Executive Committee, the terms of members of committees, commissions, and council shall begin at the close of the annual session of the Representative Assembly.

Standing Committees

Section 4. Unless otherwise provided by the Representative Assembly, each standing committee shall consist of

five members, one to be appointed each year for a regular five-year term. No member shall serve successive regular terms.

Joint Committees

Section 5. Joint committees may be established with other organizations having interests in common with those of the Association. Unless otherwise provided by the Representative Assembly, such joint committees shall consist of 10 members, five appointed by the president and five by the other participating organization. Members representing the Association shall serve for overlapping five-year terms, and shall not be eligible for successive appointments.

Commissions and Councils

Section 6. Unless otherwise provided by the Representative Assembly the number, method of selection, and tenure of members of commissions and council shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Vacancies and Attendance

Section 7. Vacancies occurring on a committee, commission, or council shall be filled for unexpired term in the same manner as original appointments. Absence of a member from two consecutive meetings of a committee, commission, or council, except for approved reasons, shall constitute grounds for the Executive Committee to declare the position vacant.

Reports, Recommendations, and Resolutions

Section 8. Each committee, commission, and council shall submit an annual report of its activities, together with its recommendations, to the Board of Directors for transmittal to the Representative Assembly, and may submit to the Resolutions Committee of the Representative Assembly such proposals as it deems to be in the interests of the Association. The form and publication of reports of committees, commissions, and council shall be subject to review by the Board of Directors.

Article IX--Affiliated Associations

Eligibility and Qualifications

Section 1. A professional education association may become affiliated with the Association upon approval of the Executive Committee. An affiliated association shall agree to subscribe to the purposes and objectives of the Association, and to abide by the provisions of these Bylaws and the requirements of eligibility established by the Representative Assembly. An association shall be qualified for continuous affiliation unless disqualified. Pursuant to procedures recommended by the Board of Directors and established by the Representative Assembly, the Executive Committee shall have power to approve, censure, suspend, expel, or reinstate an affiliated association as provided in Article V, Section 3(c), of these Bylaws.

Classes of Affiliates

Section 2. Affiliates of the Association shall consist of two classes: State and Local.

State Affiliates

Section 3. The state education association or associations in any state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia shall be eligible for affiliation with the Association and shall be designated as state affiliates. Such affiliates shall be entitled to representation at meetings of the Representative Assembly as provided in Article VII, Section 4. The annual dues of a state affiliate shall be \$25. State affiliates shall receive such publications of the Association and such services as may be approved by the Board of Directors.

Local Affiliates

Section 4. Any local professional education association located within a city, county, or other local school administrative unit of any state, commonwealth, the Overseas Education Association, or the District of Columbia shall be eligible for affiliation with the Association and shall be designated as a local affiliate. In addition any association recognized as a local unit by a state affiliate shall be eligible for affiliation. A local professional education association shall be interpreted to mean any local organization of educators whether its membership is open to

all professional educators, or all classroom teachers, or all administrators within the jurisdictional boundaries of the organization, or to all members of a university or college staff. Such affiliates shall be entitled to representation at meetings of the Representative Assembly as provided in Article VII, Section 5. The annual dues of a local affiliate shall be \$5 provided, however, that in unified dues states the affiliation fee shall be waived for local associations. Local affiliates shall receive such publications of the Association and such services as may be approved by the Board of Directors.

Charter of Affiliation

Section 5. The Association shall furnish each affiliate with an appropriate charter of affiliation.

Article X--Departments, National Affiliates, and Associated Organizations

Establishment

Section 1. Departments, national affiliates, and associated organizations of the Association may be established to carry forward professional programs of general or special interest in fields of education which are in keeping with the objectives of the Association. A department, national affiliate, and associated organization may be established, upon recommendation of the Board of Direc-

tors, by a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly, provided that a written application shall have been presented and formal notice given at the preceding session of the Representative Assembly. Such application, which shall be filed with the executive secretary, shall state the purposes and name of the proposed department, national affiliate, or associated organization and shall be signed by at least 250 members of the Association, distributed among at least 25 states, commonwealths, the Overseas Education Association, and the District of Columbia. The Board of Directors, before recommending the establishment of such new groups, shall consider whether the field of interest proposed is already provided for by the Association.

In the order of their establishment prior to July 1, 1968, the departments, national affiliates, and associated organizations are American Association of School Administrators; Vocational Education; Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Education; Music Educators National Conference; National Business Education Association; American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation; National Science Teachers Association; Rural Education; Classroom Teachers; Women Deans and Counselors; Elementary School Principals; Audio-visual Instruction; National Council for the Social Studies; American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education; National Association of Secondary School Principals; Association for Supervision and Curricu-

lum Development; Council for Exceptional Children; Home Economics; National Council of Administrative Women in Education; National Art Education Association; Speech Association of America; Journalism Education Association; American Industrial Arts Association; Higher Education; National Association of Educational Secretaries; National Council of Teachers of Mathematics; National School Public Relations Association; National Retired Teachers Association; National Association of Public School Adult Education; American Association of School Librarians; American Driver and Traffic Safety Education Association; Foreign Languages; Student Teaching; School Nurses.

Each organization affiliated as a department of the Association as of July 1, 1968, and within one year after that date, shall have the privilege of designating its choice of classification as defined in Section 2 below and will be so designated in Article X, Section 1.

Each new group applying for affiliation after July 1, 1968, shall indicate its choice of classification as a part of its initial petition.

Types

Section 2. The three classifications shall be department, national affiliate, and associated organization.

(a) Department

(1) Constitution and Membership. The constitution of a department shall be consistent with the Charter

and Bylaws of the Association, commit the department to support the program of the Association, and be subject to review by the Board of Directors of the Association. Each department shall have the right to fix qualifications of its members, providing that all department members who are eligible for active membership in the Association shall be required to be Association members.

(2) Finances and Dues. A department may be financed by a budget allocation from the Association and/or may levy separate dues. Annual financial reports of departments shall be subject to audit by the Association.

(3) Headquarters. A department shall maintain its principal office at the general headquarters of the Association. The Association shall provide office space and, in addition, make available to the department services in accordance with the policies applied to all units which are integral parts of the Association.

(4) Reports. Each department shall file with the executive secretary of the Association an annual report of official actions and such other information as may be requested.

(5) Governance. A department shall name one representative to the Association's Board of Directors, and the Association's Board of Directors shall name one representative to the department's official executive body, both of whom shall be nonvoting representatives.

The president or other elected officer of the department shall be an ex officio delegate to the Representative Assembly of the Association. The president of the Association shall name as an ex officio delegate to the legislative body of the department one member of the Association who is also a member of the department.

(6) Discontinuance and Change of Classification. A department may be discontinued by a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly of the Association upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, provided such recommendation shall have been presented at the session of the Representative Assembly preceding the session at which action is to be taken. The Board before recommending discontinuance of a department shall, upon request, provide opportunity for a hearing.

A department, upon a year's notice and opportunity for NEA's Board of Directors to hold an inquiry, may discontinue its affiliation by a two-thirds vote of its legislative body.

A department may transfer to another classification upon a majority vote of its governing body and a majority vote of the NEA Board of Directors.

(b) National Affiliate

(1) Constitution and Membership. A national affiliate shall adopt a constitution or bylaws which shall be consistent with the Charter and Bylaws of the Association

and which shall be subject to review by the Board of Directors of the Association. Each national affiliate shall require by its governing rules that each elected officer be a member of the Association providing said officer is eligible for active membership in the Association and that the national affiliate promote and urge membership in the Association. The Association shall promote and urge that each member join national affiliates for which he is eligible.

(2) Finances and Dues. A national affiliate may levy membership dues for the purpose of supporting its program.

The Executive Committee of the Association may authorize additional funds to a national affiliate under the terms of conditions of the Association's annual budget and may require a report of activities supported by the expenditures of such funds.

(3) Headquarters. A national affiliate shall maintain its principal office at the general headquarters of the Association, unless otherwise authorized by the Board of Directors of the Association; amount and cost of space and other services to be negotiated between the Association and the national affiliate, said agreements to be in writing and signed by both groups.

(4) Reports. Upon request, each national affiliate shall file with the executive secretary of the Association

an annual report of official actions and such other information as may be requested.

(5) Governance. The president or other elected officer of the national affiliate who is also an active member of the Association shall be an ex officio delegate to the Representative Assembly of the Association. The president of the Association shall name as an ex officio delegate to the legislative body of the national affiliate one member of the Association who is also a member of the national affiliate.

(6) Discontinuance and Change of Classification. A national affiliate may be discontinued by a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly of the Association upon recommendation of the Board of Directors provided such recommendation shall have been presented at the session of the Representative Assembly preceding the session at which action is to be taken. The Board of Directors before recommending discontinuance of a national affiliate shall, upon request, provide opportunity for a hearing.

A national affiliate may transfer to another classification upon a majority vote of its governing body and a majority vote of the NEA Board of Directors.

The right of a national affiliate to discontinue its affiliated relationship to the Association is recognized.

(c) Associated Organization

(1) Constitution and Membership. An associated organization shall be an independent organization whose goals, objectives, constitution, and bylaws are compatible with the Association, said constitution being subject to review by the Board of Directors of the Association to determine compatibility only. The associated organization will agree to promote the Association program to the degree it is consistent with its own program.

(2) Finances and Dues. An associated organization may levy membership dues. It may negotiate with the Association for financial and accounting services.

The Association and/or its integral units may enter into cooperative projects with an associated organization.

(3) Headquarters. An associated organization may negotiate with the Association for amount and cost of space and services including insurance and retirement benefits for its employees, said agreements to be in writing and signed by both groups.

(4) Reports. Upon request, each associated organization shall file with the executive secretary of the Association an annual report of official actions and such other information as may be requested.

(5) Discontinuance and Change of Classification. An associated organization may be discontinued by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Directors of the Association provided the associated organization has been proffered an opportu-

ity for a hearing. Such action by the Board of Directors is to be subject to review by the Association's Representative Assembly at its next annual meeting.

An associated organization may transfer to another classification upon a majority vote of its governing body and a majority vote of the NEA Board of Directors.

The right of an associated organization to discontinue its affiliated relationship to the Association is recognized.

Relationships

Section 3. The Board of Directors of the Association shall be responsible for the establishment of policies and procedures to facilitate cooperative relationships among all departments, national affiliates, and associated organizations and with the Association.

Article XI--Finance

Fiscal Year

Section 1. The fiscal year of the Association shall be June 1 through May 31. Beginning in September 1970, the membership year shall be September 1 through August 31.

General Fund

Section 2. The General Fund of the Association shall consist of the income from the receipt of dues from members and affiliates, interest on bank deposits and investments of general funds, fees, receipts from advertising and sales of

Association publications or services, and any other funds received by gift, bequest, devise, or transfer to the Association for General Fund purposes. Fiscal policies and procedures, not otherwise provided for in these Bylaws, may be adopted by the Board of Directors.

Receipts and Disbursements--General Fund

Section 3. All monies paid to the General Fund of the Association shall be turned over to the treasurer, who shall hold said monies in safekeeping. The treasurer may designate a deputy to perform such duties as he may delegate to him. Monies shall be disbursed only by checks and other written orders to depositories signed by the executive secretary or any person designated by the executive secretary and countersigned by the treasurer or any person designated by the treasurer.

Permanent Fund

Section 4. The Permanent Fund shall consist of the properties and permanent investments of the Association, together with any other funds or properties received by gift, bequest, devise, or transfer for deposit in the Permanent Fund. The Permanent Fund shall be in charge of the Executive Committee, which shall provide for the investment and safekeeping of such Fund including the right to invest such funds for the improvement of properties by way of additions and replacements, or for the purchase of new properties. All

other expenditures from the principal of the Permanent Fund shall be made only upon a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly, after the proposed expenditure has been approved by the Board of Directors, and after printed notice of the proposed expenditure has appeared in the Journal of the Association at least two months prior to the meeting of the Representative Assembly. The income from the Permanent Fund shall be used only to meet the cost of maintaining the Association and of publishing the annual volume of Proceedings, unless the terms of the gift, bequest, or devise shall otherwise specify, or the Bylaws of the Association shall otherwise provide.

Receipts and Disbursements--Permanent Fund

Section 5. All monies or other assets payable to the Permanent Fund shall be turned over to the Executive Committee. Disbursements from the Permanent Fund shall be made only upon written orders of the president and secretary of said Committee.

Annual Budget

Section 6. The annual budget of the Association shall be prepared under the direction of the Budget Committee for presentation to the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors, after review and approval thereof, shall direct the printing of the proposed budget for presentation to the Representative Assembly. At the annual meeting, prior to the

first meeting of the Assembly, the Budget Committee shall hold one or more open hearings on the proposed budget. The adoption of the budget, including any amendments thereto, shall be by vote of the Representative Assembly on the last day of its session.

Auditing Committee

Section 7. Not later than 90 days before the end of the fiscal year, the president shall appoint an Auditing Committee, consisting of three active members of the Association, no one of whom shall be a director. To this committee shall be referred the report and audit of the expert accountant or accountants, as provided in Section 8 of this Article, and the Committee shall refer its findings to the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly.

Financial Reports

Section 8. An annual report of the General Fund, including income and expenditures for the fiscal year, shall be prepared under the direction of the treasurer. An annual report of the Permanent Fund shall be prepared under the direction of the Executive Committee. An annual audit of all the funds of the Association shall be made by an independent auditing agency appointed by the president whose findings shall be transmitted to the Audit Committee and be printed in the annual financial reports to the Representative Assembly. All financial reports shall be reviewed by

the Board of Directors prior to the meeting of the Representative Assembly, and shall be transmitted to that body for final action. The Board of Directors shall have power to establish procedures governing the preparation and rendering of interim reports of the Association's finances for review by the Executive Committee.

Article XII--Standing Rules and Parliamentary Procedures

Authorization of Standing Rules

Section 1. Supplementary rules and regulations may be adopted by the Representative Assembly and shall be designated as Standing Rules. These shall include Standing Rules Governing the Annual Meeting, which may be supplemented by rules for a particular annual meeting adopted by the Representative Assembly at such meeting.

Parliamentary Procedures

Section 2. Robert's Rules of Order, Revised, shall be the authority governing all matters of procedure not otherwise provided in the Charter, these Bylaws, the Standing Rules, or the Rules Governing the Annual Meeting.

Article XIII--Bylaws and Rules Committee

Section 1. There shall be a Committee on Bylaws and Rules consisting of five members, for terms of five years,

one to be appointed annually by the president. This committee may render advisory opinions involving interpretation of these Bylaws and Rules when requested to do so by the officers of the Association. The Committee shall be responsible for considering and proposing, from time to time, such revisions of the Bylaws and Rules as may be deemed in the interest of the Association. The Committee shall perform such other duties as may be required under the Standing Rules.

Article XIV--Amendments

Amendments to the Bylaws

Section 1. These Bylaws may be amended at a meeting of the Representative Assembly by a two-thirds vote if the proposed change shall have been presented in writing to the Committee on Bylaws and Rules and read by title at the preceding annual session and the text of the proposed change shall have been printed in the convention Proceedings and in the Journal of the Association at least 60 days in advance of such session, or if unanimous consent is given for taking a vote without such advance notice. Amendments to the Bylaws may be so presented only (a) by the Bylaws and Rules Committee, or (b) with the concurrence of at least two state or other authorized delegations in the Representative Assembly evidenced in each case either by a majority vote of the delegation at a regularly called meeting of the delegation

held in connection with the annual meeting or by a petition signed by a majority of the members of the delegation, or (c) by petition of any 50 accredited delegates.

Amendments to the Standing Rules and Rules

Governing the Annual Meeting

Section 2. Standing Rules may be amended at a meeting of the Representative Assembly (a) without notice by a two-thirds vote or (b) by a majority vote if the proposed change shall have been presented in writing to the Committee on Bylaws and Rules and read by title at the preceding session and the text of the proposed change shall have been printed in the convention Proceedings. Amendments to Standing Rules may be so presented only (a) by the Bylaws and Rules Committee, or (b) with the concurrence of at least one state or other authorized delegation in the Representative Assembly evidenced either by a majority vote of the delegation at a regularly called meeting of the delegation held in connection with the annual meeting or by a petition signed by a majority of the members of the delegation, or (c) by petition of any 25 accredited delegates. Rules Governing the Annual Meeting, other than Standing Rules, may be amended by a majority vote of the Representative Assembly without notice.

Voting and Effective Date

Section 3. In voting on all proposed amendments to

the Charter and Bylaws, printed ballots shall be used. Unless otherwise provided, all amendments or revisions of the Bylaws shall take effect immediately upon their adoption.

Withdrawal of Amendments

Section 4. A proposed amendment to the Bylaws or the Standing Rules may be withdrawn, with the consent of the Representative Assembly, at the request of sponsors of the amendment, in accordance with the following provisions. If the amendment was presented by the Bylaws and Rules Committee, the request for its withdrawal must be made by that Committee. If the amendment was presented by one or more state delegations, the request must be made by all of those state delegations, evidenced in each case by a vote of two-thirds of the delegates voting at a regularly called meeting of the delegation held in connection with an annual meeting and a certification of such vote to the Bylaws and Rules Committee, or by a petition submitted to the Bylaws and Rules Committee, and signed by two-thirds of the delegates from the state. If the amendment was presented by petition of individual delegates, the request must be made by a petition submitted to the Bylaws and Rules Committee and signed by two-thirds of the delegates by whom the amendment was presented.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

	<u>Page</u>
I. Primary Sources	725
A. NEA Publications (Books, Journals and Pamphlets) for General Circulation	725
B. Newsletters, Press Releases and House Bulletins of NEA and NEA Departments	733
C. Reports, Working Documents, Position Papers and Surveys	737
D. Unpublished Files, Memoranda, Letters and Addresses	741
E. Interviews	745
II. Secondary Sources	746
A. Books	746
B. Professional Journals and Periodicals	747
C. Newspapers	749
D. Publications of the Government and Other Organizations	750
E. Unpublished Materials	752
III. Comparative Literature	754

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