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VOLUME 6 – NUMBER 4 – WINTER 72 – 73

SCHOOLS

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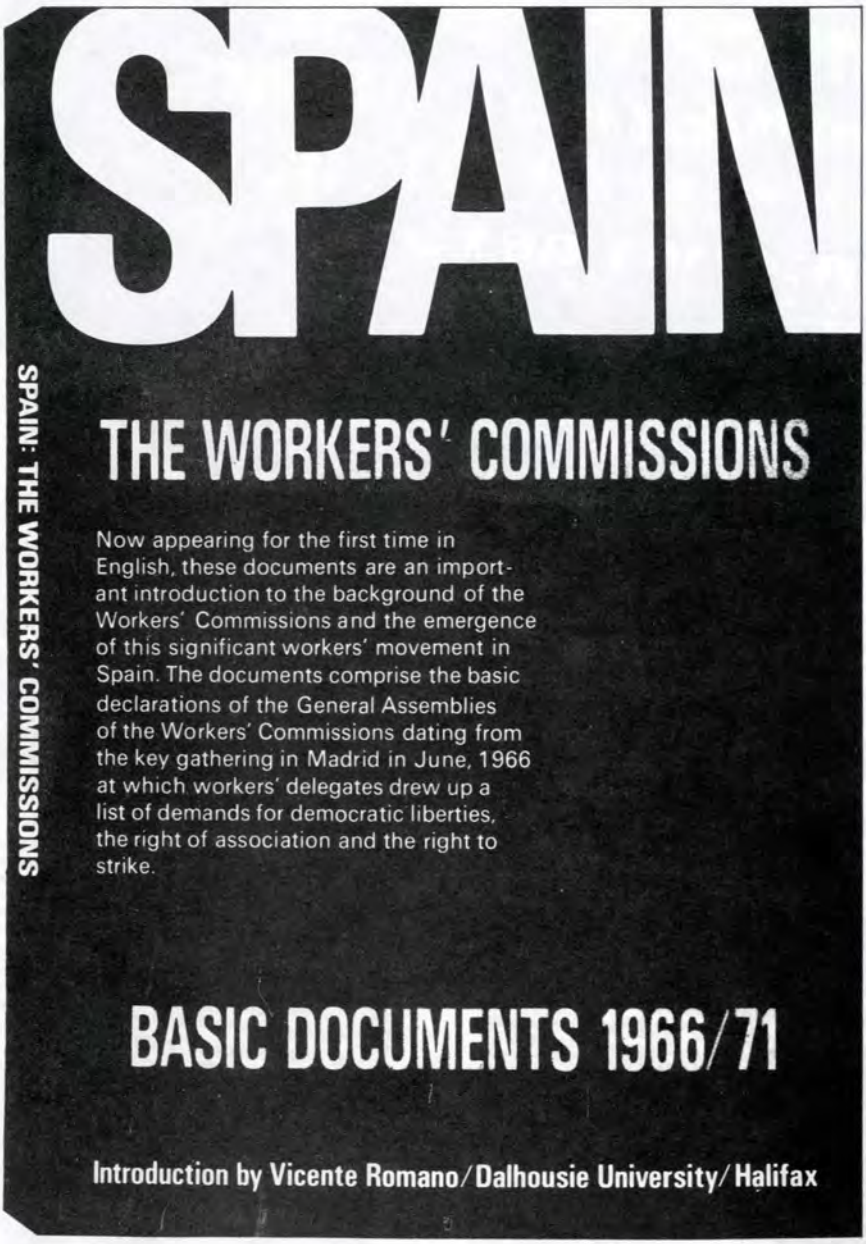

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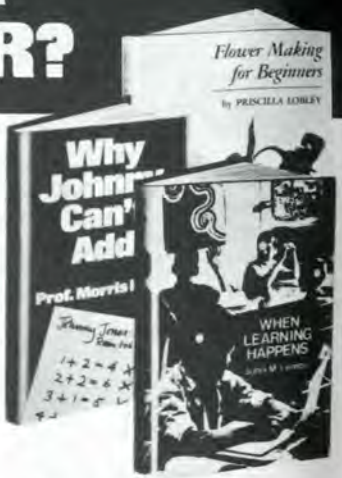

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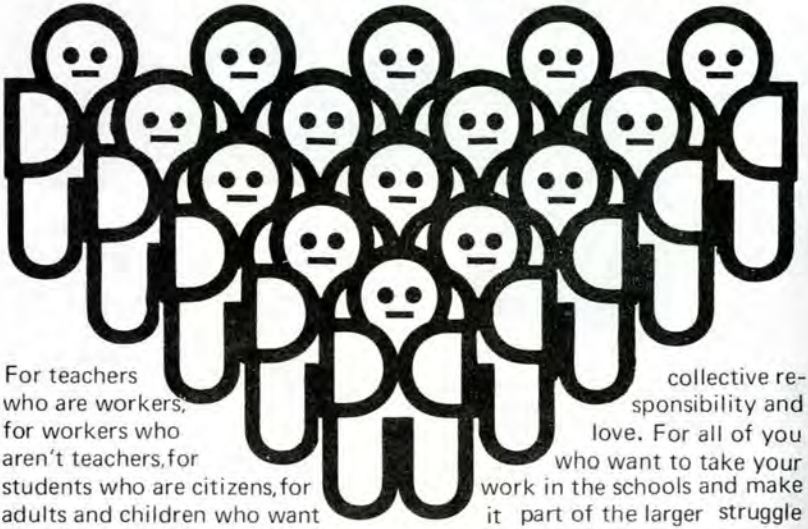

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Layout	Uwe Peikert
Printing	Bryant Press

Second Class Mail Registration No. 0699. Published by The Everdale Place.
Subscription rates: In Canada; 1 year $4.00, 3 years $11.00
In USA; 1 year $4.50, 3 years $12.00
All Institutions: $6.00 per year
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THIS MAGAZINE *is about*...

JOHN HOLT
308 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116

November 26, 1972

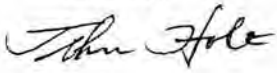
Editors, THIS MAGAZINE

Readers of your magazine, being fairly well informed about life and politics in the U.S., must know that the American working class, or at least American organized labour, is as pro-war, as militarist, as pro-big business, as anti-conservationist, as undemocratic and anti-democratic, as greedy, and as corrupt as any other part of our society. Nowhere in American life can a worse man be found than Tony Boyle, head of the United Mine Workers, who in his campaign against those who would clean up the union and make it responsive to the needs of the members has the strong support of most big labor leaders.

Is it so different in Canada? Have you reason to believe that as the Canadian working class gets more power it will use it more wisely, generously, and justly than has its counterpart in the States? Why does this still seem to so many of your writers the magic answer to our social problems?

It might be wise to consider how and why the working class in the States became, to the degree that it has, a political ally of the extreme right, and to consider how this might be forestalled or prevented in Canada. Otherwise you are probably in for severe and bitter disappointments.

Sincerely,



John Holt.

Editorial Notes

A REPLY TO JOHN HOLT

Dear John,

You've covered so many prejudices, it's hard to know where to begin.

Has Archie Bunker really captured the American liberal analysis of the working class?

Clearly the differences between our countries mean something here. In Canada it is impossible for a liberal to place organized labour to the forefront of reaction. In Quebec, for example, no one could have missed the 11 day Common Front strike, bringing together all government workers (including teachers), which paralyzed the province and shook its social foundations to their roots. And in English Canada there is the growing strength of an independent union movement led by leftists, expressed both in militant strike action and in rank and file breakaways from the American "internationals". Furthermore, when you turn to the *established* labour bureaucracy in this country, you find it supports a Social Democratic party (the NDP), which is officially "anti-war" (even though Canada has a very large per capita war industry providing a lot of jobs), "anti-big business"(David Lewis ran his last federal campaign on the theme of

"Corporate Welfare Bums"), "pro-conservationist", and more "democratic" than any other major political party in the country. We don't want to oversell the NDP here. On the major questions of American imperialism and the building of a socialist society the NDP offers no solutions and is badly compromised by the power of American labour within its upper echelons. Nevertheless, the party exists on the parliamentary left, and trade unionists play a dominant role in it.

In Canada the unions are clearly not "as greedy and corrupt as any other part of our society". That statement is also false for the States, although with the American unions, operating as they do at the centre of a vicious world empire, their leadership has been much more thoroughly co-opted than their Canadian counterparts. But whatever the differences between our countries, the statement is untrue for either of them, and it seems to us, John, you should know that.

When it comes to corruption and greed the unions are no match for the great corporations, which daily exploit this country and its working people (as well as the American working people) and in whose interests American military and intelligence operations continue their butchery of the Third World. Squandering funds and rigging votes, however despicable, are not to be compared with the massive waste of our natural resources or with the oppressiveness of work and the corruption of a whole society that is part of the process of capitalist production. Union violence cannot be matched with genocide or even with officially sanctioned domestic murder. The Oakland Police probably kill more blacks in the run of a year, than workers have been killed in internal union battles in the last 20 years. As a world criminal Tony Boyle is nowhere in the same league as Nelson Rockefeller.

Instead of equating union and corporate evils, it's far truer and much more useful to look at the labour movement -- in whatever country -- from the understanding that unions emerged out of the repression of a working class by a ruling class. Unions began as defensive organizations, attempting to push back their oppressors on the limited, though central, issues of wages and working conditions. In no sense were they strong enough -- as is still the case today -- to state their own conditions for a good society and to act on that vision. Great courage and suffering were required for even the smallest gains.

The unions have been shaped by this history of repression (and later co-option as their strength grew). Under enormous pressure early socialist ideals for winning a classless society gave way to narrow

(and sometimes corrupt) business unionism. Many individual leaders caved in. The ruling class was simply too strong, maintaining not only tight control over the means of production, but also thorough domination of the State and ideological apparatus used to re-inforce their already overwhelming power: Parliament or Congress, the government, the army, the police, the courts, the civil service, the schools,social and welfare agencies, the churches, the media. If we are to find a way for the working class of our two countries to fight back -- to win power -- the history of this oppression (as part of the larger history of working class organization) must be understood, if it is to be successfully resisted. If that's what you mean by "considering how and why the working class in the States became, *to the degree that it has* (our italics), a political ally of the extreme right", we agree here, but that's not at all how your letter sounds.

What it sounds like to us is the product of a despairing liberal ideology with an added touch of new-left piety -- a stance, we should add, *This Magazine* has been guilty of in the past.

At the centre of this kind of despair, it seems to us, is the equating of the working class with the unions as they presently operate. Certainly it's an equation your letter tends to make as you move from listing the evils of "organized labour" to asking whether, once in power, the "Canadian working class" will act "more wisely, generously, and justly" than the union gangsters of America. If the first point we want to make in this letter is to ask you not to equate the wrong-doing of the unions with that of the corporations, the second is to say that the unions themselves are not the working class. A clear distinction must be made between the two, if only because no more than a third of the working class is actually organized, and of those are, only a small minority play an active role in the development of union policy.

With the necessity of this distinction in mind, we can get to your central question: Why do we believe a Canadian working class in power is something socialist here should be working toward? Won't they be just as bad rulers as the old ones? A quick answer is to say that for us such organizing implies that working class people -- the vast majority of our citizens -- are involved in a vigorous democracy, not only at various levels of government, but also on the factory floor, in business and government offices, and in social institutions as well, particularly the schools. The struggle -- and it's a continuing one -- is to bring power into the hands of the people, not to develop a new ruling class. We think people are quite capable of taking on that responsibility, and will learn the skills necessary to wield it in the

struggle required to get it -- a "revolutionary education". A lot of those people are going to be blue-collar workers.

In putting our faith in the Canadian working class -- focussing in this instance on blue-collar workers -- and in stressing the distinction between organized labour and the working class generally, we're not trying to make out that the repression and co-optive devices that have warped the structure of the unions have not taken their toll of the individual members of the working class. Of course, they have. For simple survival workers must learn to work in what is mostly a meaningless job situation for them, and one in which they are powerless to control even the most elementary working arrangements. At work all that counts is the boss's profit. Off the job, they must live in a society where the same logic of profit dominates, destroying the cities, ruining the countryside, undercutting life at every turn. And on top of this oppression and the alienation it generates, workers must then deal with a barage of corporate ad men (not necessarily on TV) building new -- and expensive -- illusions of escape into private pleasure. Alongside this consumer pressure, workers must further deal with the constant denial of their own history, the fragmentation of their daily experience, the destruction of their means of public communication. They are offered instead the history and experience of the country's ruling class -- increasingly American -- manufactured by its media.

The Canadian blue-collar worker has been badly hurt in this process, as we have all been hurt in different ways, depending largely on the money and freedom we have for what escape routes there are. No question about that. But there is also no question that this is no time for moralizing. In these circumstances, that is only a short step from the old social worker game of "blaming the victim". It is now a question of finding the means of recovery and a strategy for fighting back. As someone who once understood "how children fail", we would have expected you to have had enough sympathy for the nature of class oppression to have avoided the easy sarcasm of "magic answers", and to have understood something of the growth of socialist consciousness in an honest working class struggle. To have understood the potential there.

To say that the Canadian working class has been hurt is one thing. To imply, as you seem to, that they are probably incapable of fighting back and creating a better society is another. The implication neglects, it seems to us, the whole experience of anti-imperialist working class revolutions in the Third World (You might read William Hinton's *Fanschen)* and it overlooks the particular history of the

Canadian labour movement, in both French and English Canada, where in spite of the losses and the times when the militants have been repressed, the struggle for a socialist society has consistently been maintained. It neglects also the growing consciousness of all Canadians (including blue-collar workers) of a national community worth preserving, a consciousness which increasingly links a patriotic fight for national survival with the necessity of socialism.

Further, it seems to us, that the blue-collar work force of this country must be at the *centre* of the struggle -- though they won't be alone -- against our corporate ruling class, now overwhelmingly American. For a number of reasons:

1. They are the largest and most cohesive sector of the workforce.

2. Together with their unemployed brothers and sisters, they have the most to gain from a radical distribution of power.

3. They operate the means of production, and have the power to bring it to a stop, if they so chose, forcing the "invisible" ruling class to the bargaining table to deal with broad social issues as well as with wages and working conditions.

4. In industrial countries like our own blue-collar workers are also quite capable of taking over production and running it themselves as part of a larger socialist movement. That's particularly important in a colonized country like Canada where our managerial class is largely on the other side of the border.

5. Blue-collar workers are also the group most capable of seriously resisting the regular army and the police.

6. Finally, the struggle for Canadian independence -- which is inherently a socialist struggle against the imperialism of American corporations -- engages the blue-collar worker more directly than any other segment of the population. With U.S. domination of the Canadian economy, our industrial workers face increasing plant shut-downs, the export of their jobs through massive resource sales, and the growing absence of new jobs as most of our investment capital passes into American hands.

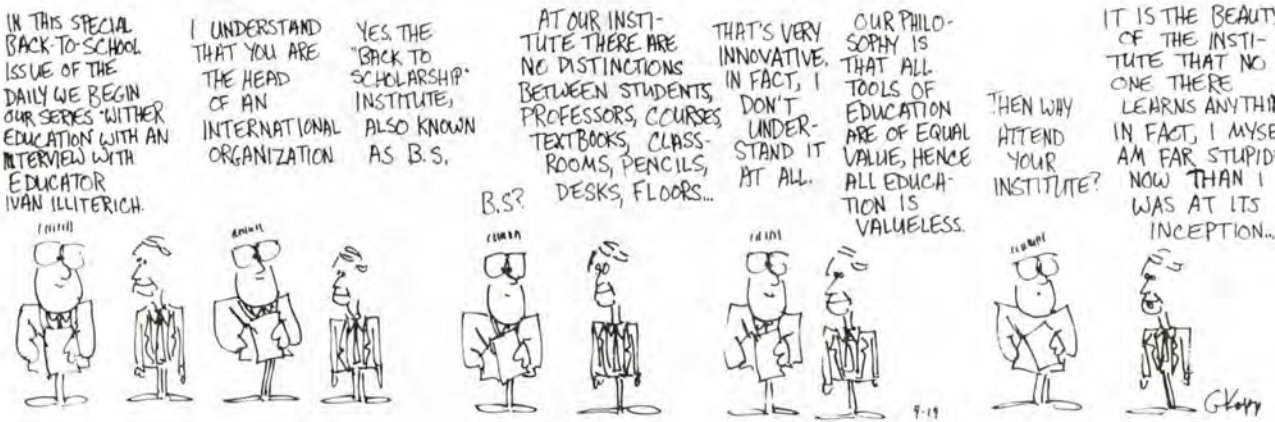
Finally, however, we have to move beyond saying simply that blue-collar workers must be to the forefront of a revolutionary struggle in this country. They must be organized to do so; and there is no other organization than their union capable of doing that. Whatever faults the Canadian union structure now has -- the most destructive being the inclusion of some 80% of our union members

inside American "internationals" -- it is the only serious structure we have to work with. That structure must be profoundly changed -- moved out of its present defensive and colonized position and brought into an entirely national and militant union centre. The change, however, has begun, most thoroughly, of course, in Quebec, but also in English Canada, with the development of the independent Council of Canadian Unions and with the growing pressure inside the internationals for more "autonomous" Canadian locals. It is only with the development of this union base that a serious political movement for an Independent Socialist Canada can be built. Which is why *This Magazine* has increasingly stressed the development of a militant teacher unionism that links up with the larger union movement in the country -- not only with blue-collar workers, but with the growing mass of white-collar workers as well.

No "magic answers". A long and difficult struggle.

G.M.
S.R.

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP



JUDGE REVILLE AND ONTARIO TEACHERS

Loren Lind

Loren Lind is the Education Reporter for the Globe and Mail

Like many teachers lately, I've had to face up to another look at the teacher federations. I am a newspaperman who has covered education in Toronto for three years, and I have usually found the federations bogged down in bureaucratic tedium and trivia, and have given them little notice. But I was lured into federation matters this winter by two interrelated things: the threat of a strike by Metro secondary teachers over the right to negotiate working conditions, and the publication of the Reville Report on Teacher Negotiations.

The Reville Report had been two years in the making. It resulted from the battle between Metro Toronto secondary teachers and their School Board over working conditions. The battle almost closed the schools, and William Davis reacted in orthodox Tory Ontario fashion. He set up a committee to hear all sides and make recommendations.

At the beginning it was hopeful for the teachers when R.W. Reville, a Brant County judge, became chairman of the committee. He was the same Reville who, in binding arbitration, gave Toronto's garbagemen more money than they bargained for in 1973, and who allegedly leaned toward a liberal settlement of the 1966 salary dispute between the CBC and the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians. He was joined, after some shuffling due to teachers' complaints, by lawyer B.S. Onyschuk and businessman Lloyd Hemsworth. They finished their report on June 1972, if we can believe the date printed on the cover, but it was September 13 before Education Minister Thomas Wells released it before the cameras in the Queen's Park TV studio. The teacher federations were all at hand, and Reville soon became a bad pun.

The report, only 63 pages, is nevertheless worth a careful reading. There are 12 chapters; the first has only seven paragraphs, and is called: *Teaching Is A Profession.* Without teachers, it says, doctors, dentists, and lawyers couldn't exist. Teaching therefore, is "the master profession." In fact, the next paragraph says, "Teaching's claims to professionalism are essentially indisputable." Then it relies on

Edward Gross, who wrote *Work and Society*, to say that teaching satisfies the six criteria of a profession. It must be humbling to be told that teachers, "not unlike the doctor," find each case unique; that teachers must give that "extra degree of personal involvement"; that teachers must develop trust and confidence with each student "just as the lawyer must command the respect of his clients"; and that teachers undeniably possess "wide knowledge of a specialized technique." And there's power here, too, teachers are told: "The student comes, ignorant, in search of knowledge, and it is in the teacher's ability to communicate information to him that his power lies."

For all that, the committee would have us know that professionalism implies certain obligations: the tiny pinprick of conscience, the little lesson lurking in the purple praise. As is only proper, "matters such as *remuneration* or the race or religion of pupils, are relegated to a position of secondary importance. Notwithstanding," the committee wants it understood, "the desire to improve one's financial status is not necessarily incompatible with one's obiligations to his profession, but may indeed be fundamental in maintaining the high degree of excellence expected of that profession." This makes it all right. Money can be thought about if it makes you a better worker. Like a Catholic priest discussing birth control, Judge Reville allows a degree of latitude. But the principle is clear: "Nevertheless, society demands that any such attempt to raise salaries be carried out in a professionally irreproachable manner."

All are called, few are chosen. Up so high on the professional pedestal, teachers cannot look upon themselves as mere workers. Teachers, in fact, are a special breed, we are told. Their professionalism itself requires a unique definition, which Reville and his colleagues, in the remaining 59 pages, are eager to expound.

NO UNION – NO STRIKE

For the new professional a whole new language is required. Under Reville's magic gavel, solidarity (among

professionals) becomes "colleague consciousness" and union shop becomes "mandatory professional membership." In their drive for professionalism, the committee practically invented a new term for almost every labor equivalent. It went so far as to require a glossary on page 64. Arsenal of weapons, that nasty labor phrase, becomes "a variety of negotiating techniques." Fact finding becomes "professional research," an arbitrator becomes an "adjudicator," and the term "in good faith" becomes redundant, Reville says, because good faith is implicit in professional negotiations. But of course.

So much for the introduction. What does Reville say? He reviews the history of public education in Ontario from the perspective that the province has come to have "an educational system which is eminently qualified to satisfy the aspirations of all individuals and that the members of the teaching profession and school trustees have played significant and laudable roles in this development." He continues with a short history of teachers and school boards from 1786 to the present, not ignoring some of the most glaring attrocities of at least the past. I did not know, for example, that at the turn of the century women teachers earned three-fourths the salary of men, only $300 a year. School boards in those days, it seems, vied openly not for the most competent, but for the cheapest. The federations had to begin in small, clandestine meetings, for fear of school board reprisals, and it was the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario that first formed in 1918. The Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation started in 1919, and the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation in 1920. Then they were still independent, not yet bound together in the Ontario Teachers' Federation. By 1944, the Teaching Profession Act had sanctified their existence and at the same time placed them under provincial control. I am paraphrasing. Reville tells it the other way: "Teachers were now in a far better position to assert their role in the educational power structure which, up to this time, had been monopolized by the Government and the school boards." Reville mentions that in 1945, the Government of Ontario – a Conservative one, the same one we

have today – promised to pay 50 per cent of all educational expenses "in order to reduce the burden of the local taxpayers and to increase teachers' salaries." By 1970, the Conservative government had fulfilled this promise. At the same time, however, it imposed budget ceilings because it felt teachers salaries were getting out of hand. It seems almost too clear to be real, how the central government assumed control once it paid the piper; but nothing could be clearer in Ontario history. Here again, I enlarge on Reville: he didn't say that.

The conclusions Reville wants to draw begin in Chapter 6: *Teachers and the Right to Strike.* It is observed that teachers do have the right to resign en masse–on Dec. 31 or Aug. 31–but Reville then draws on his version of professionalism to find strikes "savage sanctions." To his credit, he does quote J. Douglas Muir who says that a teachers' strike "brings the dispute to the surface and clears the air with few long-run effects." But this, apparently, is of little value. "Despite these views," Reville says, "the Committee of Inquiry is of the opinion that the right to strike is incompatible with professionalism generally and with the professional status of the teacher in particular."

It is no surprise that Reville so easily rejected the right to strike, since the federations didn't want it anyway. Only the Metro branch of OSSTF came out squarely for this right, while the OTF and its other federates agreed to some sort of compulsory arbitration. However, the sort of arbitration Reville eventually proposed has made most of the federation executives very unhappy.

Reville proposed adjudication by a tribunal, but left nothing to chance as to where the loyalties of the tribunal would lie. It was to be selected on the advice of the Minister of Education by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, and to be salaried by the Ministry of Education. Not one of the five Ontario Teachers federations has espoused this idea. What they wanted was compulsory arbitration by a mutually acceptable board of arbitrators–call them adjudicators if you wish. Unhappy, though they may be, they still

haven't said much. The OSSTF simply dismissed this Reville proposal as unacceptable, leaving members to guess why. The Women's Federation gave the best critique: "Since 60 per cent of the cost of education is paid for by the province through grants, and 60 per cent of the operating costs are for teachers' salaries, the Ministry can hardly be considered unbiased."

NO POWER OVER WORKING CONDITIONS

Another Reville rebuff to the teachers came in the rejection of working conditions as negotiable items. He admitted teachers ought to have their say on policy matters. like the good professionals they are, but not with organized power. To allow this would remove control from those the public has elected and entrusted with the task.

At that moment, Metro high school teachers were making the rounds of Metro school boards appealing for the privilege of including workload in the 1973-74 salary talks. Each of the six boards said no. Teacher negotiators then called for mass resignations. The publishing of the Reville report gave the situation urgency, and shaped the battle into a possible assault on Ministry itself. The tactic was to secure resignations from over 60 per cent, hand them over to two or three boards on Nov. 30, go back to work only when workload was admitted to the salary talks, but refuse to withdraw those letters of resignation until every item was agreed to and signed. This would, it was thought, draw boards and teachers together for a challenge to the Ministry's budget ceilings. It was a finely timed, superbly organized initiative, except that the teachers wouldn't go along. Fewer than 40 per cent offered to resign.

Whatever their reason,[1] the teachers let slip what could be their last legal chance to fight. Teachers in several county boards did decide to resign; but Metro teacher leadership had to pull in its horns, and Reville's hardline proposal appeard on the way to becoming law.

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1. See article on page 26

But in taking working conditions out of teachers' contracts, Reville offered an alternative carrot. He refers to it as "consultative machinery," by which he envisions a phalanx of advisory groups, reaching down to the grass roots of each "family of schools" and reaching upward to the Ministry of Education itself. Here, at least, teachers will be heard.

In my article in *This Magazine* last summer I tried to show how the province's move to set up large county school boards in 1969 was part of the long-term trend toward centralized power in the province, even though it was carried out under a "decentralization" slogan. In this report, we see Reville owning up to the local democracy lost in that move, and proposing what is bureaucratically the only possible solution.

Reville bemoans "the apparent breakdown in communications" between teachers, superintendents, and trustees. "Trustees," Reville admits, "acknowledged this same breakdown in communications and stated that it was aggravated by the establishment of the larger school board units." Having destroyed the indigenous patterns of school government, the province now sets out to repair the damage done by its own reforms. "Since the area under the authority of the school board is usually widespread," the report says, matter of fact, "and since the school population is usually large, there is need for consultative machinery between the school level and the school board level." No thought here to the legitimacy of these units, only to the practical problems of making them work.

The launching pad for Reville's remedy is the *School Board Advisory Committee*, which in the past 2½ years since the province made them optional have been totally useless, to judge by Toronto's experience. Reville would make these into trustee-teacher groups with token parental presence (through Home and School reps), and imbue them with power to establish Sub-Committees wherever it is felt teachers, parents, administrators and trustees ought to get together. A Standing Consultative Conference would be

convened "at least once a year by the Minister of Education and. . .chaired by him," with everybody at the top happily represented. Who whould be there? Reville tells us:

> The composition of the standing consultative conference would be the Deputy Minister of Education and four of his senior officials, ten members of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, of whom not more than five would be on the Board of Governors or on the provincial executive of an affiliate, ten members of the Ontario School Trustees' Council of whom not more than five would be on the provincial executive of the Council, five members of the Ontario Association of Education Administrative Officials of whom not more than two would be on the provincial executive of the Association, five members of the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations of whom not more than two would be on the provincial executive of the Federation, two members of the Ontario Secondary School Headmasters' Council of whom not more than one would be on the provincial executive of the Council, and such other representation as the Minister of Education deems advisable.

I do not think the effect of this consultative machinery will be to bring parents and teachers into power and influence around the schools. Its effect will be the opposite: to swallow up and obliterate their individual and collective voices. Of course, if such machinery is set up, parents and teachers will probably have to work on it and through it, as no other strategy may be possible. But it should be seen for what it is--an attempt to placate teachers while refusing them their rightful voice. If the Ministry were serious about responding democratically, it could find ways less cumbersome and devious of doing so, it could react directly to demands as they are being made, rather than transforming them into new bureaucratic formations. But of course, to allow the conflicts within the system to surface would be to risk discord and seeming chaos. "Harmony," says Reville, "is a prerequisite to a healthy educational environment." The expenditure of $1.8-billion a year on education is too

great an investment "to permit discord and inefficiency to exist."

INFORMATION CONTROL IN WAGE DISPUTES

When it comes to salary negotiations, Reville in Chapter 8 makes his third major proposal: the Professional Research Bureau. The beauty of such a bureau is that it would provide both teachers and trustees, and presumably the public, "identical and reliable data." Reville believes this would remove much of the strife and rancor from salary talks. His committee holds out the faith that, given the right information, wage disputes can be clean and simple.

The PRB, of course, would be financed by the Ministry. Its steering committee would include both teachers and trustees, but the adjudicator would have the power to call for more data whenever needed. The PRB is not a totally useless prospect, provided its incontrovertibly balanced facts were made public at all times and was not the sole source of information in negotiations. But the Women Teachers point out: "Only data produced or agreed upon by the Professional Research Bureau may be used at the negotiating table. . . . Neither teachers nor trustees at the local level may decide to use additional data which they consider pertinent."

However, this observation throws only one dart at the zeppelin of technocratic objectivity; more are deserved. In spite of Reville's inflated prose the "facts" are often what you make them say. The Reville committee itself couldn't agree on one set of statistical data, forcing Onyschuk to put his interpretation of them into a minority report.

WHAT WILL THE "PROFESSIONALS" DO?

It doesn't seem probable to me that Education Minister Thomas Wells will espouse Reville holus bolus, given the fairly unanimous outcry by the federations. But parts of this report could find their way into law without a hitch,

especially the part on consultative machinery. This machinery is in fact an adaptation of an earlier OTF submission aimed at making schools more responsive to the public. Whether or not it would, its acceptability to the government is evident. The question is whether the teacher federations themselves can raise an effective critique, as they are now organized.

Considering the anti-teacher bias of the document, the federations were cordially modest. From the literature I scanned, the Women teachers seemed the most caustic. They were able to call it plainly "an anti-employee document" inspired by an attitude showing "a kind of contempt for the rights of public employees." The official OSSTF reply, while *stiffly* official, had some bit to it. And their unofficial comment was even better. "Federations, the report suggests in almost biblical tones, may reap a rich harvest by sowing the soil of professionalism," Jack Hutton wrote in *InterCom*. "Translated, does this mean that the meek shall inherit the earth?" And Donald Felker, the OSSTF's outgoing secretary, did an article on Reville for *School Progress* where he said the report at first reading seems glowingly pro-teacher, while at successive readings it seems the reverse. This is no mean tribute to the committee's knack for doubletalk; it says something too about its use of that term professionalism. It is easy to be taken for a ride, because the federations have already bought Reville's brand of professionalism.

For example, their notion of professionalism kept them from demanding the right to strike. This made it easy for Reville to propose the sort of "adjudication" he did. I'll not argue here whether striking is a good tactic, given the current public mood and teacher surplus, but to abjure this right out of hand seems an exhorbitant gesture for any working group.

This sort of professionalism tries to play the other side of unionism. By pandering to those in control, it wins some favors from a grateful Government. This game has been played with some skill by those in charge of the federations.

The Government is glad to play along, and eager to support a very housebroken concept of professionalism. A little group of Toronto teachers wrote up a helpful analysis of this term (the main author wouldn't be identified out of fear for his job). "The reactionary line about professionalism, most often heard from administrators, must be exposed in very specific ways," they wrote. "Its main focus is on duty. According to this line, it is the duty of the professional teacher. . .to render the most excellent service possible. Strikes are ruled out as unprofessional because the essence of professionalism is a willingness to teach and apply services under any conditions without interruption. Professionals do not complain about salaries or working conditions. If they do not like either pay or circumstances they should leave the profession. Wages and working conditions are unprofessional concerns."

We have an example of blinkered professionalism in Mr. Wells' reply to the OTF board of governors last August, when asked his viewpoint on professionalism versus unionism:

"I think certainly that we look upon you as professionals. . .now I can see that the nitty-gritty of this is that you are building a case for control of your profession, but I would emphasize that the prevailing view of government is the other way. And when we talk to other professional groups, such as in health, we frequently cite the example of your profession which has a very happy relationship with government."

The happy relationship that requires effacement, that grants favors for allegiance, assumes a momentum that is hard to resist. A professional becomes one who wins favor by pleasing authority, and to reverse that self-image throws jeopardy all that has been gained by so many years of slugging it out in committee. Like staying in Vietnam because so much life has been lost there already, teachers find themselves committed to a system that progressively milks them of their independence and power.

But this is not the only professional view. Rod Fredericks, outgoing president of the Canadian Teachers' Federation, shocked the establishment with a speech at Yellowknife last July openly espousing unionism. He is also a former president of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union. Here is part of what he said.

"All the setbacks we have experienced should again teach us that the whole question of a place in the educational power structure is a matter of what we can command and not a matter of what we are worth. . . .

"To embrace professionalism, at this time, seems to be turning back the clock. Teaching is not accepted as a profession and has not been at any time in the past. Reading the situation among teachers today, I would say that the majority of teachers are not anxious to embrace professionalism; they want the things that economic security can bring. . .

"I think the time has come for us to recognize what we are and to end the silent debate of the professional versus the unionist. We are unions and we should be proud of it. . . ."

Rod Frederick's view has a long way to go.

Ian Fife, a former president of OTF, certainly admits his organization needs major overhaul, but not in the direction set by Rod Fredericks. "I was very unhappy with that speech," he told me. "He's never come on like that before. A lot of us didn't know what was going on."

A UNION: THE TIME IS NOW!

I. Crane

I. Crane is an Ontario School teacher

This article, which followed the failure of the Metropolitan Toronto branch of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) to rally their members for a fight on negotiated working conditions, appeared in the December 72 issue of *Community Schools.*

***Community Schools* is a monthly magazine on schools and teacher organizing in the Toronto area. Subscriptions can be had by writing (and making out your cheque to) Community School Workshop, 171 College Street, Toronto 2B, Ont. People: $5.00, Students $2.50, Institutions $15.00.**

To say that Metro OSSTF has suffered its most serious defeat in years is only stating the obvious. But to go no further than making this statement, or to say that teachers are a bunch of cowards, or that they are now going to get

what they deserve, would be a serious error and would show that we, too, do not really care about the legitimate demands and requirements of teachers. This is *not* the time to sink into demoralization and apathy. What we must do is attempt to analyse what happened, why it happened, and where we should go from here.

What Happened?

To begin with, we are faced with two basic facts: 85 per cent of Metro teachers said they wanted working conditions negotiated; when asked by their negotiators to resign to support that demand, less than 40 per cent responded. Granted the figure given is based on all teachers, not simply those "eligible" to resign; it is nonetheless abysmally low for support on such a crucial issue. Little blame can be attached to the Metro negotiators themselves. They prepared well in advance, worked exceptionally hard, prepared good material, made few tactical errors, and used all the bargaining tools they thought were at their disposal. Why then, did we lose? On the surface, at least, there are a number of answers. Some of them are rooted in the situation we have found ourselves in; others relate to the nature and structure of the Federation itself.

Why We Failed:

1. A significant number of teachers, including some who resigned, feared that they might actually lose their jobs by resigning, due to the fact that there are a large number of unemployed teachers in Ontario at this time. This fear may or may not have been justified: however, the fact is that it was a *real* fear, and prevented teachers from supporting the sanction.

2. The wording of the "Handbook on Resignation Procedures" regarding the slightly greater risk run by probationary teachers left many of them with the impression that the Federation did *not* want them to resign. That was not the case. Also, many teachers felt the minimum figure of 60 per cent for submission of resignations was too low

to provide them with job security. It may well have been enough, but the negotiators did not clearly indicate, in solid figures, the basis for this belief. These are two minor tactical errors made by the negotiators. This paper is not meant to be a criticism of the Metro negotiators: given the circumstances and conditions under which they worked they made very few errors.

3. In general, teachers seem to be a fairly privileged minority, and many do not yet feel that they experience enough financial or on-the-job hardship to make them militant enough to take risks.

4. A number of teachers do not see their future in teaching and only expect to remain teachers for a few more years. Consequently, many of them are unwilling to take the slightest risk of losing money for the sake of improved salary or working conditions in the future. On the other hand, they are quite content to sit back and reap the benefits won by the struggles of other teachers in the past.

5. There was little or no support for the sanction from school administrations (i.e. principals and vice-principals.) The negotiators were correct in asking these people to keep silent during branch meetings. (In spite of that, at least one principal advised his staff not to resign.)

6. In a number of districts, there is general disenchantment with the district federation resulting from inconclusive or unsuccessful tactics used in the past. Examples of this are "work to rule" sanctions and, in North York, last year's half-day "study session" in which many teachers lost money for no visible gain.

7. (a) Throughout Metro there is a general disenchantment, in fact resentment, of *all* Federation activities, resulting from what most Metro teachers consider a "sell-out" by the Provincial Executive during negotiations two years ago. This should not necessarily reflect on Metro OSSTF, but it seems that there has been a spill-over of this resentment to Metro OSSTF; in the minds of many teachers, our

district executives have become "tainted" by their closer contact with the provincial body.

(b) This distrust of the Provincial Executive was so deep that it would have been impossible to call them into the negotiations: teachers would certainly not give *them* their resignations. As a result, teachers were asked to go out without financial support from the provincial reserve fund. Combined with other insecurities, this was another important factor holding teachers back from mass resignations.

8. "Professionalism": Sadly, there are still teachers in Metro who think that being a professional means that we must be prepared to sacrifice ourselves for the "good" of "the system". They do not seem to realize that most other professionals control their own salaries and working conditions; or, at the very least, they negotiate them through the normal process of genuine collective bargaining. In the past, it may have been valid for teachers to struggle to be recognized as professionals. However, as the word is now used, it does nothing but mystify and obscure the real relationship between individual teachers and their boards, and also the relationships of teachers to each other.

There are likely other reasons for the failure to win sufficient support for mass resignations. Although figures for individual schools have not yet been released, it is probable that in schools where branch representatives or others actively discussed the importance of the issues with their fellow teachers, higher percentages of resignations occurred. However, this was obviously not enough to overcome the lack of strength in the other schools. We must now try to analyse how and why these *specific* reasons for failure arose. In other words, why is it that at this time and place these particular reasons appeared and made it impossible for mass resignations to succeed? To answer this, it is necessary to examine the nature and structure of our Federation.

Analysis:

The OSSTF, established by provincial statute and regulation, is an affiliate of OTF, the umbrella organization of the five Ontario teachers' organizations. In spite of the fact that OTF is the only teachers' body with any real power over teachers, it is so remote from most teachers that probably less than one teacher in a hundred even knows the name of its president. About all we know is that it's up there somewhere.

Our own Federation is only slightly more real to the average teacher. It is the usual bureaucratic pyramid, top-heavy with officials, prestige, and apparent power, its peak usually obscured by the clouds which generally prevent us seeing it clearly, and vice versa. It constantly throws around the good old term "professionalism". It is a top-down organization, with a powerful secretariat; it has a bad reputation in Metro and most teachers here feel almost totally alienated from it. The largest slice of our federation fee (26 per cent) goes to "General Administration". If a Metro teacher wants to attend the Annual Assembly he must give up his spring vacation and remain in Toronto. On its executive council (except on matters of "policy"), District 15, with 2389 teachers has the same number of votes as District 38, with 155 teachers. Thus, "policy" supported by Metro teachers is frequently not implemented. Metro teachers feel no sense of connection with the Provincial body and distrust it deeply. It will provide assistance in negotiations only if it takes complete control over them. Its only tools are pink letters and our reserve fund. It generally cooperates willingly with our real employer, the Provincial Government. To us, it's a company union.

On the District level, things are slightly better, but most teachers still seem to feel little sense of connection with their district executive. Although most district executives in Metro have made great efforts to improve communication with the membership, they are trapped by the same type of structure and some of the same type of thinking that is found at the provincial level. Practically all policy,

all strategy, all tactics are formulated at the top and then passed down to the membership. When they speak of grassroots involvement, what they really seem to mean is carrying *their* program around from school to school to get support for it. There seems to exist no workable structure for involving the membership in the determination of policy, strategy and tactics. There is a general inability to conceive of an executive providing leadership rather than leaders. It's no wonder that so many teachers feel nothing but apathy and disillusionment when faced with this organization. In spite of the good faith and sincerity of its executive, they are trapped by the structure of the organization, and the patterns of thought fostered by that structure, into the position of an executive alienated from its membership, leaders without followers.

How then, does this analysis of the Federation relate to the specific reasons given for the failure of mass resignations?

1. Fear of loss of jobs because of large number of unemployed teachers: As members of a company union we do not have the bargaining tools to operate with security. That is, we have no "safe" sanction such as a strike. Instead we must be prepared to give up our jobs.

2. The tactical errors in the "Handbook" which resulted in loss of support, (60 per cent figure and policy regarding probationary teachers) could have been avoided if the membership had been more closely involved with planning such tactics.

3. Teachers are a privileged minority with few real hardships at this time: the negotiators attempted, with some success, to counter this attitude by stressing past, present and future deterioration of working conditions and the fact that significant number of teachers do "crack up" or contract extended illnesses. However, their alienation from many teachers prevented them from fully exploiting this issue.

4. Teachers who do not see their future in teaching and who therefore do not support teachers' struggles: as a compulsory, company union, the Federation must support and bargain for all its members, regardless of whether or not those members support other teachers. In a voluntary association of teachers, support would not be given to teachers who did not support the majority. They would have to choose to bargain on their own, or join and support the group with bargaining power.

5. Lack of support from administration: as a company union, we are forced to include management in our organization. They have different needs and different priorities, their interests are often not our interests; it is not surprising that, on the whole, they did not support us. They should not be part of our organization. Also, many teachers feel they cannot speak freely at Federation meetings in the presence of their boss.

6. Disenchantment with District Federation over ineffective and inconclusive tactics used in the past: this is clearly connected to the estrangement between executives and memberships on the formulation of strategy and tactics.

7. Disenchantment with all Federation activities resulting from previous dealings with the Provincial Executive: Clearly a case of the company union again – we are linked with, and to some extent directed and controlled by, a body with which we want no contact. Why should we be forced to deal with people we distrust? A voluntary organization would not encounter this problem. Also, those people have *our* money in the reserve fund and won't let us use it unless they can make decisions for us.

8. "Professionalism": the Federation seems to have wasted almost as much time (and confused almost as many people) throwing this word around as our employers have.

Where Do We Go From Here?

It is quite likely that Metro OSSTF may have suffered

its death-blow. Certainly it will be around for some time to come, it will go through the motions, but there is little likelihood that we will ever again see the level of solidarity and commitment that led to 86 per cent resignations in 1970. The organization is crumbling, the membership is disillusioned and cynical, and the final touches of some of the Reville Report recommendations are all that is needed to finish off the organization that, for better or for worse, has been the only voice speaking for Metro secondary school teachers. Now what?

It has been suggested that we go hand in hand with our boards to the Provincial Government and nicely ask them not to let working conditions deteriorate further. But is there any reason why we should join hands with these same boards that have for years acted as a shield for the Provincial Government? Is there any reason for us to beg for something that should be our right? Is there any reason for the Provincial Government to give us anything after we have demonstrated our weakness? And if, by some miracle, they do, where does that leave us for the future? The paternalism implied by such an arrangement is disgusting and degrading. Worse than that it leaves us helpless and at the whim of various levels of government. "All the paternalism in the world in no substitute for economic strength." (Ed Finn, Toronto Star, Nov. 7/72.)

The recent events have shown that the Federation structure is incapable of achieving teachers' legitimate needs. Our only real alternative is obviously a union. It is time that teachers got rid of their snobbery over labour organizations and recognized that there is only one way for them to gain the rights that other organized labour already takes for granted. In a properly organized union, the membership is fully involved in the formulation of policy, strategy, and tactics. Mystifying terminology and jargon can be replaced by terms that actually mean something. Perhaps we can even regain some self-respect by gaining some measure of control over the issues that effect our lives. If we look around the continent, we find that wherever teachers' unions have been established, significant gains have been

made in the areas of salary, fringe benefits, *and* working conditions.

It is not the purpose of this paper to answer all the questions about what a teachers' union would be. A truly representative and democratic union is built from the bottom up, not the top down, and its policies, organization, and program is determined by its members. If you are interested in this, if you are concerned about teachers, schools and education, talk about this with your fellow teachers.

John Phillips

ON HAVING WONDERFUL IDEAS: PIAGET IN THE CLASSROOM

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This article appears with the permission of Drs. Jane Roph and Milton Schwebel, editors of *Piaget in the Classroom,* to be published by Basic Books in the winter of 1972-73, copyright Basic Books.

Kevin, Stephanie and the Mathematician

The other day I was going over some classic Piaget interviews with a few children to show a friend what they were like. One involved seriation of lengths. I had cut ten cellophane drinking straws at different lengths, and was asking the children to put them in order, from smallest to biggest. The first two seven-year-olds did it with no difficulty and little interest. And then came Kevin. Before I said a word about the straws, he picked them up and said to me, "I know what I'm going to do," and proceeded, on his own, to seriate them by length. He didn't mean, "I know what you're going to ask me to do." He meant, "I have a wonderful idea about what to do with these straws. You'll be surprised by my wonderful idea."

It wasn't easy for him. He needed a good deal of trial and error as he set about developing his system. But he was so pleased with himself when he accomplished his self-set task that when I decided to offer them to him to keep (ten whole drinking straws!) he glowed with joy, showed them to one or two select friends, and stored them away with other treasures in a shoe box.

The having of wonderful ideas is what I consider to be the essence of intellectual development. And I consider it the essence of pedagogy to give Kevin the occasion to have his wonderful ideas, and to let him feel good about himself for having them. To develop this point of view, and to indicate where Piaget fits in for me, I need to start with some autobiography, and I apologize for that. But it was a struggle of some years' duration for me to see how Piaget was relevant to schools at all.

I had never heard of Piaget when I first sat in one of his classes in Paris in 1957. I was fresh from a B.A. in philosophy, and it was Piaget the philosopher who won me – won me to such an extent that I went on to spend two years in Geneva as a graduate student and research assistant. Then, in 1962, I began to pay attention to schools when, as a Ph.D. drop-out, I accepted a job developing elemen-

tary science curriculum. I began the work chiefly because it was a job, but fortunately for me I had happened into an exciting circule of educators, and I got hooked.

The colleagues I admired most got along very well without any special knowledge of psychology. They trusted their own insights about when and how children were learning, and they were right. Their insights were excellent. Moreover, they were especially distrustful of Piaget. He hadn't yet appeared on the cover of the *Saturday Review* or the *New York Times Magazine*, and they had their own picture of him: a severe, humorless intellectual confronting a small child with questions that were surely incomprehensible, while the child tried to tell from the look in his eyes what the answer was supposed to be. No wonder the child couldn't think straight. (More than one of these colleagues first started to pay attention to Piaget when they saw a photo of him. He may be Swiss but he doesn't look like Calvin: maybe he can talk to children after all!)

I myself didn't know what to think. My colleagues did not seem to be any the worse for not taking Piaget seriously. Nor, I had to admit, did I seem any the better. Compared with psychology labs, schools were such complicated places that I couldn't find a way to be of any special help. Not only did Piaget seem to be irrelevant, I was no longer sure he was right. For a couple of years, I scarcely ever mentioned him, and simply went about the business of trying to be helpful, never, as I recall, drawing directly on any of his specific findings.

The lowest point came when one of my colleagues gleefully showed me an essay written in first grade by six-year-old Stephanie. The children had been investigating capillary tubes, looking at the difference in the height of the water as a function of the diameter of the tube. Stephanie's essay went as follows: "I know why it looks like there's more in the skinny tube. Because it's higher. But the other is fatter, so there's the same."

My colleague triumphantly took this as proof that six-

year-olds can reason about the compensation of two dimensions. And I didn't know what to say. Of course, it should have been simple. Some six-year-olds *can* reason about compensations. The ages that Piaget mentions are only norms, not universals. Some children develop slower and some develop faster. But I was so unsure of myself at that point that the incident shook me badly, and my explanation only sounded like a lame excuse.

I do have something else to say about that incident, but I'll get to it a little later. For now, I simply want to describe the struggle.

Even if I did believe that Piaget was right, how could he be helpful? If the main thing we take from Piaget is that before certain ages children are unable to understand certain things–conservation, transitivity, spatial coordinates–then what can we do about it? Do we try to teach the children these things? Probably not, because on the one hand Piaget leads us to believe that we probably won't be very successful at it. And on the other hand, if there is one thing we have learned from Piaget, it is that children can be left to their own devices in coming to understand these notions. We don't have to try to furnish them. It took a few months before I straightened that out for myself and concluded that this was not a very good way to make use of Piaget.

Another alternative was to keep in mind the limits on children's abilities to classify, conserve, seriate, and so forth when deciding what to teach them at certain ages. But I found that this was an inadequate criterion for deciding what to teach. There was so much else to keep in mind. The most obvious reason, of course, was that in any class of children there is great diversity of levels. Tailoring to an average level of development is sure to miss a large proportion of the children. In addition, a Piaget psychologist has no monopoly here. When trying to approximate the abilities of a group of children of some given age, able teachers like my colleagues could make as good approximations as I.

I found it appealing that the people with whom I was working judged the merits of any suggestion by how well it worked in classrooms. That is, instead of deciding on a *priori* grounds what children *ought* to know, or what they *ought* to be able to do at a certain age, they found activities, lessons, points of departure which would engage children in ordinary classrooms, with ordinary teachers. In their view, it was easy to devise all-embracing schemes of how science, as it was in this instance, could be organized for children, but making things work pedagogically in classrooms was the difficult part. They started with the difficult part. A theory of intellectual development might have been the basis of a theoretical framework for a curriculum. But in making things work in a classroom, it was but a small part compared with finding ways to interest children, to take into account different children's interests and abilities, to help teachers with no special training in the subject, and so forth. So the burden of this curriculum effort was classroom trials. The criterion was whether or not they worked, and their working depended only in part on their being at the right intellectual level for the children. They might be perfectly all right, from the point of view of intellectual demands, and yet fall short in other ways. Most often, it was a complex combination.

As I was struggling to find some framework within which my knowledge of Piaget would be useful, I found, more or less incidentally, that I was starting to be useful myself. As an observer for some of the pilot teaching of this program, and later as a pilot teacher myself, I found that I did have some good insights into the intellectual difficulties that children encountered. I had a certain skill in being able to watch and listen to children and figure out how they were really seeing a problem. And this led to a certain ability to raise questions that made sense to them and to think of a new orientation for activities which might correspond better to their way of seeing things. I don't want to suggest that I was unique in this. Many of the excellent teachers with whom I was in contact had similar insights. So did many of the mathematicians and scientists among my colleagues, who, from their points of view, could

tell when children were seeing things differently from the ways they did. But the question of whether I was unique is not really pertinent. The point is that my experience with Piaget, working closely with one child at a time and trying to figure out what was really in his mind, was a wonderful background for being sensitive to children in classrooms. I feel that a certain amount of this kind of background would be similarly useful for every teacher.

In my own development, it was this sensitivity to children in classrooms which continued to be central. As a framework for thinking about learning, my understanding of Piaget has been invaluable. This understanding, however, has also been deepened by working with teachers and children on questions of how they can best spend their time together. I may be able to shed some light on that mutual relationship by referring again to six-year-old Stephanie's essay on compensation.

Few of us, looking at water rise in capillary tubes of different diameters, would have bothered to wonder whether the quantities were the same. Nobody had asked Stephanie to make that comparison and in fact it is impossible to tell just by looking. But, on her own, she felt it was a significant thing to comment upon. I take that as an indication that for her it was a wonderful idea. Not long before, she believed that there was more in the tube where the water was higher. She had recently won her own intellectual struggle on that issue, and she wanted to point out her finding to the world for the benefit of those who might be taken in by preliminary appearances.

This incident, once I had figured it out, helped me think about a point that bothered me in one of Piaget's anecdotes. You may recall Piaget's account of a mathematician friend who inspired his studies of the conservation of number. This man told Piaget about an incident from his childhood, where he counted a number of pebbles he had set out in a line. Having counted them from left to right and found there were ten, he decided to see how many there would be if he counted them from right to left. In-

trigued to find that there were still ten, he put them in a different arrangement and counted them again. And he kept rearranging and counting them until he decided that, no matter what the arrangement, he was always going to find that there were ten—number is independent of the order of counting.

The problem for me was this: in Piaget's accounts of his subjects, if ten eggs are spread out so they take more space than ten eggcups, a classic non-conserver will maintain that there are more eggs than eggcups, even if he counts and finds that he comes to ten in both cases. Counting is not sufficient to convince him that there are enough eggcups for all the eggs. How is it, then, that for the mathematician, counting was sufficient? If he was a non-conserver at the time, counting shouldn't have made any difference. If he was a conserver, then he should have known from the start that it would always come out the same.

I think it must be that the whole enterprise was his own wonderful idea. He raised the question for himself, and figured out, for himself, how to try to answer it. In essence, I am saying that he was in a transitional moment, and Stephanie and Kevin were, too. He was at a point where a certain experience fit into certain thoughts, and took them a step forward.

I think a powerful pedagogical point can be made from this. These three instances dramatize it, because they deal with children moving ahead with Piaget notions, which are usually difficult to advance with any one experience. The point has two aspects: first, the right question at the right time can move children to peaks in their thinking which result in significant steps forward and real intellectual excitement; and second, although it is almost impossible for an adult to know exactly the right time for a given question for a given child—especially for a teacher who is concerned with thirty or more children—children can raise the right question for themselves when the setting is right. And once the right question is raised, they are moved to tax themselves to the fullest to find an answer. The answers

did not come easily in any of these three cases, but the children were prepared to work them through. Having confidence in one's ideas doesn't mean, "I know my ideas are right"; it means, "I am willing to try out my ideas."

As I put together experiences like these and continued to think about them, I started developing some ideas about what education could be, and about the relationship between education and intellectual development.

Hank

It is a truism that all children in their first year or two make incredible intellectual advances. Piaget has documented these advances from his own point of view, but every parent and every psychologist knows this to be the case. One recurring question is why, for such vast numbers of children, does intellectual development slow down so? What happens to children's curiosity and resourcefulness later in their childhood? Why do so few continue to have their own wonderful ideas? I think part of the answer is that intellectual breakthroughs come to be less and less valued. Either they are dismissed as being trivial—as Kevin's or Stephanie's or the mathematician's might have been by some adults. Or else they are discouraged as being unacceptable—like seeing how it feels to wear shoes on the wrong feet (witness Sesame Street), or asking questions that are socially embarrassing, or destroying something to see what it's like inside. The effect is to discourage children from exploring their own ideas, and to make them feel that they have no important ideas of their own—only silly or evil ones.

But I think there is at least one other part of the answer, too. Wonderful ideas cannot spring out of nothing. They build on a foundation of other ideas. The following incident may help to clarify what I mean.

Hank was an energetic and not very scholarly fifth-grader. His class had been learning about electric circuits with flashlight batteries, bulbs, and various wires. After the children had developed considerable familiarity with these

materials and what they do, the teacher made a number of mystery boxes. Two wires came from each box, but inside, unseen, each box had a different way of making contact between the wires. In one box the wires were attached to a battery; in another box they were attached to a bulb; in another box they were attached to a certain length of resistance wire; in another box they were not attached at all. By trying to complete the circuit on the outside of a box, the children were able to figure out what made the connection inside the box. Like many other children, Hank attached a battery and a bulb to the wire outside the box. Since the bulb lit, he knew at least that the wires inside the box were connected in some way. But since it was somewhat dimmer than usual, he also knew that the wires inside were not connected directly to each other and that they were not connected by another piece of ordinary copper wire. Along with many other children, he knew that the degree of dimness of this bulb meant that the wires inside were connected either by another bulb of the same kind or by a certain kind of resistance wire.

This was as far as the teacher expected them to be able to go. But in order to push the children to think a little further, she asked them if there was any way to tell whether it was bulb or a piece of wire inside the box. She herself thought there was no way to tell. But after some thought, Hank had an idea. He undid the battery and bulb that he had already attached on the outside of the box. In their place, and using additional copper wire, he attached six batteries in a series. He had already experimented enough to know that six batteries would burn out a bulb, if it was a bulb inside the box. And he knew that once a bulb is burnt out, it no longer keeps the circuit complete. So he then attached the original battery and bulb again. This time he found that the bulb on the outside of the box did not light. So he reasoned, with justice, that there had been a bulb inside the box, and now it was burnt out. If there had been a wire inside, it would not have burned through, and the bulb on the outside would still light.

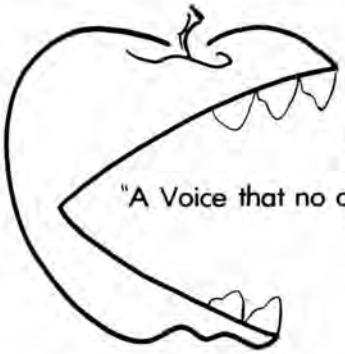
Note that to carry out that idea, Hank had to take the

risk of destroying a light bulb. In fact, he did destroy one. In accepting this idea, the teacher had to accept not only the fact that Hank had a good idea which even she did not have, but also accept that it was worthwhile to destroy a small bit of property for the sake of following through an idea. These features almost turn the incident into a parable. Without these kinds of acceptance, Hank would not have been able to pursue his idea. Think of how many times this acceptance is not forthcoming in the life of any child.

But the other important point to be made here is that in order to have that wonderful idea, Hank had to know a lot about batteries, bulbs, and wires. A good deal of previous work and familiarity with those materials were a necessary aspect of this occasion.

David Hawkins has said of curriculum development, "You don't want to cover a subject; you want to uncover it." That, it seems to me, is what schools should be about. They can help to uncover parts of the world which children would not otherwise know how to tackle. Wonderful ideas build on other wonderful ideas. They are not had without content. In Piaget's terms, you have to reach out to the world with your own intellectual tools and grasp it, assimilate it, yourself. All kinds of things are hidden from us—even though they surround us—unless we know how to reach out for them. Schools and teachers can provide materials and questions in ways that suggest things to be done with them; and children, in the doing, cannot help being inventive.

There are two aspects to providing occasions for wonderful ideas, then. One is being prepared to accept children's ideas. The other is providing a setting which suggests wonderful ideas to children—different ideas to different children—as they get caught up in intellectual problems that are real to them.



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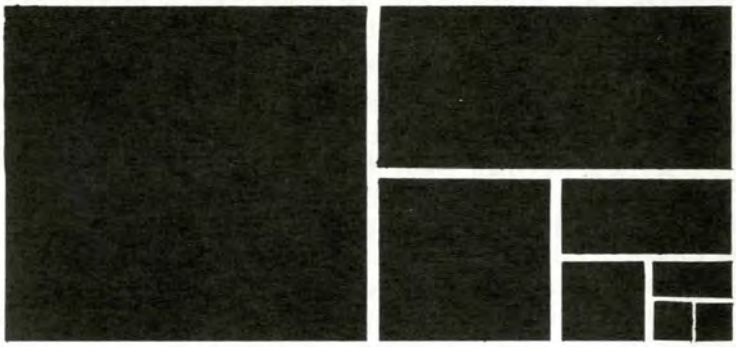
I SOMETIMES MEET MYSELF

I sometimes meet myself, usually about eight o'clock
in a smoke-filled cafe. We sit together –
I, staring at the checkered tablecloth
and he, watching the steady and incomprehensible flow of
the street.
I see my life reflected in the red and white squares,
the nine to four rat race.
He sees life.
I reflect on what my educators say;
he thinks about what they do not say.
I recite the subjunctive mood of two-hundred Latin verbs;
he reads a love poem.
I worry about when, how, and if I will do my homework;
he worries (a little) about sleeping too long.
I look over my list of French tests, Chemistry notes,
English essays, History projects, and Review deadlines;
he smiles at the waitress.
I do not know what is my own, I am not even sure of my
smile;
he knows that his life is his own.
For me, it is like going from zero to zero;
for him, it is like one plus one.
And so we went, on and on.

Jurgen Henze, *Secondary School*
From *Sixty-Scary* poems from Toronto Schools,
The Board of Education for the City of Toronto

THE I.Q. IDEOLOGY

Samuel Bowles
and
Herbert Gintis



Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis teach at Harvard University and are members of the Harvard Collective of the Union for Radical Political Economics

The I.Q. Ideology is part of a larger paper "IQ in the U.S. Class Structure" which appears in the January '73 issue of *Social Policy*. In this essay Bowles and Gintis question the undisputed assumption underlying both sides of the recently revived IQ controversy in United States: that IQ is of basic importance to economic success. Their findings, based for the most part on widely available published data, document the fact that IQ is not an important cause of economic success; nor is the inheritance of IQ the reason why rich kids grow up to be rich and poor kids tend to remain poor. According to their documentation social class background rather than intelligence is the key factor for economic success.

The conventional wisdom which associates high intelligence with economic success – "the IQ ideology" – has, however, an important function, according to Bowles and Gintis. The emphasis on intelligence as the basis for economic success serves to legitimize an authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified and unequal economic system of production, and to reconcile the individual to his or her objective position within this system.

A Preview

We have disputed the view that IQ is an important causal antecedent of economic success. Yet IQ clearly plays an important role in the U.S. stratification system. In this section we shall argue that the set of beliefs surrounding IQ betray its true function - - that of legitimating the social institutions underpinning the stratification system itself.

Were the IQ ideology correct, understanding the ramifications of cognitive differences would require our focussing on the technical relations of production in an advanced technological economy. Its failure however, bids us scrutinize a different aspect of production – its social relations. By the "social relations of production" we mean the system of rights and responsibilities, duties and rewards, which

govern the interaction of all individuals involved in organized productive activity. In the following section, we shall argue that the social relations of production determine the major attributes of the U.S. stratification system. Here, however, we shall confine ourselves to the proposition that the IQ ideology is a major factor in legitimating these social relations in the consciousness of workers.

The social relations of production in different societies are quite diverse, and lay the basis for such divergent stratification systems as communal-reciprocity, caste, feudal serf, slave, community-collective, and wage-labor of capitalist and state-socialist varieties. In advanced capitalist society, the stratification system is based on what we term the hierarchical division of labor, characterized by power and control emanating from the top downwards through a finely gradated bureaucratic order. The distribution of economic reward and social privilege in the U.S. is an expression of the hierarchical division of labor within the enterprise.

In this section, then, we shall show that the IQ ideology serves to legitimate the hierarchical division of labor. First, we argue that such legitimation is necessary because capitalist production is "totalitarian" in a way only vaguely adumbrated in other social spheres - - family, inter-personal relations, law, and politics. Indeed, history exhibits periodic onslaughts upon the hierarchical division of labor and its acceptance is always problematic. Second, we argue that the IQ ideology is conducive to a general technocratic and meritocratic view of the stratification system which tends to legitimate these social relations, as well as its characteristic means of allocating individuals to various levels of the hierarchy. Third, we argue that the IQ ideology operates to reconcile workers to their eventual economic positions primarily via the schooling experience, with its putative objectivity, meritocratic orientation, and technical efficiency in supplying the cognitive needs of the labor force. Fourth, we shall argue that the use of both formal education and the IQ ideology were not merely historical accidents, but arose through the conscious policies of capitalists and their

intellectual servants to perform the functions indicated above.

The Need for Legitimacy

If one takes for granted the basic economic organization of society, its members need only be equipped with adequate cognitive and operational skills to fulfill work requirements, and provided with a reward structure motivating individuals to acquire and supply these skills. U.S. capitalism accomplishes the first of these requirements through family, school, and on-the-job training, and the second through a wage structure patterned after the job hierarchy.

But the social relations of production cannot be taken for granted. The bedrock of the capitalist economy is the legally sanctioned power of the directors of an enterprise to organize production, to determine the rules which regulate workers' productive activities, and to hire and fire accordingly, with only moderate restriction by workers' organizations and government regulations. But this power cannot be taken for granted, and can be exercised forcefully against violent opposition only sporadically. Violence alone, observe Lassevell and Kaplan, are inadequate as a stable basis for the possession and exercise of power, and they appropriately quote Rousseau: "The strongest man is never strong enough to be always master, unless he transforms his power into right, and obedience into duty." Where the assent of the less favored cannot be secured by power alone, it must be part of a total process whereby the existing structure of work roles and their allocation among individuals are seen as ethically acceptable and even technically necessary.

In some social systems, the norms which govern the economic system are quite similar to those governing other major social spheres. Thus in feudal society, the authority of the lord of the manor is not essentially different from that of the political monarch, the church hierarchy, or the family patriarch, and the ideology of "natural estates" suf-

fuses all social activity. No special normative order is required for the economic system. But in capitalist society, to make the hierarchical division of labor appear just is no easy task; for the totalitarian organization of the enterprise clashes sharply with the ideals of equality, democracy, and participation which pervade the political and legal spheres. Thus the economic enterprise as a political dictatorship and a social caste system requires special legitimation, and the mechanisms used to place individuals in unequal (and unequally rewarding) positions require special justification.

Indeed, the history of U.S. labor is studded with revolts against the hierarchical division of labor, particularly prior to the full development of formal education and the IQ ideology in the early 20th century. Thus in 1844 the Lynn, Mass. shoe workers, losing control over their craft and their labor in the face of the rising factory system, wrote in their "Declaration of Independence":

> Whereas, our employers have robbed us of certain rights. . .we feel bound to rise unitedly in our strength and burst asunder as Freemen ought the shackles and fetters with which they have long been chaining and binding us, by an unjust and unchristian use of power . . .which the possession of capital and superior knowledge furnishes.

The ideology of the dispossessed farmer in the 1880's and 1890's or of the bankrupted small shopkeeper after the turn of the century is little different. That these radical thrusts against the hierarchical division of labor have by and large been deflected into more manageable wage or status demands bespeaks the power of the capitalist system to legitimize its changing structure, but in no way suggests that the perpetuation of the capitalist relations of productions was ever a foregone conclusion.

The Thrust of Legitimation: IQ, Technocracy, and Meritocracy

We may isolate several related aspects of the social relations of production which are legitimized in part by the IQ ideology. To begin, there are the overall characteristics of work in advanced U.S. capitalism: bureaucratic organization, hierarchical lines of authority, job fragmentation, and unequal reward. It is highly essential that the individual accept, and indeed come to see as natural, these undemocratic and unequal aspects of the work-a-day world.

Moreover, there is the mode of allocating individuals to these various positions, in U.S. capitalism characterized by intense competition in the educational system followed by individual assessment and choice by employers. Here again the major problem is that this "allocation mechanism" must appear egalitarian in process and just in outcome, parellel to the formal principle of "equality of all before the law" in a democratic juridical system based on freedom of contract.

While these two areas refer to the legitimation of capitalism as a social system, they have their counterpart in the individual's personal life. Thus, just as individuals must come to accept the overall social relations of production, workers must respect the authority and competence of their own "superiors" to direct their activities and justify their own authority (however extensive) over others. Similarly, just as the overall system of role-allocation must be legitimized, so individuals must assent to the justness of their own personal position, and the mechanisms through which this position has been attained. That workers be resigned to their position in production is perhaps adequate; that they be reconciled is even preferable.

The contribution of IQism to the legitmation of these social relations is based on a view of society which asserts the efficiency and technological necessity of modern industrial organization, and is butressed by evidence of the similarity of production and work in such otherwise diver-

gent social systems as the United States and the Soviet Union. In this view large scale production is a requirement of advanced technology, and the hierarchical division of labor is the only effective means of coordinating the highly complex and interdependent parts of the large scale productive system. Thus bureaucratic order is awarded the status of an "evolutionary universal," in the words of Talcott Parsons: "Bureaucracy. . .is the most effective large-scale administrative organization that man has invented, and there is no direct substitute for it."

The hallmark of this "technocratic perspective" is its reduction of a complex web of social relations in production to a few rules of technological efficacy -- whence its easy integration with the similarly technocratic view of social stratification inherent in the IQ ideology. In this view the hierarchical division of labor arises from its natural superiority in the coordination of collective activity and in the nurturing of expertise in the control of complex production processes. In order to motivate the most able individuals to undertake the necessary training and preparation for high level occupational roles, salaries and status must be closely associated with one's level in the work hierarchy. Thus Davis and Moore, in their highly influential "functional theory of stratification," locate the "determinants of differential reward" in "differential functional importance" and "differential scarcity of personnel." "Social inequality," they conclude, "is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons." Herrnstein is a little more concrete: "If virtually anyone is smart enough to be a ditch digger, and only half the people are smart enough to be engineers, then society is, in effect husbanding its intellectual resources by holding engineers in greater esteem and paying them more."

That this view does not strain the credulity of well-paid intellectuals is perhaps not surprising. Nor would the technocratic/meritocratic perspective be of much use in legitimizing the hierarchical division of labor were its adherents to be counted only among the university elite and

the technical and professional experts. But such is not the case. Despite the extensive evidence that IQ is not an important determinant of individual occupational achievement and despite the fact that few occupations place cognitive requirements on job entry, the crucial importance of IQ in personal success has captured the public mind. Numerous attitude surveys exhibit this fact. In a national sample of high school students, for example, "intelligence" ranks second only to "good health" in importance as a desirable personal attribute. Similarly, a large majority chose "intelligence" along with "hard work" as the most important requirements of success in life. The public concern over the Coleman Report findings about scholastic achievement and the furor over the IQ debate is merely an indication of the pervasiveness of the IQ ideology.

This popular acceptance, we shall argue, is due to the unique role of the educational system.

Education and Legitimation

To understand the widespread acceptance of the view that economic success is predicated on intellectual achievement we must look beyond the workplace, for the IQ ideology does not conform to most workers' everyday experience on the job. Rather, the strength of this view derives in large measure from the interaction between schooling, cognitive achievement, and economic success. IQism legitimates the hierarchical division of labor not directly, but primarily through its relationship with the educational system.

We can summarize the relationships as follows. First, the distribution of rewards by the school is seen as being based on objectively measured cognitive achievement, and is therefore fair. Second, schools are seen as being primarily oriented towards the production of cognitive skills. Third, higher levels of schooling are seen - as a major, perhaps the strongest, determinant of economic success. (and quite reasonably so, given the strong association of these two variables). It is concluded, thus, that high IQ's are acquired

in a fair and open competition in school and in addition are a major determinant of success. The conclusion is based on the belief that the relationship between level of schooling and degree of economic success derives largely from the contribution of school to an individual's cognitive skills. Given the organization and stated objectives of schools it is easy to see how people would come to accept this belief. In actual fact, this belief, though, is largely without empirical support.

The linking of intelligence to economic success indirectly via the educational system strengthens rather than weakens the legitimation process. First, the day-to-day contact of parents and children with the competitive, cognitively oriented school environment with clear connections to the economy, buttresses in a very immediate and concrete way the technocratic perspective on economic organization, to a degree that a sporadic and impersonal testing process divorced from the school environment could not aspire. Second, by rendering the outcome (educational attainment) dependent not only on ability, but also motivation, drive to achieve, perseverance, and sacrifice, the status allocation mechanism acquires heightened legitimacy. Moreover, personal attributes are tested and developed, over a long period of time, thus enhancing the apparent objectivity and achievement-orientation of the stratification system. Third, by gradually "cooling out" individuals at different educational levels, the student's aspirations are relatively painlessly brought into line with his probable occupational status. By the time most students terminate schooling they have validated for themselves their inability or unwillingness to be a success at the next highest level. Through competition, success, and defeat in the classroom, the individual is reconciled to his or her social position.

The statistical results of the previous section fit in well with our description of the role of education in the legitimation process. The IQ ideology better legitimates the hierarchical division of labor, the stronger are the statistical associations of IQ with level of schooling and economic

success, and the weaker are the causal relations.[1] Weak causal relationships are also necessary for the efficient operation of the job allocation process. IQ is in fact *not* a crucial determinant of job adequacy; the placement of workers solely, or even largely on the basis of cognitive abilities would seriously inhibit the efficient allocation of workers to occupational slots. Thus, there must be a strong statistical association of IQ with economic success, but little economic reward for having a higher IQ in the absence of other traits normally associated with high IQ.[2] Similarly, there must be a strong statistical association between IQ and school success (grades), but enough individual variation to render "hard work" or good behavior important. Again, there must be a strong statistical association between school success and final level of education attainment, but enough individual variation to allow any "sufficiently motivated" student to achieve higher educational levels.

Lastly, there must be a strong association between level of education and economic success, but enough individual variation to reward "achievement motivation" and to allow for the multitude of personal attributes of differential value in educational and occupational performance. All of these conditions appear to be satisfied.

The History of Legitimation: IQ, Education, and Eugenics

The relationship between schooling, IQ, and the stratification system is therefore by no means technologically determined within the framework of capitalist economic institutions. Nor did it arise accidently. This is today a growing body of historical research which indicates that it grew out of a more or less conscious and coordinated attempt to generate a disciplined industrial labor force and to legitimate the rapid hierarchicalization of the division of

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1. By "statistical association" we refer to the simple correlation coefficient between the two variables. By "causal relation" we mean the partial derivative of one variable with respect to another, namely the effect of a change in one variable on another, holding constant all other relevant variables.
2. See Tables 1 and 4 in Part III "I.Q. in the U.S. Class Structure".

labor around the turn of the century.

This historical research strongly challenges the dominant "liberal-technocratic" analysis of education. This "liberal-technocratic" view of schooling supplies an elegant and logically coherent (if not empirically accurate) explanation of the historical rise of mass education in the process of induatrial development. According to this analysis modern industry, irrespective of its political and institutional framework, consists in the application of increasingly complex and cognitively demanding operational technologies, these cognitive demands require an increasing level of cognitive competence on the part of the labor force as a whole. Thus the expansion of educational opportunity becomes a requisite of modern economic growth. Formal education, by extending to the masses what had been throughout history the privilege of the few, opens the superior levels in the productive hierarchy to all with the ability and willingness to attain such competencies. Hence the observed association between education and economic success reflects the achievement of a fundamentally egalitarian school system in promoting cognitive development.

Quite apart from the erroneous view that the determinants of job adequacy in modern industry are primarily cognitive, this interpretation of the rise of universal education in the U.S. finds little support in the historical record. Mass education made its beginning in cities and towns where the dominant industries required little skill – and far less cognitive ability – among the work force. The towns in which the skill using industries located were the followers, not the leaders in the process of mid-19th century educational reform and expansion. Likewise in the late 19th century rural West and South the expansion of schooling was associated not with the application of modern technology or mechanization to farming, but with the extension of the wage labor system to agricultural employment. Even the rise of the land grant colleges -- those institution which in the popular wisdom were most finely attuned to producing the technical skills required in the modernizing agricultural sectors--cannot be explained by the cognitive

needs of the economy, for during their first thirty or so years of operation they offered hardly any instruction in agricultural sciences.

Thus the growth of the modern educational system did not originate with the rising cognitive requirements of the economy. Rather, the birth and early development of universal education was sparked by the critical need of a burgeoning capitalist order for a stable work force and citizenry reconciled, if not inured, to the wage labor system. Order, docility, discipline, sobriety, and humility–attributes required by the new social relation of production–were admitted by all concerned as the social benefits of schooling.

The popular view of the economy as a technical system would await Frederick Taylor and his scientific management movement; the Social Darwinist emphasis on intelligence appeared only in the "scientific genetics" of Binet and Terman. The integration of the IQ ideology into educational theory and practice had to await basic turn-of-the-century developments in the industrial order itself.

The most important of these developments was the birth of the modern corporation, with its relentless pressure toward uniformity and objectivity in the staffing of ever more finely graded hierarchical positions. The rationalistic, efficiency-orientation of bureaucratic order was quickly taken over by a growing educational system. Taylorism in the classroom meant competition, hierachy, uniformity, and above all, individual accountability by means of objective testing.

A second related source of educational change emanating from the economy was the changing nature of the work force. Work on the family farm or in the artisan shop continued to give way to employment in large-scale enterprises. And millions of immigrants swelled the ranks of the new working class. The unamerican, undomesticated character of this transformed work force was quickly revealed in a new labor militancy (of which Sacco and Vanzetti are merely the shadow in folk history) and a skyrocketing

public welfare burden.

The accomodation of the educational system to these new economic realities was by no means a placid process. Modern education was constructed on the rapidly disintegrating and chaotic foundations of the old common school. Geared to the small town, serving native American Protestant stock, and based on the proliferation of the one-room school house, the common school was scarcely up to supplying the exploding labor needs of the new corporate order. Dramatic was its failure to deal effectively with the seething urban agglomeration of European immigrants of rural and peasant origin. As large numbers of working class and particularly immigrant children began attending high schools, the older democratic ideology of the common school – that the same curriculum should be offered to all children – gave way to the "Progressive" insistence that education should be tailored to the "needs of the child." In the interests of providing an education relevant to the later life of the students, vocational schools and tracks were developed for the children of working families. The academic curriculum was preserved for those who would later have the opportunity to make use of book learning, either in college or in white-collar employment.

The frankness with which students were channeled into curriculum tracks, on the basis of their race, ethnicity or social class background raised serious doubts concerning the "openness" of the social class structure. The relation between social class and a child's chances of promotion or tracking assignments was disguised – though not mitigated much – by another "progressive" reform: "objective" educational testing. Particularly after World War I, the increased use of intelligence and scholastic achievement testing offered an ostensibly unbiased means of measuring the product of schooling and stratifying students. The complementary growth of the guidance counseling profession allowed much of the channeling to proceed from the students'-own-counselled-choices, thus adding an apparent element of voluntarism to the system.

If the rhetoric of the educational response to the economic changes after the turn of the century was "progressive," much of its content and consciousness was supplied by the new science of "evolutionary genetics," in the form of the prestigious and influential Eugenics Movement. Of course, as Karier notes, "the nativism, racism, elitism and social class bias which were so much a part of the testing and Eugenics Movement in America were, in a broader sense, part of the *Zeitgeist* which was America." Yet its solid grounding in Mendel's Law, Darwin, and the sophisticated statistical methodologies of Pearson, Thurstone and Thorndike lent it the air of scientific rigor previously accorded only to the Newtonian science.

The leitmotif of the testing movement was the uniting constitutional character of human excellence, as rooted in genetic endowment. Moral character, intelligence, and social worth were inextricably connected and biologically rooted. In the words of the emminent psychologist Edward L. Thorndike, "to him that a superior intellect is given also on the average a superior character." A glance at the new immigrant communities, the black rural ghettos, and the "breeding" of the upper classes could not confirm this opinion in the popular mind. Statistical information came quickly from that architect of the still popular Stanford-Binet intelligence test – Lewis M. Terman – who confirmed the association of IQ and occupational status. Study after study, moreover, exhibited the low intelligence of "wards of the state" and social deviants.

That a school system geared toward moral development and toward domesticating a labor force, for the rising corporate order might readily embrace standardization and testing–to the benefit of the leaders as well as the led–goes without saying. Thus it is not surprising that, while the idealistic Progressives worked in vain for a humanistic, more egalitarian education, the bureaucratization and test-orientation of the school system proceeded smoothly, well oiled by seed money from the Carnegie Corporation and other large private foundations, articulated by social scientists at

prestigious schools of education and readily implemented by business controlled local school boards.

The success of the "cult of efficiency" in education, while obviously secured through the political power of private and public corporate elites, would have appeared unthinkable outside the framework of a burgeoning corporate order within which the "system problem" of a stable labor force demanded new and creative institutional mechanisms. Only a strong labor movement dedicated to construction of a qualitatively different social order could have prevented this, or a functionally equivalent, outcome.

We conclude that the present relation of schooling, IQ, and economic success originated quite consciously as part of an attempt to administer and legitimate a new economic order based on the hierarchical division of labor. We reject the notion that the school system does or has ever functioned primarily to produce cognitive skills made scarce and hence valuable by the continuing modernization of the economy.

Our analysis of the contemporary structure of labor rewards, as well as our historical analysis suggests that cognitive ability is not a particularly scarce good, and hence bears little independent reward. This conclusion will hardly be news to employers: a cotton manufacturer wrote to Horace Mann, then Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1841:

> I have never considered mere knowledge. . .as the only advantage derived from a good Common School education. . .(Workers with more education possess) a higher and better state of morals, are more orderly and respectful in their deportment, and more ready to comply with the wholesome and necessary regulations of an establishment. . .In times of agitation, on account of some change in regulations or wages, I have always looked to the most intelligent, best educated and the most moral for support. The ignorant and uneducated I have generally found the most tur-

bulent and troublesome, acting under the impulse of excited passion and jealousy.

Adequate cognitive skills, we conclude are generated as a byproduct of the current structure of family life and schooling. This highly functional mechanism for the production and stratification of labor has acquired its present form in the pursuit of objectives quite remote from the production of intellectual skills.

OXFORD (or Toronto or

The glooms have come down in Oxford again,
It rained all night
in the long gardens.
Castles are cold and dark.
What have I learned
Here at world centre.
I've learned to hate.

I've a marvellous degree and
an obsession with whatever's crass
Not having taken out a girl in six months
(it would disrupt study).
My mind slums in sex.
Can't look at a girl decently.
What have I learned.
At masterbating I'm the fourth floor expert.

Last night I burnt my notes.
First time I've been warm in months.
I wear gloves when I type.
I've decided not to read a book for a year.
The irony of that is too heavy to look at.
What have I learned.
I've learned self-pity.

What I want to say,
Constantly, I can't say here
Too bloody unbalanced.
What I'd like to say
I can't.
I've learned I'm caught.

And now what.
Go home to teach
what I know
to the hinterland
so they can get where I am
it's so bloody silly

and I don't know anything anyway.
I have no balance.
I'm all hatred and I'm all desire,
Like a dog on a leash.
What do I know.
I need a year of excess to compensate
For what I've given over.

Starting now.
Well, how will I do it.
I've forgotten how to talk to people.
I've nothing to say
(well, except in my area of course).
The gestures of freedom,
    burning notes,
        invective over coffee.
Farcical.

So here we go again
    – sublimate and masterbate.

$10,000 a year.
Lectures as solid as a prairie store front.
I'm qualified to teach your child.

I want to thank my university
For a real knowledge of evil.

Now to begin the act.

Don Kerr

WITHOUT BENEFIT OF TAPE

The real poems are being written in outports
on backwoods farms
in passageways where pantries still exist
or where geraniums
nail light to the window
while out of the window boy in the flying field
is pulled to heaven on the keel of a kite.

Stories breed in the north:
men with snow in their mouths
trample and shake at the bit
kneading the woman down under blankets of snow
icing her breath, her eyes.

The living speech is shouted out
by men and women leaving railway lines
to trundle home, pack-sacked
just company for deer or bear--

    Hallooed
across the counter, in a corner store
it booms upon the river's shore:
on midnight roads where hikers flag you down
speech echoes from the canyon's wall
    resonant
    indubitable.

Dorothy Livesay

From *Collected Poems Two Seasons,*
McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Ltd, Toronto 1972

ALMA, N.B.

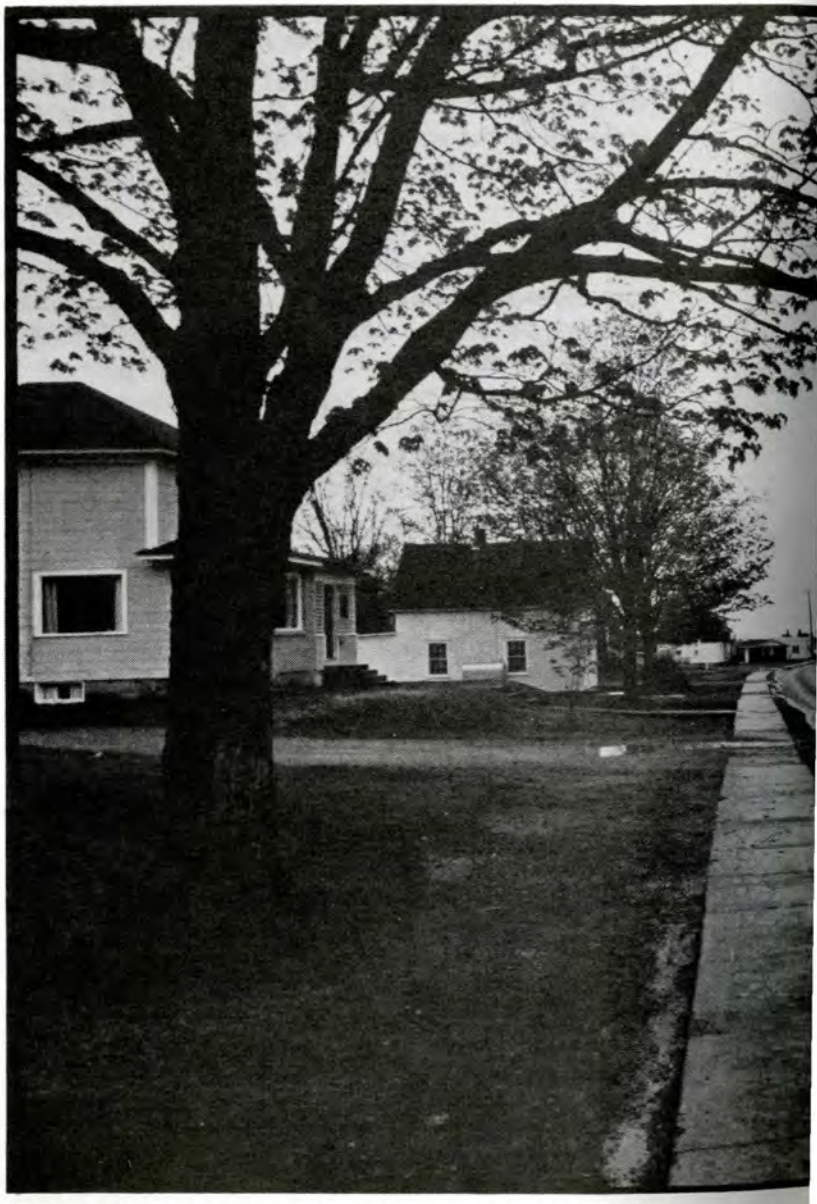


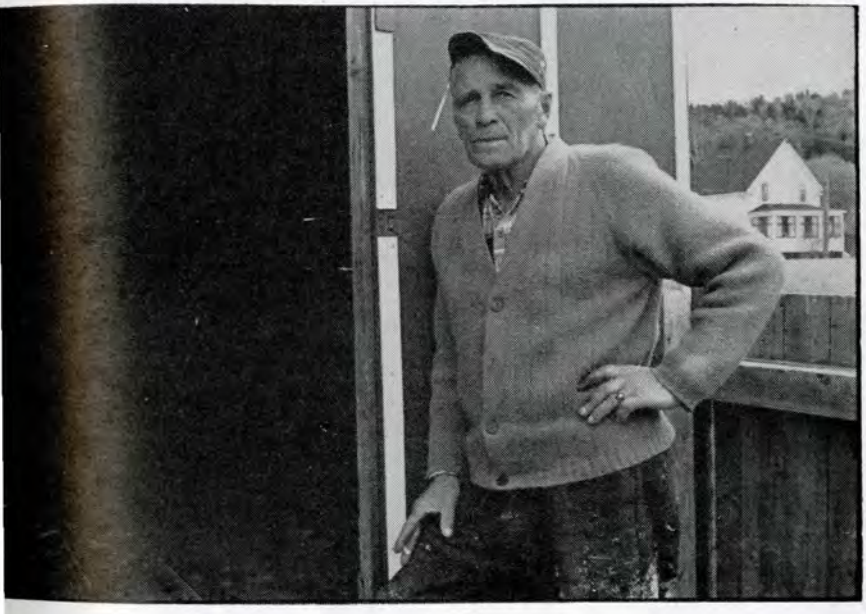
Photo Essay: Ursula Heller

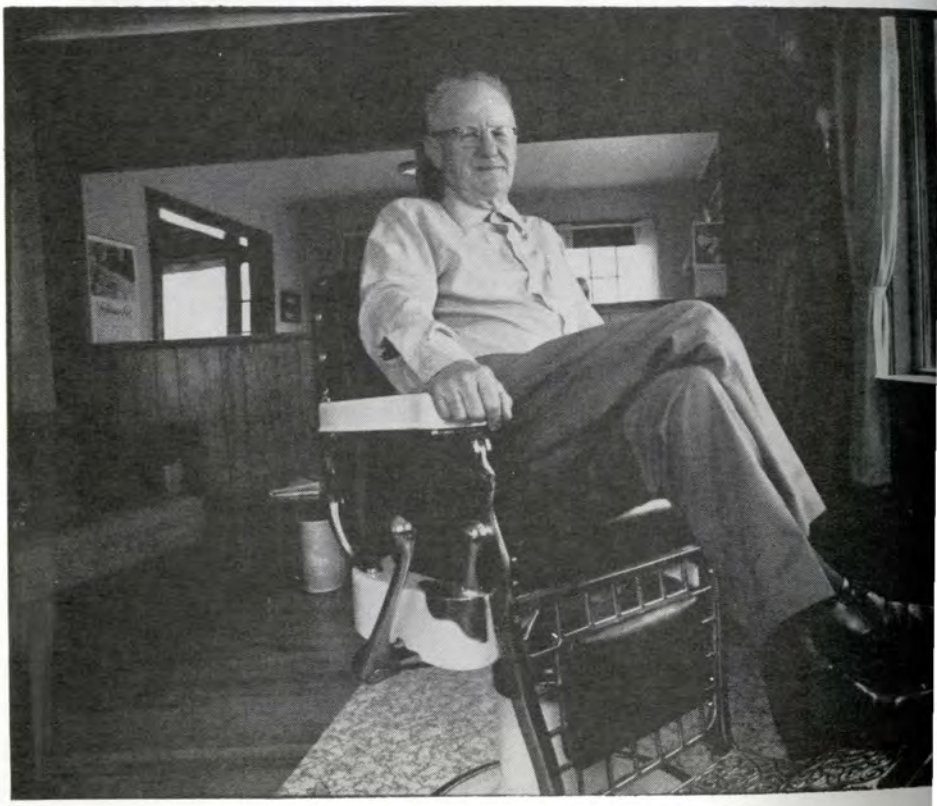
Text: Alma Residents

I am Miriam Kelly from Alma, near Fundy Park. Baking was one of my hobbies, so I decided to make some pin money with my hobby. This was started in my kitchen at home. It grew very rapidly. My husband Judson got me a building lot in the Centre of town designed and built a bake shop with all necessary equipment in 1962. It has become very popular with the local people and the tourists. Campers and picknickers can buy a complete meal at very reasonable prices. I hold a certificate from N.B. Technical School for cooking and had a special course in cake decorating. During the busy season, birthday and anniversary cake can be had in 20 minutes. I operate May 15th to October 10th each year. I employ 9 people besides my husband and myself. My husband has a gift shop next door. He is specialized in handmade lobster trap lamps and pottery.


PLASTICHROME
SOLD OUT


Buckingham





I am the barber McQuaid, born in Alma in December 1900. I went to the Consolidated School of Alma from 1906 to 1913. I learned my profession in Halifax in three months and began my barber shop in Alma in 1931. I also had a general store for 35 years and a small motel. I earned my money during the summer when the park was open for tourists. I met my wife in the Fundy Park. When I was in Florida 2200 miles from Alma, I met a fellow who was fishing and he looked at me and said: "I know you, you cut my hair in the Fundy National Park ten years ago." You see, how small the world is.

I am Sydney E. Butland, teacher and principal of Alma Consolidated School. We live in a period of change and we believe the school must teach for this period of change. Little did we realize in 1960 the difference in our world in the next decade. Today the child is trained to have a flexible mind, ready to listen to all points of view and then make his own decision from all the facts presented. Our aim is to develop the individual not making him a replica of others in his level. Rather than holding to the old adage that every child in the school is treated in the same way, we recognize that every individual child has different needs and problems. It is our aim to have our school a happy place and the student body functioning as one family. This cannot be done if a few have no respect for others. In order that all may feel part of the family, it is necessary to have the following rules obeyed:

1. Students are expected to show courtesy and respect to teachers.

2. Classes begin at 8:55 a.m. and 12:55 p.m. Students are not to be at school more than twenty minutes before class time.

3. Classes move from teacher to teacher. Classes are expected to move in an orderly fashion with no running, pushing or loud talking.

4. During the winter season there is to be no snowballing on the school grounds nor along the highway to and from school.

5. Swearing, using foul language, lying, cheating nor stealing will not be tolerated.

I am a student of Alma Consolidated School and I am in grade six. I enjoy my work like most of the people in Alma. I was born in Moncton, 50 miles from here. My mother was born in Saint John and my father right here in Alma. My father died in the year 1968 and I was eight when it happened. So, after it was over, we decided to move to Saint John for a couple of years and then we returned to Alma. My mother is a housewife and she works hard to do her job and tries to do it right. I have eight in my family including myself. There are four girls and four boys. My three sisters are married, but none of my brothers are married. I like Alma very well, but some people are not very polite and others are kind and helpful. When I get older, I would like to be a photographer or a teacher. They both have lots of work. When nobody is around me, I day dream and try to think of things that I did not do right that day. My home may not be the best, or I may not dress the best but I am happy and I love my family and that is the main thing.


ED SCHOOL

THE HISTORY OF ALMA

(Compiled by Grade 9 of Alma Consolidated School)

Probably as early as 1604, Champlain saw Alma, as he sailed up The Bay of Fundy.

When in 1825, a determinded American fisherman named Brown of Machias, Maine saw the great potentialities of a profitable fishing and lumbering trade, he went home and persuaded some friends to come here and settle. With the building of his cabin that Spring, the village of Alma was started.

The houses had wooden floors. All furniture was home-made, until the Whites came to Alma, selling furniture and cloth. Around this time, parties from house to house were the most common source of entertainment.

The first mail carrier made his weekly trip from Harvey to Point Wolfe through Alma. His mail bag was very light, as there were no newspapers and few letters. The first postmaster was Nathaniel Locke.

In 1870, mail began to be delivered three times each week, and in 1875 the mail began to be delivered every day.

The first school was built by John Cleveland in Alma. This school was also used as a Church. Rev. N. Cleveland was the first Minister to preach in this building. The first school teacher was from Ireland, followed by Mr. Barrett and Miss Susan Foster. Miss Foster later married Mr. David Strong.

As the early farmers did not have any modern machinery, all of their tools were made by hand. Oxen were used for heavy hauling, while the horse was used for lighter work and travel.

There were only two holidays during that time, they were Muster Day and Election Day.

Liquor was sold freely, and the results of such days of pleasure were that many man went home under the influence of the spirits.

In 1888, a railroad was built between Alma and Albert, which ran only a few years, because it did not prove profitable.

In the years of 1870 to 1936, 27 vessels were built in the Alma shipyard, near the entrance to Fundy National Park.

When these ships were being built, many of the young men along the Bay of Fundy followed the sea for a living. Some of the best sailors in the world came from these parts.

In 1914, wages for a man loading a small boat were one Dollar per day, however, the cost of living was lower, for example, tomatos and canned goods were nine to ten cents, eggs were twelve to fifteen cents per dozen, beef was five cents per pound, butter was twenty cents per pound. Yearly taxes were about eight Dollars on the average home. It was possible to trade excess vegetables and poultry for other necessities.

Two Doctors resided in Alma in the early nineteen hundreds, namely, Dr. Coates and Dr. Fairbanks. Also Dr. David Cleveland, Dentist, resided in Alma. Unless people were extremely ill, they did not go to a hospital, but were cared for at home.

In 1910 or 1911, Mr. J. Cleveland brought the first car down the Point Wolfe road. One shocked woman, upon seeing this car, ran wildly to her next door neighbour and informed her that "The devil himself was coming down the road".

After 1914, prices and wages went up. By this time, Alma was a thriving village with dress makers, hat makers, blacksmiths, undertakers, storekeepers etc. The Churches were Baptist and Methodist, with the Ministers living in the village.

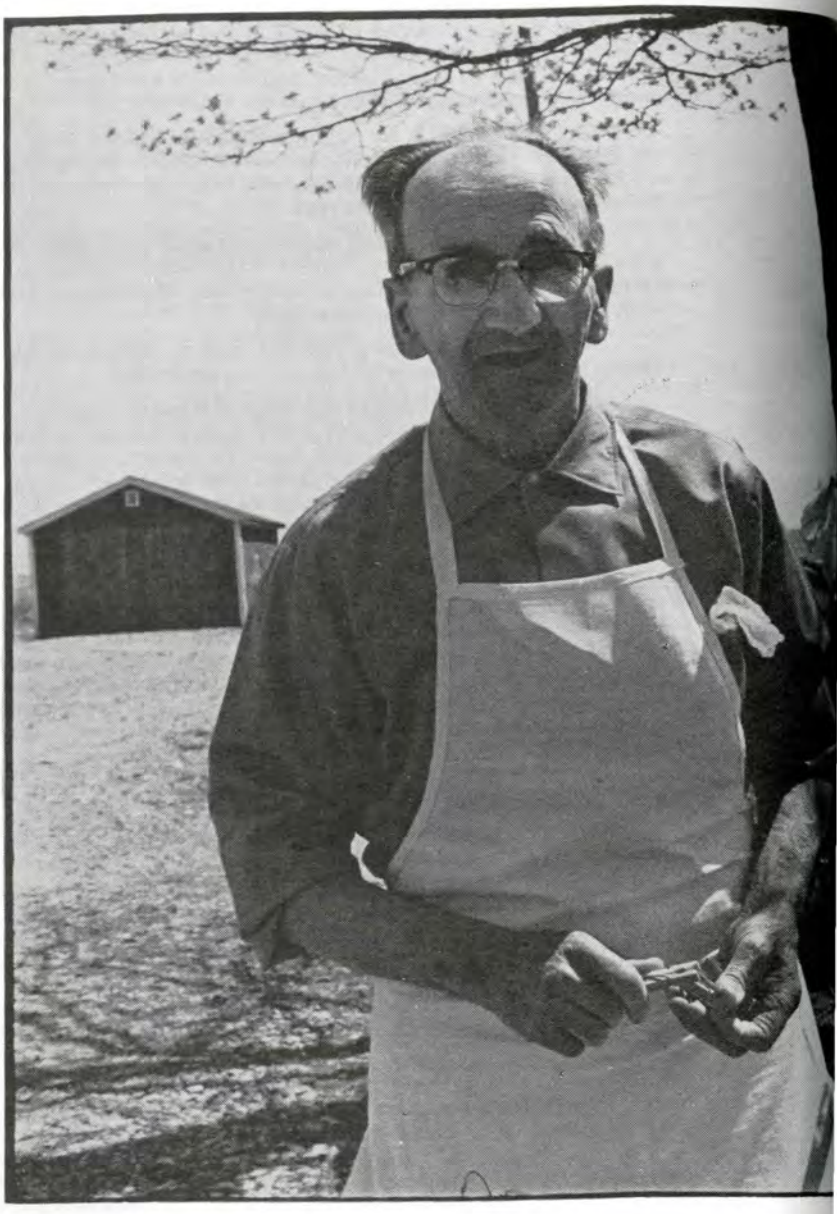
Although shipbuilding was the leading industry of Alma, lumbering lost its importance and hard times developed.

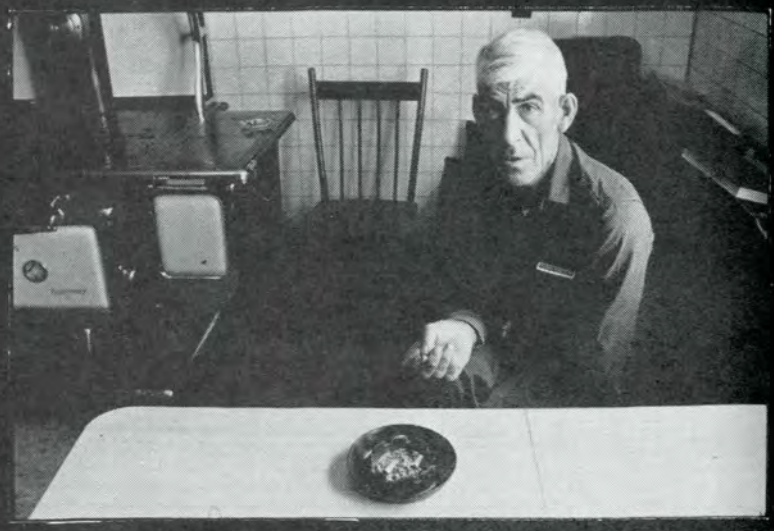
On June 4, 1926 the pretty village of Alma was nearly destroyed by fire. It was a very windy day and dry, so it is believed that a spark blew across the Alma River and settled on the roof of Martin's store. It burned all of the houses and stores from Martin's store up the left side of the village, including the School and United Church. Also the beautiful maple trees along the street were burned.

In 1947, the first National Park in the Province of New Brunswick was established. Although it was difficult for the people to leave their homes in the Park, it had the advantage of steady employment for the people in the village and vicinity. The Park has had a good effect on our village, as every year, during the summer, hundreds of tourists from all over Canada and United States come to view the magnificent scenery of Alma and the Park. This provides summer employment for many in the Park, and gives stores, garages and many others a brisk business during these months.

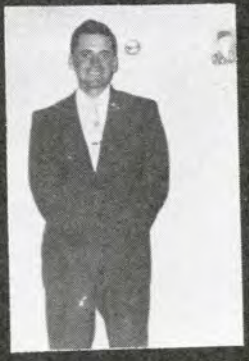
The people in Alma have celebrated Canada's 100th birthday by constructing a Town Clock. Also new that year was a Fire Station, housing the fire equipment, under the direction of Mr. Rutherferd Cooper, Fire Chief.

So, out of the wilderness, Alma has grown into the charming little community, which as today 500 to 600 inhabitants. Some of the original houses still stand and many ancestores of these early settlers are still residing here.

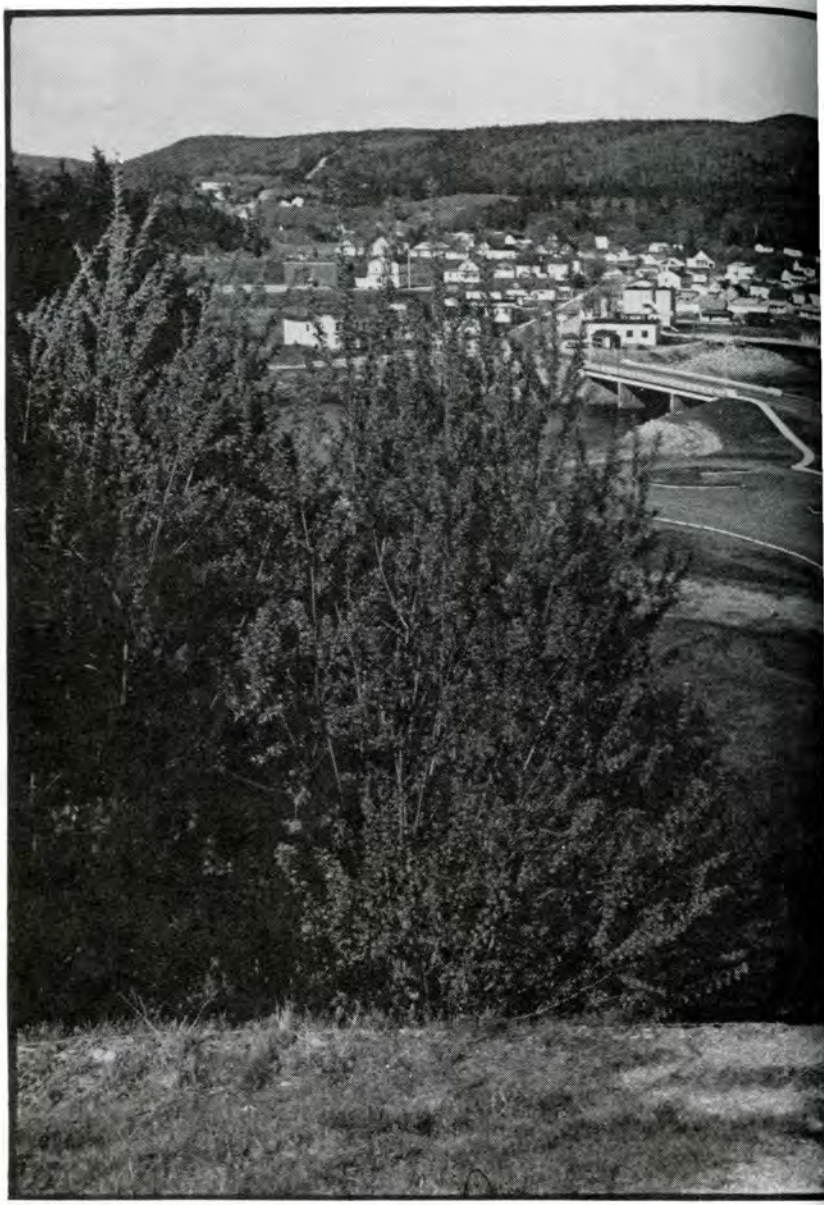


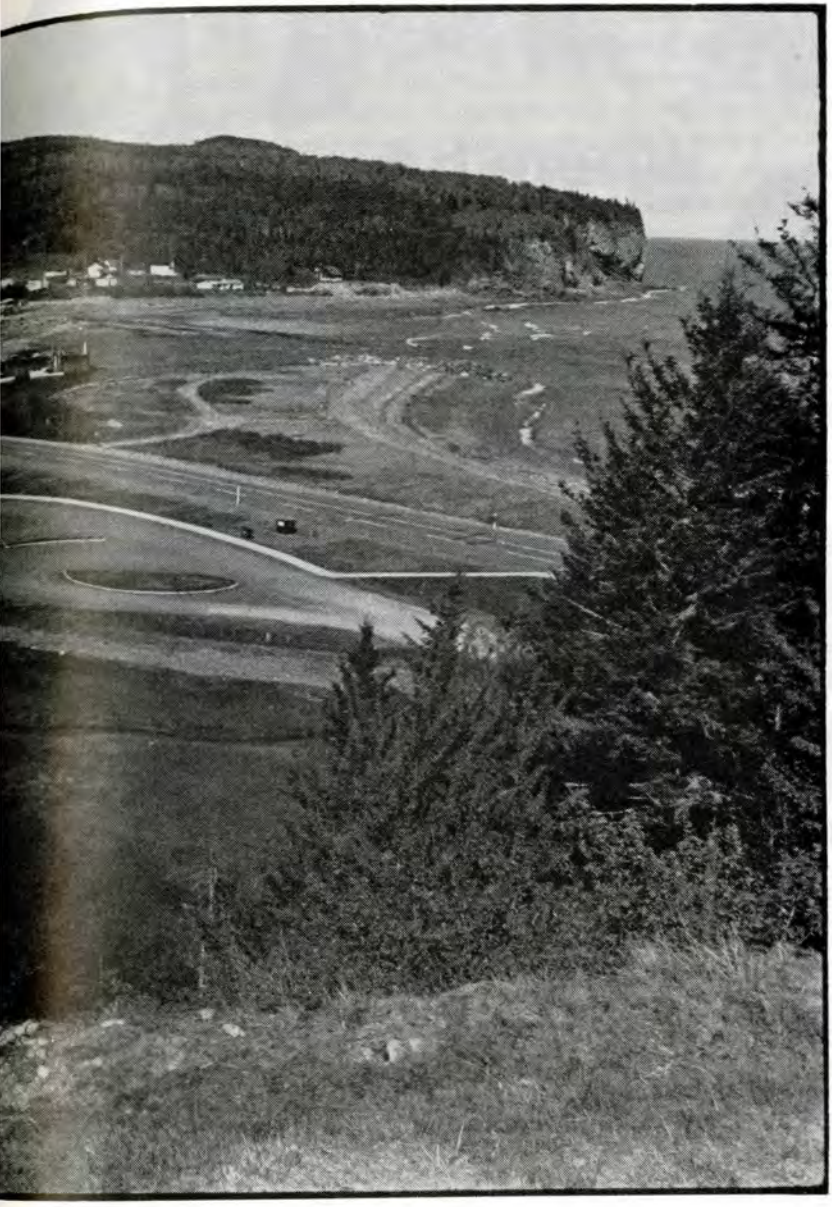


I am Charlie Douthwright, born in September 1915. I went to a very small school until I was 15 years old and went to work on a farm for two years and then to a saw mill for three years. Then to the lumber woods also truck driving and am now working in a grocery-store. I was married on December 23th in 1939 to Annie Rossiter. We have three children and many grandchildren. They do not live in Alma or near us as they had to move to the City for work. I do not like the City myself as everyone is in a hurry going nowhere. The City is a very lonesome place as nobody has time to even pass the time of day. And also very hot and very bad air.



Chapman Douglas
Alma. N.B.
Left Point Wolfe in 1949.
when the Park took over.





Where have all the free schools gone?

A conversation with
Bob Davis, Satu Repo
and George Martell.
Arranged and edited
by Douglas Myers.

Reprinted from Canadian Forum

Doug Myers teaches history at
O.I.S.E. and is currently on leave
of absence as an executive assistant
to the Ontario Teacher's Federation

MYERS: *Reading the things you three have written over the past several years, it seems to me that if there has been a central theme in* This Magazine, *it has been the search for an effective means of fundamental educational and social change. Some of what seem at first like complete contradictions or reversals of direction are the result of deciding that this or that approach isn't working and something else ought to be tried. And there seems to have been a continuing debate about what was and was not working from the very beginning – there has never been much collective certainty in the tone of* This Magazine.

REPO: It has always expressed various themes around a certain end of the spectrum – they have not been very far apart but they haven't been identical. I think that's what made the magazine interesting for us. The editors still have slightly different emphases, slightly different points of view, and we had to struggle with each other.

MYERS: *I was also struck by the fact that, although its tone is certainly not cool or detached, it has generally avoided sounding shrill in a sectarian kind of way – in fact it has had a rather tolerant tone.*

REPO: I think that has to do with the fact that the magazine was never part of a larger political group. It's a virtue sometimes, but it also shows how individualistic we were. We were a group of friends who thought rather similarly about things, and we had known each other a long time, and so we started a magazine.

DAVIS: Yeah, some of the tolerance was the result of not being specifically political activists but being interested in political activism and writing about it. Much of what we were actually *doing* was the counter-culture, developing experimental education, free schools of various kinds. One of the changes in the magazine is that we're no longer concerned with just reporting left activist activity, particularly in the student group, without stopping to analyze what is at the root of it.

REPO: Before we were just digging it, no matter what was at the bottom of it.

MYERS: *Well, whatever the ingredients, the recipe seemed to work, because the magazine has an astonishingly high reputation. Who, in fact, does read it and how are they distributed – is it better known in California than in Ontario?*

DAVIS: Probably administrators who felt themselves to be somewhat liberal would read it, plus a lot of educated counter-culture people, liberal teachers. . .

REPO: And liberal parents. . .

MARTELL: But by far and away our largest group are teachers and education professionals, maybe 60 to 70 per cent. And our most recent count, I think, shows that a little more than half our readers are in the States.

MYERS: *That, of course raises the whole nationalist/continentalist issue, but before we get into that, can we talk a bit about how you got into working in and writing about education and schools and why you saw education as being especially relevant to social change generally? You all seem to have been really very successful at school and yet, afterwards, to have felt that there was something essential missing in your experience and that schools were dehumanizing places.*

REPO: It had to do with our current jobs as teachers and social workers, I guess. Beginning to reflect on the influence of education and other socializing institutions. Being a social worker brought me back to the details of the situation now – it wasn't just thinking of the past. It was sort of looking at these institutions and seeing what they were doing to people right now, and what we were doing in these institutions.

MYERS: *But not in the sense that this had crunched you personally.*

REPO: That's right. Although there was also the understanding how they had deformed us, not in very obvious ways. You know, the way bad success spoils people just as well as bad failure.

DAVIS: George and I both went to Dalhousie and I think that both of us assumed that we didn't feel called upon to analyze the university in a basic way while we were there. It wasn't seen as part of our function as students. It was partly one of the functions of the Fifties that made poets and intellectuals stress individual personal lives outside institutions as the most important thing.

REPO: People took the society for granted much more – taking for granted that one fitted in or, if one didn't, one had a problem. It was before a large number of people turned things around. The beats represented a pretty individual

solution for a few.

MYERS: *But wasn't the counter-culture movement in the 1960's also very concerned with personal lives?*

DAVIS: Well, my interest in the counter-culture was partly very different from the Fifties' stress on the personal, because it definitely proceeded from analyzing society as a whole. I participated in the C.U.C.N.D. and in S.U.P.A., and I saw connections between what I thought about schools and those things. I can say now that I wasn't primarily a political being the way I approached it, but it was nonetheless a general analytical reaction to the whole society. It was one of the things that thrust me in that direction. The other thing that made it different from the Fifties' stress on the personal was that I've always been interested in the tribal aspect of the counter-culture that got lots of people together, and not in people going off alone or with a few friends, like the Kerouac books, or attaching yourself to a guru in Japan. For me the commune was very important – the communal school. . .

REPO: For me it was the co-op.

DAVIS: Co-op houses, right.

REPO: We were all in co-op houses in the city, you know, before we got into this. And then there was the experience at Warrendale, the collective experience with kids and adults, which had a large influence on us, even those of us who didn't work there. These things had an important intellectual influence on us even before the counter-culture existed. It was sort of pre-counter culture – a Freudian kind of orientation. We would also look toward the group as the important thing, not so much the individual or psychiatrist-patient relationship. We were interested, too, in the therapeutic elements in family-size groups which we experienced in the co-ops and knew about in places like Warrendale, where they did amazing things with disturbed children in a family setting. That was an important inspiration for Everdale. A number of the people who were involved in starting it knew about Warrendale and were very impressed by it.

DAVIS: Some of the connections for Everdale are quite definite – on the theoretical level. Neill's Summerhill was the most important model for us. Neill spent a lot of time with Wilhelm Reich, and was analyzed by him and Reich took

the parts of Freud that Satu was referring to and added his own sense of the communal.

MYERS: *I'm interested that Bob says what he did* proceeded from *an analysis of society, because it rather struck me in reading* This Magazine *that the basic motivation was the search for a more personally satisfying way of living – though in a group context – and that the experiences and frustrations of that process* led to *a more comprehensive social analysis.*

REPO: Well, I think, I would say for my part – the magazine started before counter-culture, before the student rebellions and all that. I started out with an intuitive reaction against the repressiveness of institutions like the school system and the school agencies, really looking at the kind of metaphysical, life and death forces in society and seeing those institutions as the death forces, and being sort of anarchistic and utopian in the kind of solutions I was thinking of. I saw the small communities as models that then might have influence on larger groups through being publicized in places like *This Magazine*. I thought of social change as much more a kind of poetic thing than a political thing. That's where I felt I was.

DAVIS: I think it's unfair to make this kind of dichotomy. Looking back now probably we might say that we were more practical people than analytical at that time, but it's not that we didn't have various analyses. We might now call them superficial, but we definitely had positions about society as a whole. It was based on a lot of faith that turned out not to be justified. It seemed to me to be supported by what was happening in 1968. All those university struggles seemed so exciting and so influential and it seemed that all these issues were very much related – especially in the French experience – to the whole working-class fight too.

REPO: Although we never made much of that – all our emphasis was on the students.

DAVIS: I'm trying to think in the back of my mind what must have convinced me that it was so central. I probably thought that it was going to happen like that eventually here too.

REPO: Well, we did think that the students were somehow in the vanguard of social change – for all kinds of reasons we were not so clear on. We took some things from McLuhan and some things from Marcuse and we had a sort of hodge-podge of reasons for believing that students had perhaps a strategic rôle in being a part of the work force formed around the technology. Bob had a much more serious critique of the family than either George or I had. I mean, he believed much more that the family had disintegrated and had not much meaning as a social unit and that, therefore, there had to be other institutions in the society.

MYERS: *Bob's writing has always had the greatest sense of urgency, of the three of you – the feeling of an impending cataclysm and, at the same time, tremendous optimism. It has almost a religious fervour – does this come out of your particular family background?*

DAVIS: Oh yeah, sure. I think the change has come in starting to accept the class analysis more and more. I realize now that behind this incredible faith I had in the counter-culture or in school upheavals there was the mistaken idea that society was more open than it is, that power was not as entrenched as it is, and the position of youth was very much removed from any control by the central parts of the society like the production system or the communications system. I think that was a very important weakness. For example, I was the one on the magazine's editorial board that was most excited by McLuhan's writings – and I still think there are aspects of communication which he analyzed in very interesting new ways. But the extent to which he announces that society has already changed in a total way – I now think that's not just wrong – it's vicious in fact, because it involves telling, say, the Vietnamese that nationalism is out of date. . . . So, to understand how this society works and, hopefully, how to change it, requires a lot of very serious analysis and thought and it requires analyzing aspects of society *not* having directly to do with schools.

MYERS: *In 1969, if I recall correctly, you printed a very harsh critique of* This Magazine's *position by Satu's sister, Marjaleena Repo, in which she accused you all, but especially George, of indulging in a middle-class fantasy of achieving the illusion of a decent, meaningful existence – through*

community work and free schools and so on – in the midst of a repressive, brutal society. Have you more or less accepted the validity of that critique in retrospect?

MARTELL: Well, there's a sense in which her criticism was tangential to what I was concerned about. But I've also changed my mind about a lot of things since those days. I agree entirely with Marjaleena's analysis of the way in which poor people are organized against the working class, and I never disagreed with it at the time. My experience in those days was not a counter-culture experience in any sense – it never was – I was simply enjoying the hell out of teaching literature to street kids and really my analysis didn't go much further than that. I was concerned about the kind of situation it would be nice to teach literature to street kinds in – with asides about the oppressiveness of the corporations. I also believed then that neighbourhood organizing, done properly and not in any sense in opposition to labour organizing, would have an equal place to organizing in the workplace; and I no longer think that's true. The equality, that is. I think the *basic* political organizing has to happen primarily at the work place and that the most fundamental thing to do in this country is to build a strong and militant Canadian union centre. Which is not to say that neighbourhood organizing shouldn't continue. Only that it should be fused with a larger labour movement.

MYERS: *And still with a strong emphasis on decentralization and community involvement.*

MARTELL: That's right, but that has to come within a strong working-class movement built on the workplace.

MYERS: *Did that mean that you lost your faith that a whole lot of little things would come together into something significant?*

MARTELL: Yes. There's no question that people who are doing community work ought not to be discouraged from doing it and those people who are working seriously in the schools ought not to be discouraged; but they also must be encouraged to link up their efforts with building up a powerful working-class movement in Canada based around Canadian unions. On their own they'll remain powerless. You only have to look at the gutting of downtown Toronto; as things stand, it won't be stopped by groups like CORRA.

MYERS: *Just going back to your own development then, from those early articles till now, were you a socialist to start with?*
MARTELL: Yes, I was a socialist to start with.
REPO: Starting from where?
MARTELL: I would say that very early on in the magazine we were utopian socialists.
REPO: We were socialists in a very poetic way.
MARTELL: Socialists in a very poetic way. All right, we weren't Marxists, but we were anti-capitalist. Simply, we were utopian socialists. If somebody told us we were utopian socialists, we vehemently denied it. We said, "Of course, we're practical people." We believed in revolution. We knew there had to be a transition period between capitalism and socialism, but that was for somebody else, however, to concern themselves with. Not us.
REPO: We were doing these little models for others to imitate.
MARTELL: That's right. But my own development towards a Marxist position began with utopian socialism. I mean what it really came down to in practice, was a kind of practical anarchism developing in communal situations – whether in schools or co-ops or city residents' associations or what have you – and seeing that get beaten, watching it get wiped out. You see that what you consider to be reasonable arguments clearly make no difference. All the Jane Jacobs in the world aren't going to alter things. That kind of delicate and very human analysis of how nice it would be if only we were all reasonable, and we understood that cities are intricate social webs when they work, and we learn to preserve our local butcher because we know all the great things he does to keep the neighbourhood together, all that keeping of keys and confidences. It's very fine, and it's really true. We have a local butcher who does just that thing, but we know damn well that six months from now he won't be there – he's going to be out on his ass, when our local developer moves in. The utopian awareness, of what a great scene a city could be, is not enough. It's very important to keep in the back of your head all the time, because that finally is what you're fighting for; but you must deal with the organization of the mass of the people, the working class in the society, that will make that world a practical reality over a long period of time. You realize that the residents' groups get cleaned

because they have no base, they simply have no handle on society. And if you're concerned about pushing back corporate capitalism, gradually your position starts to shift as you start realizing that you have to make a class analysis, that the only people who will move the society are the working class, who have power of the means of production.

REPO: I still believed then that the middle class was actually essential to movement in a way I don't see it as being central now. I was still under Marcuse's influence.

MARTELL: Marcuse was very influential.

REPO: For George and me more than for Bob, I think.

MARTELL: Marcuse put together for us Freud and Marx in a whole new way, a very important step for people in the middle class. But let me stress here that my teaching in the city was not, initially, a counter-culture scene at all – I was a pushy gang leader, for Christ sake. By the time we got the Point Blank building, it had started to become a counter-culture institution, but in my basement it was me and eight or nine kids. I was fairly tough about them working at reading and writing – if they didn't do a certain amount of work, then they got out. It wasn't a Bereiter approach; it was much more Sylvia Ashton-Warner, *firm* Sylvia Ashton-Warner. But finally, when it came to the crunch, what I was offering working-class kids was the option to be a bourgeois artist, and I got one – a real good one – who may in fact be much better than that. Right now he's made two very good films and certainly has prospects of making many more. But, for most, I didn't offer anything long-term – there was no sense in which they became educated and moved into a larger working-class movement.

DAVIS: The tools that you gave them were not useful in that sense.

MARTELL: That's right, that's right! They couldn't use that reading in the best sense. I never, of course, encouraged mobility – I always encouraged them to fight against it, but. . .

Another inadequacy in our position was that it just did not deal with the national question; it was very much a North American analysis. Once you take that 49th parallel seriously, then your whole framework starts to shift.

MYERS: *This, of course, has been another major change in*

the attitude of This Magazine, *from a continentalist position to a nationalist stance. I came across something Bob wrote, about* This Magazine *and the Ontario Department of Education having at least one thing in common: that the basic questions of education in North America transcended political boundaries. . .*

DAVIS: Did I say that?

MYERS: *And George, in his article in* Close the 49th Parallel, *seemed to take the view that the country had been lost and, although we should retain what independence we could, essentially we were all Americans and must work out American solutions to our problems.*

DAVIS: Actually, the most outrageous example of our continentalism was that book [*This Book is About Schools*] published by Pantheon.

REPO: No, I don't think that was the most outrageous.

DAVIS: I think it sold for $9.00 in Canada and $7.00 in the States.

MARTELL: It was four years ago and no Canadian publisher would touch it with a ten-foot pole, and this American house came to us and said, "We'd really like to publish your book and not only that we'll print a lot of pictures and have a great design and. . ."

REPO: Actually that book obviously should have been published in the United States. It was very much a continental book and that's why it should get a continental circulation.

DAVIS: That makes it a positive virtue!

MARTELL: My only justification at public meetings to people who brought that up, you know, was to say, "Well, personally we didn't make any money on it. It all went to a good cause – using Yankee money to keep a Canadian magazine alive." Not a very strong position, I'm afraid.

REPO: We felt much more North American then.

MARTELL: Well, it wasn't just that I felt North American. I was deeply pessimistic about the potential of various groups in this country to get it together in time to develop an independent socialist state.

REPO: And *Quebec* has been a major thing in giving people a second thought of the possibility of independence.

MYERS: *What is your view of what has happened in Quebec? Was the initial rise to national consciousness amongst the*

working class, or was the vanguard essentially middle-class, the university student and so on? Are there useful parallels for English-speaking Canada?

REPO: We didn't follow it as closely as we should have, but I think that two things happened at the same time. First there was this kind of a cultural nationalism that, of course, found expression in the universities and in the arts in the late Sixties; and then they also had an indigenous union movement. Unlike the rest of Canada, they had this powerful Quebec union movement which was as powerful as the international unions in Quebec.

MYERS: *Whether or not it was radical?*

REPO: It wasn't radical, it was reactionary. It was organized by the clergy and it was, in fact, set up at first by Duplessis to discourage the international unions, because it would be a movement that he could handle. But it turned out, because it was a nationalist movement, when it grew into the CNTU, it could respond to the local situations faster than the Canadian labour movement in general. Therefore, it grew and developed and became political and sophisticated in a way the rest of the labour movement did not. It definitely now has a working-class base and orientation, but it was bourgeois nationalism first, it had the universities and the teachers.

MYERS: *Looking at the rest of the country, would you say we have anything like that degree of bourgeois national consciousness, let alone an indigenous labour movement?*

MARTELL: No, of course not. How much we have is what's hard to come to grips with. How important the nationalist question is or Robin Matthews' emphasis on the revolution of the mind, which with the cultural question really opens people up to the socialist question, is very difficult to say. It happened in Quebec. There's no question that for many people the clear logic of nationalism leads to socialism. With Mel Watkins, for example, that was clearly the process. That was the case with the forerunners of the CNTU – they were a nationalist, pro-Duplessis union that gradually, as the logic of the nationalist question in Quebec became clear to them, became socialists.

MYERS: *Isn't it likely, however, that our governments will take some action on cultural matters as a cover for doing nothing on the political and economic fronts?*

MARTELL: But each time they do it, it hurts them, finally. The cultural question is always explosive in a colonized country. So the more Canadian publishers supported, for example, the better.

REPO: It has beneficial fallout effects irrespective of what the government's intention may be, say, to cool the people down.

MARTELL: Because the Canadian question is clear. If you say "I'm a Canadian nationalist", you *have* to be an anti-imperialist. It's two sides of the same coin. Which means you have to be against corporate capitalism because it's almost entirely controlled from the United States. I mean, you're just stuck with an immediate set of allegiances once you've said you are a nationalist. We really don't have an option to be bourgeois nationalists.

MYERS: *Along with the clear shift to a socialist and a nationalist position, you also seemed to be becoming more hopeful of effective political action on the left in Canada. Although you are sceptical of the* NDP*'s commitment to major social change, you seemed to think that the Canadian tradition of a respectable party on the left offered some chance for it to move in a more radical direction. Do you still think this after seeing what has happened to the Waffle, in Ontario at least?*

MARTELL: Well, I don't really think the Waffle is serious – that's my intuition, anyway.

REPO: I don't think you know the Waffle well enough even to say that. I think that's really unfair because we haven't examined them with the kind of care necessary.

DAVIS: But if you start to be a little more optimistic about an independent socialist movement, it would have to be based on masses of the working class, and that's the critical question about the Waffle. They don't seem to have taken that seriously. That's the difference between looking at them and looking at what has happened in Quebec – it has depth.

REPO: But there are a lot of people involved. I did an interview with Mel Watkins and, at the time, I spent some time with Waffle people. My feeling was that they were *very aware* of where they had to move, they were very interested and very concerned and very determined to become a working class-oriented organization. But the struggle to stay within

the NDP was the key to their strategy. That was so all-consuming, with their jobs and other things and they just found it very difficult to have time for goals because the NDP had been purging them for the past six months. And you have to realize that it's to the extent that it did make these forays into the working-class areas that it made itself an enemy of the international unions; that it's because of the big meeting in Windsor, with all those workers, and a number of other meetings with unionized workers, that it drew this tremendous animosity from the union bosses, and therefore made it impossible for Stephen Lewis to keep the union bosses and the Waffle in the party – not that he shed any tears at letting them go.

MYERS: *Well, if the possibility of the* NDP *moving left now seems unlikely to you, what alternatives remain?*

MARTELL: Much more thorough organizing on the left, then, is clearly the option, at the workplace and in the cities. The only option is to develop another political party on the left that is not a social democratic party, but a socialist party, and has a *Canadian* union base.

MYERS: *Do you see a long period now of splinter groups of one kind and another on the left?*

MARTELL: Yes, until a stronger Canadian union movement emerges. That's the first stage before any kind of political party of any serious strength can develop.

MYERS: *So you now see the nationalism issue as being really only effective in terms of working people, and splitting Canadian unions off from the internationals?*

REPO: It's not only that, although that's really an important part. Obviously national independence is also an important question at the universities and it's an important question in articulating the Canadian experience in the arts and so on. But where you have any muscle, it's going to be in the union movement.

MYERS: *Does the Council of Canadian Unions strike you as a serious enterprise in this direction?*

MARTELL: Oh, yes, it's clearly very serious. It's very small but it's principled. Some of the people who are its leaders have had thirty years of the most intense struggle to stay alive as *Canadian* unionists and socialists. Their integrity is beyond question. Whether or not the present form of the CCU is possible – whether it can hold – is another matter.

The pressures at this time may be too great for it. But there's no doubt in my mind it's very serious.

DAVIS: The forces against it are very strong, of course, because their unions are generally more militant than most other unions, and so the Labour Relations Boards in various parts of the country try to make it much more difficult for their unions to get certified.

REPO: Also because the international unions have representatives on these Labour Relations Boards.

DAVIS: It's growing slowly in the West, partly by the traditional Canadian patterns, that militancy comes from the West first. The Waffle strategy for Canadian labour has looked good on paper but it never included saying openly that there's a need for a central structure. It seems to me that there is a clear need for a Canadian union structure.

MYERS: *Are you still interested in the left in the United States?*

MARTELL: No. That is to say, I'm still interested in them as brothers and sisters who live in a different country. We may also, at some later stage of this country's development, require their help.

REPO: They might require ours too.

MARTELL: And who knows, they might require our help. At any rate, obviously *This Magazine,* while it's become a nationalist journal, is also an international journal. We care very much that the American left is strengthened because we consider them comrades, but we now understand that their experience is of fairly limited use to us.

REPO: And it's clear to us now that the strategies might be quite different in Canada and the United States regarding social changes.

MARTELL: If you're an American, you can hardly be a nationalist. You're the imperial centre, you know.

REPO: And your attitude towards the state will be different too because you don't want to strengthen the American state if you're an American radical whereas there might be some arguments for a Canadian nationalist to strengthen the Canadian state.

MYERS: *In a recent issue of* This Magazine *you printed an appeal to teachers to write, under a pseudonym if necessary, about what their jobs and hassles were like. You said that* This Magazine *had concluded, from the experience of the*

last six years, that there was "no alternative to the public schools and that all our energies must go into changing that system." Finally you stated your conviction that teachers must be part of a broadly based left-wing coalition, uniting all the working people of Canada. Do you think teachers are likely to respond favourably to these notions?

DAVIS: Well, that remains to be seen, doesn't it?

REPO: The school is the work place for the teacher.

MARTELL: We're saying to the teachers, "Join your allies – your only serious allies are working men and women in this country."

DAVIS: The teachers in Quebec, why do they now say they're workers like the rest?

MARTELL: Well, not all of them say they're workers – the leadership doesn't and a very substantial minority say they are, a powerful minority. There's no formed opposition to it yet, there has been no real backlash, which means a great deal. They really have taken a commanding lead in the development of teacher organization. But clearly the Quebec teachers' rise to consciousness came considerably later than the CNTU rise to consciousness and it built on that. The union movement provided a whole climate, a substantial shift of political structures. A new power base was formed to which teachers could then ally themselves.

REPO: Also the issue of nationalism was central. The Quebec teachers were and are heavily separatist.

MYERS: *But do you see teachers in the rest of the country as being in any sense in a similar position or similar frame of mind as the Quebec teachers?*

MARTELL: Well, of course, somebody who's organizing the teachers is organizing on the faith that somebody else is organizing the workers. But you can't ignore them, they are a massive constituency – 275,000 professional teachers in this country. And half of the provincial budget, for God's sake, and then doubled by municipal taxes. Many are also very angry, you know, and despairing when you scratch the surface.

REPO: But they're mostly angry about taking bloody courses, and what can you do with that? Most of the time they're not that displeased with their job, but certainly they're *not*

pleased with their power.

MARTELL: Well, we'll see. That's what it's going to hang on – how alienated those teachers are – how much will-power does it take to have to go into that classroom, to keep order, and to see themselves and the kids die a little more each day. Ten years ago who would have believed the C.E.Q?

REPO: I've taught teachers who came from working-class homes. They've done better than their fathers, with a lot of struggle, their family is proud of them, they're sort of proud of themselves. It could be nicer in many ways, but they're not complaining too much about the job. It's a much better job than their father had or their brothers and sisters have. They do hate these bloody courses they have to take. I guess that's when I get them angriest, talking about these courses.

DAVIS: I am finding my own reaction to teachers interesting now that I am teaching some of those courses. Two years ago I would have been very upset by those stylistic things – they all seem so straight in their demeanour and style and so on. But in approaching the school system and society very differently than I did then, I am really not so concerned about that, and I find them more open than I would have expected then – in fact, for example, they are quite sympathetic to a class analysis approach.

MYERS: *Have there been any significant changes in the regular public school system over the past decade?*

MARTELL: No, there's been no significant change in the system. In my judgment, the people who run the corporations and the government understood the direction of the economy in the early 1960's, at kind of an instinctive level – I don't know to what extent they understood it analytically. They knew that they had to have some place to socialize and stratify all these people who were going to have no place in the economy or very low level white collar jobs. So they introduced that massive expansion of the technical and vocational system, increasing the dead end schools in every respect. And I think that what we're now seeing is the development of that basic decision.

MYERS: *What then was Hall-Dennis – empty rhetoric?*

MARTELL: No, Hall-Dennis, in my judgment, was a justification for the techniques used in those vocational and technical

schools. A system responds, a system has a certain logic. What Hall-Dennis, in fact, does – with all that incredibly banal bullshit about the whole child, in a situation which is clearly oppressive to any kind of human wholeness, conveying the message that children should learn at their own speed – means they have no human standards. It is an advanced form of liberalism, which always has no notion of what human nature is, no sense of social or personal destiny. Their key intellectual statement, right in the centre of the report is from Heraclitus – something about "All is flux." No, I remember, something like: "Life is movement and repose is death." The Hall-Dennis people helped clear the way for the development of Special Education – that's *the* growing, powerful section of the Toronto Board for example. I think you'll see in the next ten years a great many of the Board bureaucrats, the top administrators, will come out of the Special Education Branch because those are the people who really have their hands on the major new mode of social control that will be operating in this country.

REPO: That gets back to my original interest in the role of social work in adjustment and counselling. An even more major part of the school system will be devoted to this kind of adjustment.

MARTELL: Yes. For many there are no jobs. And their number will increase.

DAVIS: I want to add something about what that means to the wealthy kids because that's very important. The school system is changing enough for them, in ways that are suitable, in the direction that corporate capitalism is growing. Their opposition is silenced by the Hall-Dennis kind of reform.

Society needs more flexibility now on the top level and it gets it within the school system. Those kids get more options – because we need to have a more flexible kind of thinking person that can move back and forth through the top jobs now. You also get spawnings of free schools within the system to drain other kinds of potential middle-class opposition.

MYERS: *Well where do you all go from here then? Bob is no longer at Everdale or an editor of* This Magazine. *Right?*

DAVIS: That's right. When I decided to stop being an editor, it wasn't because of any prime disagreement with George and Satu. I think if I had wanted to go on writing and having a magazine, I would probably have wanted it to be more of a popular one, but I wouldn't have been capable of doing that right now. But there's not that kind of basic disagreement – some people have said that those of us that left were still counter-culture freaks and the ones that stayed were hard-line Marxists. For me it was rather that I wanted to have time to think about general economic and political questions and not to spend so much time thinking particularly about schools. I've been connected since last August with the Sussex Day Care Centre. Since April we've been involved in a 24-hour-a-day occupation of another campus building which we're operating as a second day-care centre. This was after eight months of fruitless negotiation with the University of Toronto where it displayed its usual outrageous disregard for community concerns or housing or whatever. Anyway, this has several of the features of the counter-culture experience I'm familiar with and which I think still have a contribution to make in the political struggle I now believe in. I think there are certain counter-culture groups and institutions that can serve a useful vanguard purpose in certain limited struggles in limited ways, but I also am convinced that certain features of the counter-culture will be necessary to any serious, working-class, revolutionary struggle.

MYERS: *I take it, from the things we've been talking about, that with Satu and George* This Magazine *will continue to interest itself in education, but will become more seriously concerned with political issues on the left, particularly the Canadian independence question and developments on the labour front?*

REPO: Well, we're very much in a transition phase at the moment – in six months we'd be able to tell you much more definitely where we are and where we're going. The struggle is clearly going to be bigger than we thought. At the same time, we've learned a lot, you know. By being more politically involved we take the chance of losing the magazine, but if anything I become less cynical. Which is astonishing considering how many times we've been wrong. Anyway, we

think that now we should move in the directions we've been talking about tonight – we haven't done it yet, you know. But from our past errors we've concluded that that's where we must go. Two years from now, when you interview us again, we'll tell you how it worked out!

MARTELL: Well, I'll tell you if it doesn't work, we're in real trouble.

REPO: We're always in trouble.

Charles Pachter

Survival and Struggle in Canadian Literature

A Review of Margaret Atwood's *Survival*

(Anansi, Toronto 1972)

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Margaret Atwood has written a book called *Survival*, a thematic guide to Canadian literature, "largely for the benefit of students and of those teachers in high schools, community colleges and universities who suddenly find themselves teaching a subject they have never studied: 'Canlit' ".

I take the book very seriously because it is a part of the struggle for survival in Canada; and so it has to be looked at clearly, without the delicacies writers usually accord one another in order to stay friends, to live together in the small literary world Canada has. The generations before us have placed the present generation on the front lines of the desperate battle for survival – whether we like it or not. The generations before us have handed us some particular failures, and out of them we must struggle to survive, to live with love and justice in a community worth the effort. We cannot afford to lie to each other.

First off, then, I reject Margaret Atwood's statement that she is not an academic or an expert and that she's just taken examples where she found them. If so – if really so, it's a twisted benefit she is conferring upon those for whom she has written the book. I reject the stand because it is an apology for leaving things out that shouldn't be left out. If the ground was covered in spite of the gaps, the gaps wouldn't matter. But it isn't.

By the same token I reject her statement that the book is not evaluative. That kind of claim in Northrop Frye's ploy, and it won't work. Because what Atwood puts in she obviously selects as valuable to put in, to quote, to analyse. What she leaves out (or barely mentions) is, for the reader, not there. Selection is a process of evaluation as the book makes very clear. When Frye published *The Educated Imagination* in 1963, he played a similar game. It was first a series of broadcasts on CBC in the Massey lectures, to the Canadian people. His script didn't contain one reference to a Canadian literary work or artist. Canada didn't appear. There was no evaluation, simply a selection that consigned Canadian literature to limbo. There was nothing but a mute

statement that Canadian literature is not a part of the education imagination. Frye was inflicted with a bias of the day – even if unconsciously. That bias took for granted that Canadians wouldn't know their own literature and that to involve Canadian literature in serious discussion was a mark of parochialism. When Frye did get around to Canadian literature, his reference was always to the losers. Sooner or later the values show up.

Margaret Atwood has emerged out (though now somewhat apart from) the same "non evaluative" colonized tradition, and the latent bias shows up with a vengenance. In *Survival,* the main argument develops a side of Canadian literature which is not by any means its toughest side. That is the side which laments, is pessimistic, describes alienation, defeatism, victimization. Even when she uses the other side – the struggle literature – she downplays its thrust.

It might even be correct to say that either she downplays its thrust or she doesn't seem fully to understand its place in Canadian literature. Whatever the case, she goes to a kind of literature that is negative, that appears to be struggle literature but is, in effect, very often a literature of surrender. It surrenders the possibility of a distinct Canadian sense of community. And it takes on the language of struggle as it is described out of the peculiar terms of life in the U.S.A. In surrendering the possibility of Canadian community and in taking on the language (which means the terms of reality) of U.S. life, the writers find themselves accepting U.S. terms of behaviour. At their best and most intensely perceptive – at their most committed and responsible – they cannot help describing the ideal human being as the liberal individual anarchist.

George Grant is a typical and central thinker in that regard. Strangely enough, he comes close to the position of liberal individual anarchism from an increasingly desperate sense of the failure of a conservative ideal in Canada. But his is not the only direction from which writers come to the

position of liberal individual anarchism, though I suspect it is the major one for the writers in Atwood's book.

There is another way in to it – from awakened liberal continentalism. The awakened liberal continentalist is the writer who has in the past accepted U.S. leadership, fraternity, intellectual relevance, and similarity to Canada so totally that he or she thinks, really, as a U.S. writer on the periphery. Then, one day, he or she realizes that Canada is being exploited as a colony of the U.S. empire, that the people of Canada are, in serious economic and cultural terms, an oppressed people.

What is the response? The writer sees the Canadian as negro; that is, the writer sees the need to fight to change the bad U.S. empire into a good U.S. empire. Canada becomes, for that writer, a repressed group within a system needing to get "its rights" within that system. To put it another way, the writer works (consciously or unconsciously) within the intellectual and political terms of U.S. reality in order to fight U.S. imperialism. In effect, the writer accepts all the terms like "democracy", "humanity", "liberty", "the individual", etc. as they are defined *for him* by the experience of U.S. writers *within* the U.S.

George Grant comes to his position from another direction, and in so doing, he commands the sympathy and loyalty of many people who have dwelled in some form of conservative idealism only to find that Canadian reality has shattered the possibility of that being a workable philosophy in our day. But he is attractive to those others, too – the awakened liberal continentalists – for his ending place is pretty much the same as theirs. He writes in an essay, "In Defence of North America", in *Technology and Empire:*

> When we go into the Rockies we may have the sense the gods are there. But if so, they cannot manifest themselves to us as ours. They are the gods of another race, and we cannot know them because of what we are, and what we did. There can be nothing immemorial for us except the environment as object. (p.17)

The passage is a declaration of alienation, and suggests general and irrevocable alienation for the white man. But the significant fact is that George Grant, like many of the writers Atwood chooses, accepts his own definition and that of all other Canadians as part of the ruling, elite, exploitative class in Canada. To do so is to present a monolithic and Establishment view of Canadian experience which makes us all guilty of the sins of the Bank of Montreal, the Family Compact, the multi-national corporations and their docile, fawning servants. Perhaps it is significant, too, that George Grant calls his essay "In Defence of North America" and writes almost as if Canada and the U.S.A. are one.

From that refusal to discriminate among the forces of community, and exploitation, between the people and capitalism in Canada, George Grant rests self-condemned, guilty, an alien in his own land and history, unable as he suggests in the quotation to become a spiritual inhabitant of his own nation. What is the result? He must search for personal salvation. By the same token, many of the writers Atwood uses are conservative moralists, in essence, accept-without thought of class responsibility, the blame for the ravages of a repressive class system. Their solution, then, is to alienate, to condemn most of what is "other" then themselves, to purvey a sense of helplessness, sometimes in screams of hurt. But most important of all, they often find as a solution to the death of a conservative ideal a psychological state which can only be described as liberal individualist anarchism. And liberal individual anarchism, in the first instance, is the deadly philosophical enemy of conservative idealism.

That kind of condition –The George Grant condition– is countered say, by Duncan Campbell Scott's statement that when he left the religion of his fathers he went into the wilderness and found he could manage. It is balanced, too, by his poetry – this quotation from "Spring on Mattagami":

> If she could be here where all the world is eager
> For deal love with the primal Eden sway,

Where the blood is fire and no pulse thin or meagre,
All the heart of all the world beats one way!
There is the land of fraud and fame and fashion,
Joy is but a gaud and withers in an hour,
Here is the land of quintessential passion,
Where in a wild throb Spring wells up with power.

There is, also, Stephen Leacock:

It's the great spaces that appeal. To all of us here, the vast unknown country of the North, reaching away to the polar seas, supplies a peculiar mental background. I like to think that in a few short hours in a train or car I can be in the primeval wilderness of the North; that if I like, from my summer home, an hour or two of flight will take me over the divide and down to the mournful shores of James Bay. . . .I never have gone to James Bay; I never go to it; I never shall. But somehow I'd feel lonely without it. . . .No, I don't think I can leave this country. There is something in its distances and its isolation and its climate that appeals forever. Outside my window as I write in the dark of early morning – for I rise like a farm hand – the rotary snow ploughs on the Côte des Neiges Road are whirling in the air the great blanket of snow that buried Montreal last night. To the north, behind the mountain, the Northern Lights blink on a thousand miles of snow-covered forest and frozen rivers. . . . Thank you, Mother England, I don't think I'll 'come home'. I'm 'home' now.

(Stephen Leacock, "I Will Stay in Canada", Klinck and Watters, eds., *Canadian Anthology*, Toronto, 1957, pp. 212-213)

There is also, for example, Frank Scott:

. . .what will be written in the full culture of occupation Will come, presently, tomorrow,
From millions whose hands can turn this rock into children.

("Laurentian Shield")

Of course, my tendency is to look for quotations that are examples of recognition deoppression and struggle -- the seeing of Canada positively and making a space for its imagination. But a poem like Duncan Campbell Scott's "The Height of Land", one of the great poems of the last hundred years, employs the Indian, the land, the commerce/community conflict in Canada, and primary questions about man's existence on the earth individually and in civilization, and it speaks itself with a perfect sense of being, as Leacock says " 'home' now"; The condition, then, of that kind of writing is not only to be in "position four". But it is to present reality with conviction and greatness as reality can only be presented here: and that is the ultimate resistence.

Margaret Atwood's selections as I said are mostly from the other side: George Grant, Northrop Frye, Douglas LePan, D.G. Jones, Eli Mandel, Dennis Lee, George Bowering, Ann Hebert, St. Denys Garneau. Many of the people are torn, caged, colonized, despairing, undone. Grant writes *Lament for a Nation.* Lee writes *Civil Elegies.* LePan writes "A Country Without a Mythology". George Bowering says he is "Canadian surrounded by strangers" an idea he was taught by a U.S. professor. Northrop Frye says we want to get to the position of the "individual separated in standards and attitudes from the community". Margaret Atwood writes and sympathizes with the side of Canadian literature which is written by the kind of person, often, who sees himself or herself – to use George Bowering's own words about himself – as "a failed American".[1]

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1. Put in the terms of the active conservative nationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the emphasis on victor/victim may be a middle class phenomenon connected to the terrible sense of impotence many Canadians have felt in the last decades as a result of knowing that even our capitalists, our own "bourgeoisie" is gone, willingly castrated, to the harem of continentalists, U.S. chauvinism. The mistake has been to identify so closely with the (philosophical or real) bourgeoisie as to accept its castration as castration of the people. But D.H. Lawrence (to use a foreign example) might remind us that a castrated aristocrat provides the gardener with what we might call more "virile

At the end of her book she praises works by David Godfrey and Ray Smith for naming "real causes of victimization". And she says that "unlike most other books, they include political realities – the United States as an imperial master. . . ." (p. 241) But the writers she names are only the tag end of a tradition which includes Richardson, Mair, Harold Innes, Haliburton, Duncan, Grove, MacLennan, Hemon, and others. The U.S. imperium has developed in recent years, become more obvious. But many writers before "The Hard-Headed Collector" named the causes of victimization a lot more explicitly than that story does.

After all, it is Haliburton, more than one hundred and twenty five years ago, putting the words into the mouth of the yankee clockmaker, has him say of Canadians (British North Americans then):

> They must recede before our free and enlightened citizens, like the Indians; our folks will buy them out, and they must give place to a more intelligent and active people. They must go to the lands of Labrador, or be located back of Canada; they can hold on there a few years, until the wave of civilization reaches them, and then they must move again as the savages do. It is decreed; I hear the bugle of destiny a-soundin of their retreat, as plain as anything. Congress will give them a concession of land, if they petition, away to Alleghany's backside territory, and grant them relief for a few years; for we are out of debt, and don't know what to do with our surplus revenue.
>
> (T.C. Haliburton, *The Clockmaker*, New Canadian Library, McClelland and Stewart, 1958, p. 26.)

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space". In Frygean totemic archietypal biblic terms we might even say that the castration of the Canadian bourgeoisie is a necessary event. For the castrated father ritual is an emblem, sign, token, prophecy of the coming into virility of the maturing son. But it is perhaps a peculiar phenomenon in literature for the father to castrate himself and serve in the harem without threat to his master so that the son can construct the new order. If any reader has questions about the sources and analogues of the archetype, perhaps they could consult Professor Frye.

Let me put it another way: the three modern works Margaret Atwood deals rather extensively with are very much works of colonial stagnation. David Godfrey's "The Hard-Headed Collector", Dennis Lee's *Civil Elegies,* and Bill Bissett's *Nobody Owns The Earth.* Further there is almost no mention of the poets of Quebec after St. Denys Garneau, for instance, who reject Garneau and his internal writings in order to get on with the revolution. Nor is there any significant use of major Canadian writers who have dealt deeply with our colonial condition, writers that are at home in the recognition of oppression and the struggle against it. How is it possible to write a thematic guide to Canadian literature and neglect totally or almost totally people like D.C. Scott, F.R. Scott, Richardson, Livesay, Marriott, Lampman, MacLennan, Mitchell, Haliburton, Leacock. . .?

Let me put it another way. The book is dedicated to five people: at least three of them have been on the front line of Canadian-criticism-as-a-colonial-activity: Frye, Jones, and Eli Mandel. I said at the beginning that we cannot afford to lie to one another. If we are going to be able to put Canadian literature into the proper context, we are going to have to see and admit the role of the colonial critics. To dedicate a book about the liberation of the imagination and survival to some of the leading intellectual 'negro kings' is ambiguous to say the least.

And so is her assertion that writers in the act of writing are in the position of ex-victims or of never having been victims. The implication is that the writer is somehow freed from the effects of the oppressed society, the colonial condition, that is the fact of Canada for her. But she says herself: "In an oppressed society, of course, you can't become an ex-victim – insofar as you are connected with your society – until the entire society's position has been changed." (p. 38) How then is the writer especially released? She seems to suggest that creative energy in literary production declares liberation from oppression and colonialism. But that won't wash. Many of the people who have written Canadian literature and are writing it now set their work – in fact, inhabit a complete imaginative world based

on psychological colonialism. Not to see that is to accept some of the unconscious propagandists for maintenance of the colonial position as leading fighters against it. Not to see that is to be blind to one's own colonialist reactions, with which we are all at times afflicted.

The four "victim" positions that Margaret Atwood sets up are done so, quite explicitly, in relation to the proposition "in short that Canada is a colony". (p. 35) But we learn later that the terms shift. Hagar Shipley is described as being in a number of positions in father/child terms and in terms of personalist, liberal emancipation. (p. 143) Of four poets Atwood believes engage in the "mythologizing or analyzing of the country's predicament as a political victim" she says "liberation means roughly the same thing: the freedom to live a life which realizes to the full its available human possibilities, and to live that life by participating joyfully in one's "own place." (p. 242) The fact is that social and sexual liberation are related to the decolonizing process, of course. But her definition of liberation becomes so 'liberal' as to be almost meaningless. In fact, the definition approaches that of a particularly pernicious branch of U.S. imperialist writing, which calls for liberation through personal relation to place or "locus", as they call it. But the liberation talked of by these American writers is almost entirely a personal one and rarely connects private and public virtue. "Locus" has no significant political or collective boundaries; the artist needn't be responsible for dealing with the community as a whole, and the result is his profound separation from that community. George Bowring's guru – U.S. professor Warren Tollman (part of the Black Mountain school) – is deeply committed to this position. Atwood ends up, it seems to me, giving him considerable support.

Let me put it another way. There is an inordinate emphasis in the book on Anansi Press writers. That need not be a bad thing. But Anansi Press, with all its virtues, has been a home for the suffering, rather chic, rather experimental, nicely nationalistic writers of a hand-wringing we'll-probably-lose-so-don't-let's-be-anti-American-or-too-

militantly-political type. Their position has hardened somewhat recently. But they cannot be said to have produced the writers in Position Four (the non-victim position). As a result, *Survival* does little with the very large group of writers who have dwelled beautifully in Position Four (leaning into Position Five): Duncan Campbell Scott, Robertson Davies, MacLennan (sometimes) Leacock, F.R. Scott, Isabella Valency Crawford, Philip Child, W.O. Mitchell, Callaghan (sometimes), Lampman, Klein (sometimes), George Johnston, – and that's a lot to leave out.

As a result, the view of Canadian literature in the book is at best partial. And it is partial towards the conventional colonial view held by the past Establishment. Atwood engages in a put-down of Canadian imagination which is only annoying because it is not born out by a full consideration of the literature. Like the colonials, she accepts half the story as the whole tradition. Of characters in two films she says: "they are born losers. . . . It's pure Canadian, from sea to sea." (p. 34) A little later she says, "Could it be that Canadians have a will to lose which is as strong and pervasive as the Americans' will to win?" (p. 35) "Canadians show a marked preference for the negative." (p. 35) "There is a sense in Canadian literature that the true and only season here is winter. . . ." (p. 49) "Canadian writers as a whole do not trust nature. . . ." (p. 49) Of the un-victim relation to nature, Position Four, she writes, "Such moments are few in Canadian poetry. . . ." (p. 63) "The Canadian experience for immigrants seems programmed for failure." (p. 158) "If Canada, land of victims, fails to provide the right kind of suffering, *even for a masochist,* things are tough indeed." (p. 159) "The Canadian way of death is death by accident." (p. 166)

Each of those statements can be put away with a list of examples contradicting them. But the victor/victim model seems to trap *Survival,* preventing it from developing the other kinds of relation which fill Canadian literature. Where the statements cannot be put away completely, they demand major modification. Each idea presented in *Survival* is oversimplified, naggingly half-true. And that's bad

for both teachers and learners of the Canadian literary tradition.

I will use only a few examples.

The one place in Canadian literature where the victor/victim "model" should be pretty well unalloyed is in relation to the native peoples, especially the Indian. For simple reasons. A "modern" technological culture did meet a culture wholly unprepared for the confrontation. The clear indisputable history since then has been the taking of the native lands, exploitation, and massive white influence upon the native peoples. But even in the literature of that history, the victor/victim interpretation Margaret Atwood develops is too simple, too black and white. She says that "In Canadian literature the place of low man on the totem pole *within* the society is reserved for the Indian." (p. 97) But since white rule all Indians have been *within* white society. Lately, certain comradely attitudes have begun to be expressed, as if for the first time, some good, some odiously sentimental. When John Newlove says of the West Coast Indians:

> their. . .deaths
> are mine, because I am a man also
> and hemmed in; it is done
> to me. . . ,

that is a sentimentality almost too great for comment. Newlove is not an Indian, not even very close to the culture. The U.S. imperialist statement that "we are all just human beings anyway" is not the way into a loving and respectful relation with the cultures of the native peoples. Some of our recent writers, in their search for liberation, come dangerously close to a position of liberal anarchism, U.S. style, rather than to a tough sense of human dignity and respect for otherness that is found in the roots and tradition of Canadian literature.

Writers of excellence in the past have been aware of the tragic complexity of white/native relations. They have

known about the irrevocable effects of the meeting of cultures. They have known that the native peoples possessed distinct cultures. They have known also, often, that it is not just principally "the white man" who has made the history we face but capitalist commerce. A resistance movement (unmentioned by Atwood) against capitalist commerce runs all through Canadian literature. Finally, excellent writers in the past have known that the Indians possessed/possess many values superior to white values *in this place*, which was, after all, their place first.

But those writers lived and live in a world of capitalist, commercial expansion and exploitation, and so they deal, through the imagination, with hard facts. That doesn't mean they surrender values.

John Richardson's *Wacousta*, for instance, is constantly misread (and is by Atwood). It has a white garrison. And it has a forest full of native people. But what critics miss is that outside the garrison is another white community, the French-Canadians, who need no garrison and who live without threat of extinction by the Indians (or vice-versa). Moreover, Wacousta himself, is an ex-British officer, exploited by a competitive, power-seeking system. He teaches the Indians cunning and bestiality beyond their own devices. And so the novel on one important level is the warring of two white men, one representing order, the other representing romantic "natural" passion, both bestialized in a corrupt system and both using other men (soldiers and Indians) as instruments of their revenge. The Indian is seen as savage, dark, bestial when being described by the British soldiers. But he is seen as quite other when described by Richardson. In fact he also wrote a long poem, called *Tecumseh*, (1838) in which he identifies with their plight, all the while aware that the Indian culture is not his.

And so when Margaret Atwood says that "the point about Canadian Indians as Victors is not that they are thoroughly evil, but that they kill whites, with whom the author identifies," that is only partly true. For a number of important writers: Richardson, Mair, Crawford, D.C. Scott,

Child, Livesay, Moodie, Parker, Niven, Sangster, and Pauline Johnson (part Indian) – to name only some – have identified with the Indian.

Many of them are aware of the role played by commercial capitalism as destroyer. Margaret Atwood seems to miss, for instance, the great dignity Mair gives the Indians in his poem, *Tecumseh.* And she misses, even more important, the point of one of the speeches given by the great chief (based on historical record) in which he doesn't claim that the Indian lived "a jolly carefree life until the advent of the white man" (p. 92), but he makes clear that the Indian did not have the sense of private property upon which capitalism and capitalist exploitation are largely based. Those writers, Atwood tells us, say that the Indian is "closed into Position Two". Perhaps they do tell us that. But they do not say, as she says Canadian writers do, concerning the native peoples, that "Victors and victims are inevitable, fated to suffer and inflict suffering because that's what the universe is like". (p. 102) They say rather that the Indian is exploited, abused, misunderstood, and they often make clear that the vicious exploiting force is not just "white man", but white men "servants of greed" as Duncan Campbell Scott calls them. The French-Canadians in *Wacousta* are at peace with the Indian people because neither intends to invade or exploit the other.

Writing of the family and the hero, Atwood says some good things, but she is again dangerously simplistic. Her choices of works and the interpretations are "loser" oriented. Of the family we are told "it's a trap in which you're caught". Indeed that theme and the tension between generations is in most modern Western literatures. But her statement is simply too blunt to describe the family conditions in much of the work of MacLennan, Wiseman, Duncan, Mitchell, Salverson, Roberts, Davies, Noven, Raddall, Roy, to name only a few.

And when she's writing about the hero, she says "the Canadian way of death is by accident", and that "the deaths themselves are senseless and accomplish nothing".

(pp. 166-7) She says that of Riel; and William Lyon MacKenzie "loses and so does his cause". (p. 170) But Riel is called the father of Manitoba and is a potent symbol in Canadian political thinking. MacKenzie was responsible for the Durham Report upon which was constructed the whole subsequent development of the movement to Commonwealth autonomy. Even Susanna Moodie ardently praises MacKenzie for giving Canadians the freedoms that she saw developing around her, and for breaking to some extent the grip of the Family Compact.

Robert Fulford wrote somewhere that *Survival* is a literary event. I suspect it is more a political event. It is a self-conscious response to the burgeoning concern with Canadian culture, the past, and, in short, survival. It is a self-conscious attempt to deal with the subject of survival in our literature without colonial kid gloves on, without being afraid of the fact of U.S. imperialism, Canadian sell-out – what is, in short, our present real condition as a people. Which makes it an important book.

If we place *Survival* over against *Butterfly On Rock*, by D.G. Jones, (1970), perhaps the other most recent book which is "a study of themes and images in Canadian literature", we see the political force of Atwood's work. *Butterfly On Rock*, like many works that come out of Southern Ontario Fryed Colonialism is, in my terms, a alienated, archetypal, colonial cop-out. It is written as if our major problems as a people have not and do not exist. My point is made extravagantly; but it must be to make people look, people who have accepted the myth that The Establishment Is Truth.

Atwood herself is not through that myth and out the other side yet. She accepts too many Frygeanisms. Other weaknesses, as I have suggested, are present. The idea of the victor/victim is not clearly enough defined, nor are the relations between personal and community liberation. Personal liberation can be a totally liberal anarchist cop-out. Community liberation has to be historical, political, and socially committed.

The view of Canada/Canadians as loser is destructively over-emphasized as are all the negative aspects of the Canadian imagination. They are there, certainly. But the Canadian artist, the Canadian writer has been one of the fighters for humanization of Canadian life, for life lived with nature and not over it, for the exposing of imperial capitalism, and for the need to see the fundamental danger of a colonial, imitative individual anarchism.

One of the most important things about Hagar Shipley's development in *Stone Angel,* it seems to me, is the enormous irony of the close. When she learns to know the affliction of others and learns to serve, all of her individualist demands might in retrospect be thrown into an entirely new light. Her hard egotism has destroyed, though she, too, has been tyrannized at times. It is at that point Atwood might have extended her analysis. Because if it is true that a community struggling for survival cannot afford nor spend praise on the alien who demands only his own thing, then Hagar's insight relates to the political, social, as well as personal idea of survival and beyond in Canada. And that is true of a large number of women in Canadian fiction whom Atwood doesn't talk about.

That finally takes us back to the central difficulty. For if Margaret Atwood has talked about the other women, from Frances Brooke and Moodie to McClung and Livesay, the chapter on "Ice Women and Earth Mothers" would have had to be significantly modified.

And so with the whole book.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AT TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

A review of William Hinton's *Hundred Day War*
(Monthly Review Press, New York 1972)

by Rick Saluten

Rick Saluten is a Toronto writer

Hundred Day War is a detailed portrait, by William Hinton, of the Cultural Revolution at a Chinese University. It is exceptional both for what it tells us about universities, and for what it tells us about China.

Hinton is an American, a farmer by trade, who has worked and visited in China at various times over the past thirty years. His first book was *Fanshen,* a sort of documentary, or non-fiction novel, about the coming of the revolution to a small village in North China. It is full of the touch and feel of real people. In *Fanshen,* as in no other book, the human meaning of revolution becomes clear.

In an earlier book on the Cultural Revolution, *Turning Point in China,* Hinton analyzed the *meaning* of the Cultural Revolution. It was not, he said, a struggle of succession - as some "experts" had it; nor a fight between American style "pragmatists" on one side and fanatical old Mao on the other - as others claimed. It was rather, wrote Hinton, a conflict over the basic direction which China was to take in the future, and it surfaced in just about every significant area of life and policy - in the economy, in agriculture, in the military, education, culture, and so on.

In *Hundred Day War,* Hinton goes on to give us a case study of how the Cultural Revolution was contested in a particular area - and one of particular interest to us: higher education.

* * *

The Cultural Revolution was fought out at Chinese universities - as everywhere else in China - as a struggle between two conflicting views - or "lines" - on future development.

According to the first view, which was dominant until 1966, universities ought to emphasize academic scholarship. Students must devote all their time to mastering their discipline; scholars, to developing their expertise. Great admiration of foreign (especially Russian and American) scientific theory and methods; and a general divorce of scientific theory from political practice. Of course scientific

knowlege was to *serve* social goals, but the two lived relatively separate lives.

Sound familiar? Also included was an intense emphasis on grades - which were intended to eliminate all class prejudice in the educational system: "Grades ensure a good life," and "Before grades all are equal."

The other - minority - position was led by Mao. This side de-emphasized careerism and the scholarly life. They wanted to integrate the intellectual community with the working world: have university personnel work in the fields and clean their own buildings. When they finally succeeded they put the president of Peking University out to work in the University garden. They favoured shortening the period of study drastically and preferred homegrown solutions of technological problems. They considered universities not enclaves of intellectuality, but *bases*, from which students and professors would go out to the people, work with them, and exchange information with them.

This was not simply an "academic" dispute. The question was not really which scheme was "better". It was a question of - in the *interest* of which group would Chinese higher education be organized: of the more educated classes, or of the less educated working people.

The two positions became denoted as "right" and "left" - a peculiar terminology to us. It indicates that the basic conflicts in Chinese society did not disappear; they were transformed but persisted, even within the communist leadership of the country.

The most important - and to us even bizarre - aspect of what followed is *how* this conflict was worked through. It was fought out among the people involved; at the university this meant the students, and also the professors. They argued it through endless mass meetings and debates. The same process occurred in factories, elementary schools, agricultural communes - the Chinese Revolution continues

to be the most garrulous mass event in history. Sometimes the argument passed over into open violence. All this may seem strange, given the images of Chinese "totalitarianism" we have been force-fed by the media, but *Hundred Day War* illustrates it well.

The issue was set off at Tsinghua University - outside Peking - by dissident students. In June, 1966, they put up wall posters attacking the university administration for its "right" educational policies. As this attack mounted, party headquarters in Peking sent a "work team" - a group of party members from outside the situation (here, the university) - to deal with the conflict. It was assumed the issue would have to be publicly settled. That tradition is firmly ensconsed in the Chinese revolution. The work team called meetings at which they supported the administration and attacked the student dissidents. This team represented - it later became clear - that faction in the party which was opposed to Mao.

This first part of the struggle lasted from June '66 to

January '67. At first the "left", in the person of the dissident students, were badly isolated. But they held their ground. The struggle went on, to win over the university community - through leaflets, meetings, wall posters, for months; and eventually the tide turned in favour of the dissidents.

In this ongoing debate both sides "waved the red flag" and accused the other side of being counter-revolutionary. No one doubted that an essential struggle between revolutionaries and reactionaries was on, but you could no longer tell the players with a scorecard. Mao's role at this point is of interest: he insisted on leaving the disputes everywhere *open*, for the people to decide. His interest was in arousing them to the conflict, in the conviction that they would eventually side with him, against the then-dominant position. He did not push his position explicitly. He insisted that "It is right to rebel," and issued his own wall-poster called, Bombard The Headquarters. How's that for totalitarianism? This *was* a form of support for the "left" against the "right", but the important thing is that his way of supporting it was by throwing the issues to the people and relying on their choices.

However, Mao and his side did not simply turn the people loose. They also tried to *guide* them. To clarify issues but to leave out the final conclusions and actions. They would say for instance that there were counter-revolutionary people in high places, but leave it to the people to discover them. The last phrase of Mao's wall-poster was, "shouldn't this prompt one to deep thought?"

It is an odd, back-and-forth kind of relationship between Mao and the people of China, and it resembles nothing so much as a certain kind of effective teaching.

By January, 1967, the right was on the run at Tsinghua University and in other key areas. The central conflict (what Mao calls "the main contradiction") of the early phase of the Cultural Revolution was being resolved in favour of the "left".

It remained to carry through. Over the next year, students from Peking and elsewhere travelled throughout China, making contact with students in other universities, with workers in factories, with peasants in communes. They helped them sort out their local situations, and discover in which of the two basic directions their own institutions were moving. It was a time of intense self-examination through China. This was the period of the shutdown of the schools and in a way it corresponded with the most extraordinary and overtly educational movement in history. The students were at the centre.

During this year, the struggle reached all levels, including that of the national communist leadership. Students headed enormous rallies in Peking which were in fact attacks on the "right" group in the leadership. Hinton describes the biggest rally of all, in the summer of '67, which demanded a public self-repudiation of Liu Shao-ch'i, the chief of state:

> Hundreds of thousands of people were permanently encamped in the streets around the Central Committee headquarters. Banners and streamers flew overhead, slogans were plastered on every available wall and mat, loudspeakers blared from a hundred locations, and cooking fires sent up their smoke and aroma from as many makeshift kitchens. The people, most of them young, had sat through heavy rain, cold dawns, and hot noons. They were browned, dirty, tired, but enthusiastic, each day thinking that this day at last Liu Shao-ch'i would be delivered over to them to be thoroughly repudiated, once and for all.

This is a picture to fuel all our visions of anarchy: masses of people besieging the seat of government, the army not intervening on either side, plots and counter-plots.

Only it is not anarchy; it is the form of politics in China; only by letting political issues ferment among the people are mass sentiments mobilized in order to resolve basic political conflicts. The ultimate arbiter is the people,

it is their revolution, their action is the alternative to strong-arm dictatorial tactics. And note that they were not after Liu's head, but the repudiation of his policies.

During this same period, just when the conflict with the right seemed to be settling, new problems emerged, with the *left*. Those very left forces that had mobilized to stymie the right, now threatened to go too far themselves.

A left-wing witch hunt began. At the university, the same students who had been unjustly attacked by the work team at the start of the movement now became over-zealous themselves. A sort of political purism set in among them - what the Chinese call "I am the core" - thinking. A tendency - especially on the part of those who had been on the left early - to insist that everything and everyone that had come before had been rotten - to attack everyone but themselves.

From a revolutionary point of view, this was deplorable first because it was false: many people may have been misguided without being irredeemable or conscious traitors. Second: because if they were all alienated from the revolutionary leadership, who was left to lead the revolution? The result of this kind of extreme attitude is to isolate the revolutionary forces, cut off potential allies, and prepare the way for an easy return to power by the reactionary forces.

For this reason the real rightists, once their policies had been defeated, did indeed proceed to become extreme leftists, and encourage excessive behaviour. We have seen police agents in our own demonstrations do the same thing: encourage extreme and irrational behaviour, so as to isolate us from people who might tend to sympathize.

To give another example, since this notion of reactionary "leftism" is a sticky one for us: in Canada today it would be too "left" of radicals to call for the immediate equalization of incomes. Not only the rich in Canada, but also the middle, lower-middle and large numbers of the

working classes would oppose it, and the forces that raised it would be isolated and practically powerless.

On the other hand, a call for the expropriation of the large American corporations would threaten the interests of very few and could benefit almost everyone in the country; it would alienate only those corporations, and could be a basis for uniting many different sections of the population.

At any rate. By 1968 these "left" tendencies in China had become extreme. The students on Tsinghua campus had divided into two groups, each claiming that they were the only true revolutionaries, and that the other side were total traitors. The vast majority of students had by this time dropped out of activity - alienated by the pointlessness of what was happening on the campus. But the diehards argued on - though in fact very little separated them ideologically. Yet the less they disagreed on the more ferociously they fought - until it reached the point of theft, kidnappings, and finally armed battle.

The actual fighting on the campus lasted from late April '68 to late July '68 and escalated from fists through spears to guns, hand grenades, and rockets. It included taking, torturing, and exchanging prisoners, burning people out of buildings, a home-made tank, maimings and ten deaths.

This was student politics with a vengeance, and it is interesting to think that it was occurring simultaneously with the student uprisings of the spring of '68 in Paris and New York. It also gives us a chance to consider some of the inherent tendencies of radical student politics. Students on the left tend toward self-righteousness, moral purism, rigidity - in short, they are ideal candidates for that kind of leftism that ends up helping moves to the right. Left to themselves, the students of Tsinghua University would be fighting there yet, on the outskirts of Peking, were any of them left alive.

Characteristically for China, when the move to stop

the fighting came, it was not via a directive from the State or party, enforced by the army - it was via another mass mobilization among the people - this time the *workers* of Peking, who *invaded* the campus - up to 100,000 of them, chanting "Use reason, not violence," to the students.

Get that: workers to students: Use reason, not violence. It gives us something else to ponder: the relative intellectuality of those with and without higher education. (A speculation: so much of university education is nonsense that it tends to breed a *dis*respect for reason and intellect - the farther you go in it.)

The students were not readily persuaded. They attacked the workers viciously - calling *them* reactionaries, and in the night that followed they *killed* five workers, wounded 731, and took 143 prisoner, many of whom they beat. Yet no worker counterattacked. Their discipline and their commitment to reason and not violence, eventually prevailed; they ended the fighting, presided over a difficult reconciliation between the two sides and have remained on the campus in a permanent new role at the university.

We can recognize in the behaviour of these student radicals, a number of parallels with some of the irrational excesses of student politics in Canada and the U.S. Yet it is still somewhat surprising; these students were *not* Western; many of them came from poor peasant families; and even they tended to get carried away.

One such student told Hinton:

> When we suggested that we sweep and maintain our own buildings, the leaders said. "No, concentrate your full energy on your studies. After you graduate you can then make a better contribution." All this influenced us. Without our knowing it, it went deeper into us. In our minds we thought engineers and scientists were great and the work of peasants and workers was not for intellectuals. So it is not by accident that intellectuals think only they are revolutionary.

It is the *privileged* character of student existence. Others do the basic work *for* them - food, clothing, construction - to leave them free for their study. It leads students to feel superior to these others who are - in truth - there to *serve them.* (Who doesn't recall the legions of people who sweep dormitory halls?) Making students feel only they are right and can find the way. It is in this objectively privileged character of student and academic life that the elitism and purism of student politics - which leads to its ultra-left, super-revolutionary tendencies - takes root.

It reminds me:

Once in New York City, during the spring of the Cambodian invasion. We (student radicals) had occupied a university in downtown Manhattan. It was the same day that large numbers of construction workers had been organized-under covert police direction - to beat student heads at a Wall St. demonstration. We received phone calls that they were coming for us the next morning.

Frantic meetings all night. Should we disband? Should we resist? Should we camouflage the New School for Social Research as the department store it had once been. By six a.m. paranoia had peaked. Someone pointed at a new arrival and said, "That's a construction worker if I ever saw one." It was a Persian graduate student in economics.

We went out in the street and shivered on the sidewalk. Men passed back and forth in front of us. Men with scuffed shoes and dirt under their fingernails. The sun rose and glinted off the side of the Empire State building, making it gleam like a lofty sheet metal razor strap. Still they passed back and forth in the street.

And then it dawned on us - like the sun itself. It wasn't the construction workers encircling and soon to pounce. It was the American people going to work, and none of us - students - had even before been up and out early enough to see them.

* * *

What then is happening in China?

The Chinese Revolution.

But isn't that what *happened* in China? in 1949?

No. That was the Liberation. It was the seizure of power by the revolutionary forces. It was something like the end of the beginning, but it was not the revolution. A revolution means the replacement of one whole way of life-institutions, attitudes, relationships - by another. That does not happen at once. It takes generations; according to Mao: centuries.

Many Canadians and Americans entertain a sort of 'big bang' theory of revolution: as if the revolution *occurs* with the storming of the Winter Palace, the Moncado barracks, or Parliament Hill. Their hidden assumption is that there is only one central conflict in society which must be resolved - and which can be resolved - all at once.

This does not correspond with the process of change anywhere in the real world - in individuals, in societies, or in nature; change occurs in stages, and revolution is a form of change.

The fight continues. The old enemies do not melt away, and they recruit new allies. Given half a chance, they will take over what has been done, and destroy it.

China is the main revolution that is still a going concern. In Russia after twenty years, they had Stalin's purges; in China after twenty years they had the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese have succeeded in tapping the creative resources of ordinary people in solving political problems. It is the only serious attempt of mass democracy so far. That's what makes it worth watching.

CLASSIFIED...

The Canadian Council of Teachers of English, the national organization membership open to practising teachers of English, and to all persons interested in the teaching of language and literature, holds its Sixth Annual Conference at the Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, British Columbia from August 21-24, 1973. Founded in Vancouver in August 1967 during the First International Conference of NCTE, CCTE plans a Homecoming for all those who attended at that time. New members will find the 1973 conference a good occasion to get acquainted with the work of the organization.

Attendance at the Conference can be combined with an enjoyable British Columbia vacation. For details about the programme, special group travel arrangements, hotel rates, pre- or post-convention tours of British Columbia the Lower Mainland, or Victoria, write: Mrs. Iris McIntyre, Conference Chairman, CCTE, 5650 Eagle Harbour Road, West Vancouver, B.C.

THE JOURNAL OF OPEN EDUCATION is a new publication developed by graduate students at the Institute of Open Education to encourage the sharing of resources, curricula, and problems of people in open education and alternative model schools. While not neglecting the broader issues in education, our primary focus will be a practical exchange by teachers and administrators. To keep the format intimate and informal, the majority of contributions to the Journal will come from students and graduates of the Institute of Open Education and the Journal's own subscribers. For subscription information, write: Journal of Open Education, Institute of Open Education, Newton College, Newton, Massachusetts 02159.

The Alumni Committee, Faculty of Nursing of the University of Western Ontario, will be holding its third annual conference on May 14 and 15, 1973 at the University of Western Ontario. It will be a symposium led by Dr. Norman Bell, Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto, and will be entitled, **Understanding and Helping the Family in Modern Society.**

INVITATION FOR MANUSCRIPTS – An invitation is extended to teachers and other educators at elementary, secondary, and college-university levels to share ideas on growth through language development in the coming issue of Classroom Practices in Teaching English, an annual publication of the National Council of Teachers of English. Articles might relate to reading, writing, speaking, listening, communication, increasing student and teacher awareness of themselves and others – anything which fosters growth through language development. Articles can range in length up to 2,000 words. Two copies should be mailed before April 15 to Allen Berger, Co-Editor, Classroom Practices in Teaching English, The University of Alberta, Education Centre, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

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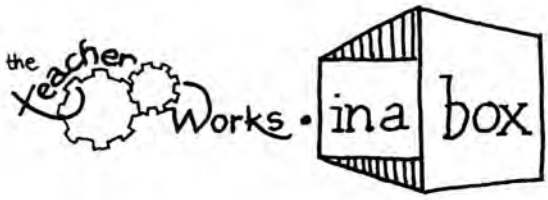

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