

and which has been remarked on often before: friendliness. To one who drives down the highway for the first time, it seems that here in California there are no neighborhoods, no communities, no possibility of the development of a sense of mere distinctive localness—let alone the associated virtues of neighborliness, parochial interest, and local pride. Yet never have I been in a country where so high a value was put on sheer friendliness. In exactly the same measure that conditions seem to make it impossible, the Americans *are* good neighbors, *are* community-minded, *do* busy themselves with good works locally, *do* hail by their first names their neighbors of a few weeks' standing, *are* friendly to one another and to strangers.

It almost seems that America is a vast, deliberate exercise of the will. There is something frightening in the thought, for we have the belief that the will never acts but against its own counterimage, and that the more forcefully it is exerted the less secure is the equilibrium it has imposed.

One begins to suspect that if these people weren't so deliberately exerting themselves to be "good" and friendly Americans, there'd be nothing to stop California from declaring war on Oregon, people ramming their cars into one another all over the highways, the radio announcers screaming obscenities over the air, and the whole thing going up in a smash of asphalt, concrete, shining metal, toppling TV aerials, and broken packages of frozen foods.

YET the fact that the fantasy presents itself in this form shows exactly how much of a fantasy it is. Not that American society is without its own tensions, which could become critical, like those of any other society; but rather that the use of the word "will" in this connection—despite its attractions—is misleading. Perhaps one should confine oneself to saying that the American need to be explicit about social aims and relationships seems at this time, here in California, an attempt to deal with the central problem of community in a mass society. There have been worse attempts to solve that problem.

Teachers in California: 'He Who Can, Must'

JOSEPH STOCKER

ONE September evening back in 1951, a commentator named Jimmy Tarantino broadcast a provocative tidbit over a San Francisco radio station. He said that one Fern Bruner, a teacher in the nearby town of San Lorenzo, had been "reported" to him as being a Communist or a Communist sympathizer.

Aroused parents demanded that she be fired out of hand. But Fern Bruner said she wasn't "guilty." Her superintendent held his ground and called on the California Teachers Association to look into the matter.

C.T.A., equally concerned with protecting its members from defamation and protecting the schools from subversion, made a detailed investigation. After satisfying itself that Fern Bruner was not a Communist sympathizer, C.T.A. filed a slander suit in her name against Tarantino, the radio station, and its manager. The jury awarded the teacher damages totaling \$55,125. The radio station and C.T.A. finally settled for \$34,685. Tarantino went off the air and eventually wound up in prison, convicted of trying to extort money from various San Francisco interests on threat of "exposing" them.

Fern Bruner was widely applauded in California for having had the courage to stand and fight. But the real hero of the case, as one newspaper put it, was the California Teachers Association. For C.T.A. had made it abundantly clear that trouble awaited anyone who impugned the loyalty of a teacher without getting his facts straight.

'We Can't Buy Prestige'

That the teachers of California value such services is attested by the fact that more than eighty-three thousand—or nearly all of them—belong to C.T.A. It is the largest state teachers' organization in the country, and is open to teachers at all levels of education, including those in colleges and universities. It is one

of the most potent forces in California.

The members are particularly appreciative of C.T.A.'s efforts to bring dignity and status to a vocation that has been notoriously deficient in both. It has reached this goal partly by winning job security for teachers and rescuing them from economic oblivion. But that's not all. For C.T.A. operates on the principle that material reward alone cannot elevate teaching to the level of a true profession, that a high degree of professional responsibility and strenuous self-discipline are just as important.

"Our philosophy is never to help a member just to be helping him but to help the whole profession," says the Association's executive secretary, Arthur F. Corey. "We can't buy or force prestige for teachers. It has to be earned."

By thus earning public respect for their profession, Corey and the members of C.T.A. hope eventually to help purge our language of Shaw's tired adage—the one that goes: "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches." So long as this stigma persists, C.T.A. holds, too many talented people will shy away from teaching, and the supply of teachers will therefore be inadequate for the job of manning America's rapidly expanding school systems.

IN CALIFORNIA the old chestnut has already been amended to read: "He who can't teach *mustn't* teach." Even as C.T.A. fights to safeguard the jobs of good teachers, it fights just as hard to safeguard public education by getting rid of the bad ones.

Among the bad ones it has helped to root out of California's school system was a high-school coach in a small town. His football teams did win most of their games, but that was the sum of his contributions to the school. He ignored an equally

important part of his job—providing physical education for boys whose beef-and-muscle quota wasn't enough to get them on the football squad. He was twice admonished on that score by his school board, and twice he indignantly disregarded the admonition. To make matters worse, he countermanded the disciplinary measures of other teachers and tried to turn the pupils against the superintendent. The school-board members finally decided unanimously that the coach had to go.

The result was a community hulabaloo. A student strike broke out. School windows were broken. Rocks were hurled at the superintendent's house. The strike lasted two and a half days. On the third day a group of anxious citizens asked C.T.A. to come in and try to settle the fuss.

C.T.A. conducted an exhaustive investigation and found that the school board's charges against the coach were entirely valid. It turned in a report indorsing his dismissal. The community cooled off. The coach, defeated but still indignant, left teaching for good.

IF THE INCIDENT had occurred twenty-five years earlier, the coach might not have taken it so hard. In those days California teachers' salaries were such as to make cotton picking seem only a trifle less promising as a lifework. Since then, however, C.T.A. has led a concerted and continuing campaign to make the vocation more lucrative—and thus more dignified.

The effort has been remarkably successful. California's educational salaries are among the highest in the country. The current estimated average for teachers, principals, and supervisors is \$5,250, which puts California second only to New York (\$5,700) and far above the national average (\$4,330). The average for classroom teachers is \$5,150, which is again second only to New York (\$5,550) and well above the national figure (\$4,220).

California teachers are also entitled by law to sabbatical leave, bereavement leave, and cumulative sick leave. And their retirement benefits have been greatly increased. It was C.T.A. that sponsored these measures in the legislature.

In recent years, moreover, C.T.A.



Arthur F. Corey

has sponsored constitutional amendments to help California keep pace with a population growth so great as to require a new thirteen-room school every day. The voters approved the amendments, providing millions of dollars for new classrooms in needy districts and state aid to education. At the base of the whole structure is a constitutional guarantee giving the schools first claim on state revenues—even ahead of the governor's salary. C.T.A. sponsored that one, too.

WHERE the taxpayers leave off in providing tangible benefits for teachers, C.T.A. itself takes over, along with its six regional and semi-autonomous sections. For instance, the Association runs its own placement service, which finds jobs for about a thousand teachers a year. It sells group automobile insurance to its members at forty per cent below going rates. Its southern section, based at Los Angeles, maintains a \$5-million credit union, offering low-interest loans to teachers, and an \$800,000 home for retired members. It also operates a corporation to invest money for teachers and a purchasing service through which they may buy, at discounts, everything from vitamins to cars. These agencies are run by special boards, elected by the four-hundred-member governing council of the southern section, and their undertakings are subject to meticulous review at meetings of the council several times a year.

Finally, there's a welfare bureau

in C.T.A.'s southern section to help teachers in distress. It is surprisingly flexible and human in its approach. Recently a San Diego teacher had to retire because of ill health. Her retirement pay was enough to sustain her, but it left nothing for luxuries. C.T.A.'s welfare bureau heard about her plight, and every month thereafter the teacher received a twenty-five-dollar check, with explicit instructions that it be spent only on cosmetics, taxi fare, and theater tickets. She kept on getting these checks until she died.

The Question of Tenure

Some years ago C.T.A. persuaded the state legislature to enact a strong teacher-tenure law. It requires that disputed charges of incompetency be proved in court before a teacher can be fired. The law applies to all teachers who have been on the job three years in the larger school districts.

But while teacher-tenure laws protect competent teachers from cavalier dismissal, they also tend to protect incompetent teachers. A teacher's competency is often a matter of individual opinion, and incompetency is difficult to prove. Judges, being lawyers and not experts in education, often find it difficult to reach decisions in the cases that come before them.

C.T.A. began to realize all this as the years went by and as tenure laws came under increasing attack, both in California and elsewhere. It realized, too, that the law's shortcomings were providing ammunition for those who opposed tenure on principle. "We couldn't continue to justify tenure unless we were willing to discipline ourselves," a C.T.A. official told me. "And we couldn't do that unless we were clothed with legal authority."

Recently, therefore, Arthur Corey and the C.T.A. went back to the legislature and persuaded it to pass another law which provides that the judge in a teacher-tenure case may call on C.T.A.—or any other qualified teachers' group—to set up a professional panel. The panel, with scrupulous impartiality, investigates the teacher's fitness and then submits a professional opinion in court.

This is a legal prerogative that doctors and lawyers have had for a

long time. Now the law gives teachers the same professional recognition and responsibility. The net effect is an official recognition that teaching is a profession in California. In this respect the state is unique.

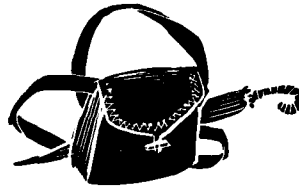
A LONG WITH protecting good teachers and helping to weed out bad ones, C.T.A. makes sure—in so far as it is able—that only competent people enter teaching in the first place. Of course, the ultimate licensing of teachers is a state function in California, as elsewhere. But before the licensing of teachers comes the education of teachers, and here C.T.A. can and does have a say. One of the Association's many divisions is a Commission on Teacher Education. Its mission is to improve standards for the preparation and screening of teachers before they enter classrooms. It works closely with professors in the colleges of education, most of whom are themselves members of C.T.A. Whenever a workable plan for raising teaching standards is devised, C.T.A. sponsors the necessary legislation. Thus, despite California's insatiable appetite for teachers (it needs fifteen thousand new ones every year), its standards for teaching have remained high.

'I Guess I'm a Zealot'

Arthur Corey considers all this self-discipline a clear gain in C.T.A.'s crusade to win public respect for teaching and teachers. The Association, founded in 1863, had forty-one thousand members when Corey took the helm and already was a factor to be reckoned with in California affairs. But its objectives consisted solely of getting better pay and more security for teachers. Corey felt it was time for C.T.A. to raise its sights. He wanted to lift it from a run-of-the-mill teachers' lobby to a truly professional organization, on a level with state bar associations and medical societies.

In the process of building respect for the profession, Corey has won a fair share of personal respect for himself. "If Corey is for something, it must be O.K.," a teacher remarked not long ago. And a member of the C.T.A. staff, choosing his language carefully, has said, "I evaluate Arthur with a term I rarely use—greatness."

Corey, himself a former school teacher, is a tall (six-foot-three), rather homely, and vigorous man of fifty-four. When he talks about C.T.A. his words spill out in a torrent, and his eyes, behind rimless spectacles, become brighter than usual. "I guess I'm kind of a zealot," he has said. "Everybody tells me I



am, anyway. When I go after a thing, I get pretty excited about it."

E DUCATION has been Corey's ruling passion ever since he came of age. Born in Pennsylvania, he moved to California in his teens and enrolled at Whittier College, a Quaker school. He became deeply and permanently infected by the Friends' social conscience and carried it with him right on up to the California Teachers Association.

Corey's first teaching job, in a small southern California community, paid him \$1,800 a year. Then he became the principal of another school and went from that to still another district as superintendent. Shortly afterward, he was appointed assistant superintendent of Orange County.

During the depression, he went to work for the Federal Forum Project in Washington. Returning to California, he joined C.T.A.'s staff as director of public relations for the southern section. Soon he was promoted to executive secretary of the section. Then, on the retirement of Roy Cloud, who had been the state executive secretary for twenty years, Corey moved into the top spot. His appointment came from C.T.A.'s state board of directors, which, in turn, is chosen by a representative state-wide governing council. The council meets twice a year, and the board appoints an executive secretary every four years. Corey has been reappointed twice and is now completing the first year of his third term.

His predecessor, Roy Cloud, whose zeal for the well-being of teachers and teaching was no less than

Arthur Corey's, had picked up C.T.A. when it was little more than a speechmaking society. An able lobbyist, he pushed through a formidable list of measures to start rescuing teachers from economic limbo. Corey took it from there. He persuaded the membership to increase the dues and thus boost C.T.A.'s income to a million dollars a year. He quadrupled the staff.

O NE OF the ways Corey sought to bring dignity to teaching was by giving teachers a rightful say in matters that hitherto had been considered none of their business. What, for example, should be taught in the schools, and how should it be taught? In many states, this is an area ruled exclusively by teachers' colleges, school boards, and administrators. But C.T.A. says the teachers should also have a voice in it. "There are more community fights over what's being taught than over the cost of education," Corey has explained. "A teacher may get into trouble for talking about UNESCO or for not teaching the alphabet until the second semester. If she cites her college professor as her authority, it's not enough. But if she cites the professional standards of her group—in this case C.T.A., with its nearly ninety thousand members—it carries real weight."

The Association has accordingly spoken out a number of times on questions that perpetually plague both teachers and parents. One was the question of whether controversial issues should be taught in the schools. There were many in California, as in other states, whose answer was a flat "No." (They feared the poisoning of susceptible young minds.) But C.T.A.'s answer was a firm "Yes." (It argued that democracy will go sterile unless students are given a chance to examine all sides of controversial subjects.) The result is that when a teacher opens up the touchy subject of Communism for an objective discussion, he knows that he has the support of his entire profession.

During the UNESCO uproar in Los Angeles, C.T.A., although it didn't take part in the controversy, repeatedly affirmed its support of UNESCO, and, for that matter, of the entire U.N. It also affirmed the teachers'

responsibility to teach about them. And the school board's final decision—however halfhearted and reluctant—was to let teachers go ahead and discuss these “dangerous” topics.

ANOTHER phase of Corey's expanded program for C.T.A. is helping the schools and their teachers to establish rapport with the taxpaying public. Teachers are urged, for instance, to take an active part in community affairs and generally to conduct themselves so as not to bring discredit on their profession. “A teacher,” says Corey, “must be a good citizen as well as a good teacher.”

Accordingly, the private life of a teacher may come under C.T.A.'s scrutiny, as it did in the case of a woman who found herself hopelessly in debt. She was a fine teacher but she just didn't know how to handle money. She owed hundreds of dollars to merchants all over town, and the credit standing of all teachers in the community suffered as a result. The school hated to fire her, but something had to be done.

A C.T.A. man had a talk with the teacher, who readily agreed to an arrangement whereby her pay checks were turned over to a local bank which gave her a living allowance and applied the rest to paying her bills. In two years she was out of debt, and she still has her job.

Sniffles and Realpolitik

But C.T.A. doesn't permit itself to become so engrossed with teachers' public relations that it forgets to keep its political and economic fences in good repair. Whenever the legislature meets at Sacramento, two full-time C.T.A. lobbyists are on hand to protect the interests of schools, students, and teachers. It would appear that they do their work with rather more than average efficiency. In a recent legislative session, every major bill proposed by C.T.A. passed. And in the session before that, not a single bill opposed by the teachers got through except where objectionable provisions had been deleted.

C.T.A. is particularly attentive to obscure and seemingly harmless measures that actually portend trouble for the schools. During one session, a legislator introduced a bill to

exempt tuna boats from local property taxes. C.T.A. decided it was a bad precedent. If tuna boats were exempt, other enterprises might be exempt, and that would reduce the tax base for operation of the schools.

The sponsor of the bill was dismayed. “How come you folks are interested in fish?”

“Well,” replied the C.T.A. lobbyist in a reasonable tone, “they travel in schools, don't they?”

The tuna bill died in committee.

On the loyalty-oath issue, C.T.A. was somewhat less adamant. It opposed any loyalty oaths that specifically singled out teachers. But when a measure came up to require such an oath of all public employees, and neither the state employees nor organized labor raised their voices against it, C.T.A. decided to take no stand. The McCarthy storm was then at its worst, and it was felt that opposition to the loyalty oath would imperil various pieces of essential school legislation. With no large-scale opposition, the loyalty oath passed.

Looking back on the episode, C.T.A. leaders now admit that they aren't very proud of their compromise. At the same time, they aren't prepared to say that they wouldn't do the same thing again, given the same climate and the same set of circumstances.

In any case, they feel that C.T.A. did a good deal better by itself in a more recent episode in San Francisco. The local school board voted

the political activities of teachers after school hours.

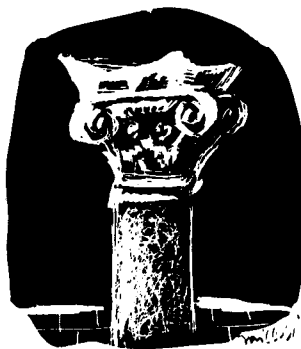
AS BUSY as C.T.A. is with affairs of state, lesser and more homely matters are just as likely to send it into action. Once it was a stove in a two-room mountain school whose two teachers complained that it didn't work right and they couldn't get anybody to fix it. The children were catching the sniffles. C.T.A. persuaded the appropriate officials to have the stove repaired forthwith.

It was this lively concern for the welfare of children that also set C.T.A. to prying into the case of a neglected school in a west-central California ranch district. The school consisted of several abandoned Army barracks. Classrooms were crowded. Drinking fountains were bad and the plumbing was worse. The school was attended mainly by the children of migratory farm workers, and people who don't vote tend to have no voice in making up municipal budgets.

But C.T.A. had a voice, and a loud one. It prevailed upon the ranchers to pay more attention to the school. Then it prevailed upon the school board to submit a bond issue. The bonds carried and a new school was built. It has good drinking fountains, commodious classrooms, and splendid plumbing—all in all, as snappy a school as you'll find in California.

THESE practical, down-to-earth concerns are an essential part of Arthur Corey's belief that teachers must apply themselves to the advancement of education in every one of its many aspects if they are to win public acceptance as a true profession.

Corey's ambitions for the teachers of California do not stop there, however. “As long as we have to beg teachers to come in on a catch-as-catch-can basis, we won't get good teachers,” he says fervently. “The social significance of teaching in a free society will permit us to be satisfied only with a climate which clearly recognizes teaching as *the* pre-eminent profession. We want it to be a profession which will inspire our finest young people to say, ‘Can I teach? Do I have what it takes? If I can, then I must.’”



to restrict the political activities of teachers. C.T.A.'s people protested, but in vain. They debated whether to have recourse to the courts and decided that this, too, might be futile. So they introduced a bill in the 1955 legislature. It passed, and California now has a law that prohibits school boards from restricting

Mr. Macmillan Charts a Course

ALASTAIR BUCHAN

ONE EVENING toward the end of the last war, while on a brief leave from France, I wandered into my London club in search of a more appetizing meal than the prevailing diet of Spam and cheese. At the long center table, an alert shortsighted man was holding forth.

His words were producing a chorus of disbelief and exasperation. "You none of you seem to realize," he was saying with an expansive gesture which sent a wineglass flying, "that the shape of the world is altering before our eyes. When this is over, Britain is going to be a very small power compared with Russia and America." The heavy portraits on the walls of two centuries of British statesmen and soldiers seemed to shift in their frames. "Oh, I know they treat us as equals at the moment, but that is largely due to Winston," he went on. "Wait till the world returns to normal. America is going to have an economy that is twice as powerful as it was. Ours will never fully recover. America is going to be the only country powerful enough to lead the western world, whether we like it or not. The only question is whether we will have any influence with her. If we have got any sense we will accept the second place gracefully and dovetail our brains and experience with their power and energy. Be to them what the Greeks were to the Romans in the later Empire. If we can do that we shall have more influence that we have ever had."

To his listeners, their minds concentrated for more than five years on the job of defeating Germany, the only country they had been brought up to think capable of challenging Britain's position as a great power, these views seemed unorthodox to the

point of disloyalty. From a hazy memory of prewar literary parties, I could place the speaker as a publisher, but his name eluded me. I made a *sotto voce* inquiry of a companion. "Winston's representative at Eisenhower's headquarters," I was told. "Might know what he is talking about. Harold Macmillan."

TODAY Harold Macmillan, as Her Majesty's Prime Minister, has to shoulder the principal responsibility for the very problem on which he was expanding that night twelve



years ago. For never in the postwar years have the diminished proportions of British power and influence been more nakedly apparent than since the debacle of Anglo-French intervention at Port Said and the ignominious cease-fire that followed it. To awaken suddenly to the fact that Britain is on the shortest of leading strings from the United States, and to be isolated by all except a handful of traditional friends at the United Nations, has been a powerful shock to even the most complacent Britons.

For the past decade, it has been a politicians' platitude that Britain's unique position in the world rests

on the fact that it stands at the conjunction of three overlapping circles: NATO, the Commonwealth, and Europe. For the time being, even the most sanguine supporter of the Conservative government admits that these three circles are badly out of alignment in relation to each other and to London.

The Centrifugal Commonwealth

Take the Commonwealth first. The Eden government's action in issuing an ultimatum to Egypt and Israel without informing, let alone consulting, the Commonwealth governments struck at the principal reason why these countries value their association with Britain. The interchange of confidential information with London is balm to the smaller nations and is a stronger cement than the increasingly less valuable imperial economic preferences. Pakistan, India, and Ceylon inevitably condemned the Suez action. Canada, which has steadily tried to reinforce its Commonwealth connection during the years of Far Eastern crisis as a counterpoise to American brinkmanship, was caught at its weakest point by this outbreak of British brinkmanship and had to stand aloof. Mr. Nehru and President Eisenhower have since then found it easier to talk face to face than through the medium of Britain. Even New Zealand and Australian officials resent bitterly in private the way in which their compliance and loyalty on this and every issue have been taken for granted in Whitehall.

The picture of London addressing Washington on equal terms by reason of its leadership of a united Commonwealth embracing five continents—an image that did have some reality during the Korean and Indo-China crises—is hardly convincing nowadays.

Cautious Europe

And the second circle—Europe? The most cherished dream of the Conservative right wing is that Britain should become the leader of Europe and build a third force that would counterbalance Russian and American power. "Are we to be more, or less, closely tied to America by our foreign policy?" asks Angus Maude, one of the more literary-minded