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Strikes! Strikes!, 1937.

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STRIKES! STRIKES!

What Stake Has the American People in the Strikes and Industrial
Disputes Now Raging?



Delivered By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, February 7, 1937

One approaches a discussion of labor disputes with a certain hesitancy because the subject is delicate and around it there is usually more heat than light. In such a discussion men, as a rule, voice their closest interests rather than their best judgments. Personal experiences, grievances as well as class prejudice and professional attitude play a part in one's judgment in such a situation. There is seldom a discussion in a labor issue in which partisanship on one side or another does not give itself over to over-statements, wild charges and to catch-words of all kinds which, of course, do not help to clarify the situation. And a man is quickly branded as a reactionary or as a radical and the merits of his arguments and sincerity of objectivity are often over-looked. Nevertheless there are things which must be said by anyone who is in any position of intellectual or spiritual leadership, which must be said in a grave economic ^a situation which evolves a great social menace. He cannot absolve himself of saying these things in absolute candor, in a spirit of utmost responsibility and in a spirit of utmost sincerity.

In the present General Motors strike there are two things which are new. All the rest is not new. This strike which is now entering on the sixth week has already cost the company, the workers at large tens of millions of dollars. In this strike there are just two things which are new; all the rest is quite common to the American scene. Strikes are quite familiar to the American scene. In 1934 there were over sixteen hundred strikes in this country involving over 1,350,000 people and cost over nineteen million working days. With the return of prosperity in our country the number of strikes are desperately increasing. Men don't strike

when they are enjoying work. When there is a surplus in labor markets strikes are infrequent and as a rule quite unsuccessful.

In this strike are involved the customary issues, wages, hours and conditions of work. What, then, is new? First the issue of industrial union versus the crafts union, the demand of the United Automobile Workers of America which is an industrial union based not of the trade lines of the American Federation of Labor but by the union idea fostered by the Committee for Industrial Organization which is led by John L. Lewis, and which seeks to organize all workers in a mass production industry like steel, automobiles, mining into one big union.

The American Federation of Labor is opposed to this this form of organization and is opposed to this strike. The American Federation of Labor has itself had little success in organizing the crafts union in the Automobile industry. The United Automobile Workers of America will make an effort now to organize all the workers not on the basis of crafts into small individual unions but on the basis of one embracing union for all workers within the union.

The second thing which is new in the present strike is the "sit-down" tactics. This is fairly new in our country although it is not so new in Europe. The workers who go on strike, instead of leaving the plant, then resorting to picketing in order to persuade other workers from taking jobs in the plant, under the new arrangement, remain in the plant during the strike. They stay at their machines but refuse to work. This new method in striking is proving more effective than the older method and is

therefore rapidly supplanting the older method.

This second feature which is new in the strike situation is one which has particularly outraged many people and has made many apprehensive. It is regarded as illegal. In fact the Circuit Judge recently issued an injunction against the occupation of the two Fisher Body plants at Flint. It looks to many people as unlawful seizure of property. It has so many of the tactics of communism.

I am in no position, personally, to decide upon the legality of the "sit-down" strike. That is a matter for lawyers to debate and for judges to decide. However, it is quite clear that even a court decision based, as it must of necessity be based, on precedent and upon authority will not be very helpful in this situation. There was a time when the strike itself was regarded as illegal, when picketing was regarded as illegal, when the labor union, itself, was looked upon as an "illegal conspiracy". Professor Slechter, of the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University makes this very true observation: "Only by persistently and courageously, and I think one may even say conscientiously, breaking the law, did wage earners win the right to organize."

A people's sense of justice frequently outdistances its legal law. It is years before the legal is taken up. Thus, for example, the law was entirely on the side of the Tories during the Revolutionary War and yet they were driven into Exile. The law was entirely on the side of the slave-holders of the South and yet the Civil War destroyed their rights and expropriated their human property. I mention these two things not to prove that the "sit-down" strike represents a higher sense of justice but in order to remind people that the legality of the act is not always the final decisive

factor in the issue. If the ends evolved are just ends, and so appear to the public, and if there are no other means of achieving those ends, except through the "sit-down" strike, then you will find that the public at large will come to ignore the legal element involved and will condone the act.

Furthermore, in our day, the idea that the holder of the stock is the sole and arbitrary owner of the plant - that idea is fast fading from the minds of the American people. It has become a question in our minds, an important question whether the hundreds of thousands of men who work in industrial plants like the General Motors, haven't some real equity in the job and in the industry as much as the two or three hundred thousand anonymous and absentee stock-holders.

And in passing this too should be mentioned; and I say this for the benefit of those who have become indignant about the methods of the "sit-down" strikers. Others besides workers have resorted to the same tactics. I read a few days ago, that ~~when~~ the United States Government was unable to buy copper for the United States from an important Copper Company Navy/because that company did not approve of an act of Congress recently passed which called for a 44 hour day in those industries which were providing materials for the Government and which were bid Government contracts. A great corporation in America sat down and refused to cooperate with their Government and to provide necessary material for national defense because they believed their economic interests were not adequately protected in an act passed by the Congress of the United States. I mention this not as a justification of the "sit-down" strike but simply as a reminder to those who become hot about the situation to ~~not~~ divide their indignation two ways and to condemn others as well as the workers.

I maintain that it is decidedly more helpful to approach the strike from that angle. A strike is a form of warfare. It is a test by force and in war, the methods which are likely to yield the most quickly are the methods which will undoubtedly ultimately be used. The "sit-down" strike has proved a very effective weapon and in the future it will not be likely be surrendered by strikers. It is decidedly more helpful therefore not to approach the subject from the doctrinaire point of view and to discuss the subject from the angle of legality. That leads nowhere.

The issue, the real issue involved in this strike, is the issue of unionization, of collective bargaining, the right of a particular organization to speak for the workers within that given industry.

Now General Motors, which by the way, is a name which, in itself, signifies what? What does General Motors signify? It signifies organization, the unification of a number of business and industrial establishments into one organization and under one management. It is a form of closed union, if you will. General Motors which in its own structure represents unification, which mass production demands, has consistently resisted attempts of its workers effectively to organize. It hasn't been unique in that. Most of all the other mass producing industries do not want their workers effectively to organize in independent unions. Recently the hearings before the United States Senate revealed to what extent these organizations would go to check, frustrate and disrupt attempts of real labor organization, even to the point of espionage. Under pressure, these ~~xxx~~ corporations will agree to some form of company

union. But they will resist to the last ditch any attempt to organize their workers in independent unions.

And for that reason unionization and collective bargaining have not made progress in the United States that they have made in England and France and elsewhere. Less than twelve percent of the workers in the United States are unionized while in England thirty-six percent of the workers are organized into unions.

The struggle for unionization and collective bargaining is on in earnest and the thoughtful man, instead of losing himself in insignificant and subsidiary issues, will take cognizance of the basic issues.

And here, again, it would be well to clear away two obstructions in the way of clear approach to the problem. In the first place, there is a distrust of the leadership in the labor union. There are racketeers and grafters in the labor organization and they have created a feeling of distrust. In the second place there is a material resentment on the part of employers of having employees interfere in their business. Something should be said of both. There are, of course, racketeers in the labor union. They are a disgrace, a curse to the organization. They should be exposed, driven out. They are labor's sumprime liability. There are many of them, almost as many as there are bankers in the United States. But it would be a mistake, a great mistake to assume that all of them are racketeers, that the whole labor movement is full of racketeers and it is ridiculous to take the position that the whole American labor movement is a racket.

As far as interference in business is concerned, that really ought not to be so hotly resented. The day of sovereignty in business is long since passed although the tradition and the yearning for it still remain in certain quarters. With the shifting from private and personal to corporate and impersonal forms of organization, there is a coming need for the Government to step in so as to protect workers and businessmen against the exploitation that has been going on for decades and decades.

This thought should be borne in mind. I am now quoting a few sentences from the book of Professor Carleton , ~~the~~ Professor of Economics at our own "Case School of Applied Science."

"It should be noted that the right to do business is not an absolute right. It is often interfered with by sanitary regulations and other forms of the police power. In time of war, the right to do business may be nullified. Railways and other public utilities have had their rights to do business seriously circumscribed. In short, the right to do business is legally recognized only in so far as its exercise is in the public interest."

One other thing should be borne in mind in this connection. The more reactionary the government, the more interference there is with business. In the real Fascist countries in the world today, ~~there~~ there is no labor movement. There are no trade unions. Certainly there is no socialism. Business is interfered with to a degree that the American business man cannot even conceive of. Wages and hours, profits and dividends, expansion, every feature in business is under the rule of bureaucratic government. In those countries there are no trade unions. It is far better to negotiate on a friendly

basis with labor unions than to come under the domination of the government. Particularly in this country the labor unions have not at all been radical or socialist. The American labor union has consistently rejected attempts at socialistic conversion. The Marxian class struggle preachment has fallen on deaf ears. The strongest bulwark in the United States against communism is not the Liberty League but the labor union. And American industry, if it had the vision would welcome the total unionization of American labor. It is the most expeditious way to deal with great masses of people. And as far as the worker is concerned, the only just way for him must be bargaining power as an individual. He is at the complete mercy of the large corporations unless he has the right to collective bargaining, collective action.

The question which is involved in the present General Motors strike is whether this particular organization, the United Automobile Workers of America, has a right to speak for the workers in the General Motors plants. That should be decided, in my humble judgment, in the only way - in the American democratic way. It should be discovered whether they represent the majority of the workers in a given plant and as a majority, that organization should have the right to speak in that plant.

To check the possible abuses of organized labor and all forms of organizations that gained power, as well as to protect the general public against a possible combination of both employee and employers to exploit the public and to provide the machinery for mediation between employer and employees - that is the function of government.

As the American labor union grows stronger, it will have to accept more and more, in my judgment, responsibility and social control. Our government will have to define not only rights but responsibilities. That may sound a bit reactionary to some who believe that labor ought to be irresponsible of you/and yet Justice Brandeis, some years ago declared:

"This practical immunity of the unions from legal liability is deemed by many labor leaders a great advantage. To me it appears just the reverse. It tends to make officers and members reckless and lawless, and thereby to alienate public sympathy and bring failure upon their efforts. It creates on the part of the employers, also, a bitter antagonism, not so much on account of lawless acts as from deep-rooted sense of injustice, arising from the feeling that while the employer is subject to law, the union holds a position of legal irresponsibility."

The degree of government regulation, in my judgment, will depend largely upon the reaction of the public to acts on the part of organized unwarranted and unfair to public interests. The public has a vital stake in every industrial dispute. The public is vitally affected by these periodic industrial conflicts so costly, at times so embittered, at times leading to riot and bloodshed. This cannot continue indefinitely without sooner or later affecting the very foundations of our democratic life. Present conditions as it exists today is simply an invitation to all sorts of Fascist adventures, to chaos, to anarchy. It cannot under the present condition of the world continue. Labor ought to understand that.

This internal strife between one branch of labor and another, between the American Federation of Labor and the Commission

for Industrial Organization ought to be as quickly composed as possible for this condition simply leads to weakness and defeat of both parties.

In all this discussion, I spoke of labor. But if I gave you the impression that the labor group is an isolated group in America, I will have missed the point. The twenty-five million workers in the United States represent the bulk of the American people. What concerns them concerns the whole of the American people, the progress, the stability, the peace, not of a section, not of a group but of the whole American people.

Now in many ways, the American worker has been better off that the worker in other countries of the world. Yet it should be borne in mind, what we frequently forget or choose to forget, that as the President of the United States said in his second Inaugural Address: "1/3 of the American people are ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed." That is the statement of a responsible head of our government. Now it isn't because the United States is a poor land short of resources, backward industrially, lacking the engineering capacity. There is wealth, abundant wealth in our land. This is a rich land largely and richly endowed. It has wealth but the wealth is unfairly distributed and this unequal distribution is to a large degree responsible for these periodic crises in our life, these depressions, these panics which victimize the whole of American life.

Organized labor is trying to rectify the situation in its way by achieving a fairer and more equitably distribution of wealth which they help to produce. They can achieve that only if they become strongly organized and as they achieve that they will benefit not only

themselves but they will benefit the totality of the American life.

It ought to be a truism by this time that this system of fluctuation which is today the foundation of domestic economy cannot carry on unless with it there goes the capacity for mass consumption. In other words people must be implemented with the wherewithal to buy if we are to avoid the panic and disaster which we had recently.

Those who believe in intelligence in our economic life, those who do not lose themselves in little things, will direct their attention to the one basic issue involved in this conflict now raging in this community and in many communities. The issue is the wisdom of thorough-going unionization of workers in industries into independent organizations and their right to collective bargaining.

In my humble judgment, speaking not from partizanship on the one hand or on the other, we feel that the best interests of American will be served of both of these in American labor life. People as a whole, employer and employe will ultimately be benefited by the building of strongly organized, socially controlled unions in our land. Whether you agree with me or not on this question, you ought to guard yourself against the temptation of losing ~~you~~ yourself in the subsidiary issues because those issues are not binding and to take a position on those issues will not help to solve the central, the inescapable issue before the American people - shall the mass producing workers and industries be thoroughly organized or shall they not? On that one important issue take an honest and unequivocal position.

The Cleveland Press

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People Will Find
Their Own Way.*

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1937

THE CRIMINAL'S TRUMP CARD

WHEN a person is accused of a felony, he is tried in open court. Witnesses for the state and the defense testify under oath, and their testimony becomes a matter of public record. Public and press are in attendance. Details of the trial are pub-

Labor: Where From Here--- (1)

AFTER some three months of pulling and hauling and backbiting, the Pacific Coast shipping strike which cost upwards of \$700,000,000 in lost commerce, apparently is moving toward a compromise settlement that will leave an aftermath of class bitterness and distrust. Meanwhile in Michigan as a state court considers a petition to evict sit-down strikers from two General Motors plants, a blood-spilling riot breaks out in a third plant, and no end is in sight for the wasteful automotive conflict.

* * *

IT is always difficult to get perspective on a situation that is developing rapidly right before your eyes. It is the old thing about not being able to see the forest for the trees. From the spot a daily editorial writer occupies, perspective is especially difficult. Frequently we think we get more of it in a conversation or by letter than in the more formal editorial style; that we are less self-conscious.

Anyway, we recently were asked by a friend for our comment on the whole labor question today. And we are going to give you the substance of our reply. More than one "take" will be required if we are to avoid undue length in

creasing power—in its own interest as well as in that of the public and of capital. Much of the resistance on the part of industry against collective bargaining runs to that. On it, some wise words were said many years ago by one who certainly classifies as a friend of labor—Justice Brandeis:

"This practical immunity of the unions from legal liability is deemed by many labor leaders a great advantage. To me it appears just the reverse. It tends to make officers and members reckless and lawless, and thereby to alienate public sympathy and bring failure upon their efforts. It creates on the part of the employers, also, a bitter antagonism, not so much on account of lawless acts as from a deep-rooted sense of injustice, arising from the feeling that while the employer is subject to law, the union holds a position of legal irresponsibility."

* * *

BUT, despite alterations of a structural nature, the essence is the same as it was half a century ago. It is at bottom a human problem. And until some means is devised to get at the human element we won't progress very far, no matter what may be done by lawmaking toward limiting the evil

BUDGETS SLASHED IN SUBURB SCHOOLS

**East Cleveland Agrees to Operate
With Restricted Funds**

W. M. Councell, business manager of the East Cleveland School Board, today said the board would be able to operate satisfactorily despite a budget cut of \$151,110 in general operating funds.

The new budget for general operating purposes is \$751,396. Change from the tentative budget made up last July was brought about because of a downward revision of \$800,000 in the tax duplicate.

J. M. Main, clerk-treasurer of the Shaker Heights School Board, today also said that nursery schools in Boulevard and Lomond Schools will continue operating on a self-supporting basis.

One tree disease prevention method is the removal of fallen leaves and dead twigs around trees and shrubs, thus removing fungi harbored in them.

LOBBY LABOR BILL

**Clevelanders in Columbus to Urge
Approval of Measure**

A delegation of 25 Cleveland labor leaders was in Columbus today in the interest of the Huml bill limiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

Among the leaders are: Thomas A. Lenehan, secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor; George A. McKinnon, secretary, Metal Trades Council; Eric Peterson, international organizer, Machinists' Union; George Haas, Molders' Union; E. A. Mangin, Papermakers' Union; Ray Muehlhoffer, Polishers' Union; and Charles Madigan, Patternmakers' Union.

Domestic Coal Co.

SEWELL POCAHONTAS

\$7.75 Ton

LA. 0220 1951 W. 112th

MAY TRY MOVIES AGAIN

HOLLYWOOD, Cal., Feb. 2—Pos-sibility that Parkyakarkus might try to re-enter the movies was seen today in his scheduled wedding to Thelma Leeds, 22-year-old actress. The former newshawk will marry

the actress Sunday in Beverly Hills and honeymoon in Mexico.

Because cities have better facilities for fighting fire, the chances of property loss are about one in the city to 15 in the country when fire breaks out.



WHO WANTS HEAD-COLD RELIEF?

It's easy to get if you know what to do

1/ One approaches - hesitancy - delicate - heat - Men voice -
Pers. experiences + grievances - as well as class prejudice
Seldom a discussion - partizanship - catchwords which
A man is quickly branded - merits
Nevertheless there are things - absolute - candor.

2/ 2 Things - 6th week - 1600 in 1934 - 1,350,000 then
over 19m.
With returning prosperity
The question of wages -

3/ What is new (1) Issue of Industrial Union -
"United Automobile Workers of Amer." - The demand
Committee for Industrial Organization - John L. Lewis
- The A.F. of L. is opposed - Has had little success
unorganized

(2) "Sit-down" - fairly new - The workers who go on
- more effective - supplanting

4/ This 2nd feature - partic. outraged - apprehensive -
Regarded - illegal - Grand Judge Gaddis -
Looks like seizure - swastika

5/ I am in no position to decide -
Doubtful - There was a time Stude "Prof. Slichter"
Labor Union - "an illegal conspiracy"

- 6/ A people's sense of justice - lag.
Law entirely - Tories - slave-owners - Not intended
- not as deserve.
If the ends -
The idea - stock-holders, shareholders, "owners" - equality.
In passing - not only gold - Copper.
- 7/ A strike - is war - most effective - if no other
"sit-down" proving to be - will not readily
- 8/ It is decidedly not helpful - doctrinaire - discuss
G.M. - Equality - leads nowhere - The issue!
- 9/ G.M. - which as name implies - consistently
resented -
Like most others - does not want -
Recent hearings -
Under pressure - company union's -
- 10/ For this unionization - progress - 12%
Struggle in earnest - on this issue - not subsidiary
- 11/ Here again clear away 2 obstacles - (1) Restraint
(2) Resentment at interference.
Then as, G-men, racketeers - Bankers - All!
Interference - might not be so hotly resented

The day of absolute sovereignty & unaccountability
tradition - banking

with the shipping - (Trust)

And the more reactionary - Italy, Germany - no labor
unions + no socialism

It is far better to negotiate with unions - Real

American Unions - never socialist, never

had waged war on Cap. order

strongest bulwark - Liberty League

12/ Industry - if it had vision - would welcome union.

only expeditions to deal

only fair for workers whose bargaining - Nil

13/ With which unions to deal - Majority principle -

"United Amer. Workers of Amer." - vote

14/ To check possible abuses - protect public - provide
machinery for mediation - Task -

15/ As org. labor gets stronger - will have to accept
more & more resp. + social control

Govt. will have to define

Standards (Trust)

- Public vital state - The degree of regulation

16/ Continues bet. G.F.H. - Confusing - resolved.
Logic - chopped up

17/ In all this discussion - Labor - 25m.
Many & them - better ff. -

Revered - 1/3 of Am people ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-dressed

18/ Wealth has been abundant - not distributed
to sustain

Org. Labor - achieved in some measures

This helps labor - business - public -

Stability -



(1)

1. One approaches - with a degree of hesitancy - for it is a delicate subject, round which there is as a rule more heat & light. Men voice their ^{deeply} interests rather than their first judgments. Personal experience & prejudices enter - as well as class prejudice, traditional attitudes. This is seldom a discussion of ~~an~~ ^a matter in dispute but what blind partisanship on either side leads to overstatements, wild charges, and catch-words which never help to clarify the situation. A man is quickly branded as a reactionary or as a radical. The merits of his contributions ~~and~~ his sincerely & objectively are ~~for~~ seldom credited. Nevertheless ^{there} ~~are~~ things which ^{must} ~~should~~ be said in a post econ. situation of profound moral renewal - and no one who is anything like honest & intelligent leadership can absolve himself of the moral resp. of ^{raising} ~~speaking~~ the things which must be said - in candor, in ~~in~~ ^{a spirit of responsibility} ~~frankness~~ and in helpfulness.

2. There are two main points:

2. There are just 2 things new in the S. L. strike - new in its work already cost tens of millions - & unemployed 100,000 men. In all other years it is with any other strike - Greek famine to the last scene - we had close to 1600 - in 1944, involving over 1,350,000 men - and over 19 m. days work. With a turning property - strikes are increasingly. That seems to be true to the whole labor history. Men can strike only when they are employed. When there is a large surplus labor market - strikes are infrequent and unsuccessful. The Everthaw of crops, labor, revolution, work, unemployment, as in what ~~the strike~~ - here as organizing unity - as in what ~~the strike~~ -

3. What is new - (1) The issue of the individual union - vs. the craft union - i.e. the demand of the United Auto. Workers of Am. - which is constituted ~~by~~ ^{as} the basis of the trade union, the G. F. of L. - but on the line, the Comm. for Indus. Org. led by John L. Lewis - ~~the~~ which seeks to org. all workers in the mass prod. industry - like steel, auto, mining, - in all big unions. The G. F. of L. is opposed to this effort from org. - and does not appear in this strike. The G. F. of L. has been for and very little success in org. craft unions in the auto industry - Except for so-called "company unions" - the most of the workers are unorganized -

26
A people's sense of justice frequently outdistances its written laws. It is years before the legal lag is taken up. The law was entirely on the side of the Tories during the R. War - and yet they were driven into Exile. The law was entirely on the side of the slave-holders, the South - and yet the South was destroyed their rights & expropriated their human property. These illustrations are of course not intended to prove that the "let-down" state represents this higher sense of justice. ~~They~~ I mention them merely as reminders that the argument from law is not quite as decisive and final as some imagine. If the ends to be gained by the struggle are a just ~~ends~~ ^{ends}, so recognized by the people, and if there remain no other way of achieving ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the country} ~~the~~ ^{the country} except ~~the~~ ^{the country} the "let-down" state, you will find that the people will come to tolerate them regardless of their illegality. - (Am)

A shut-out strike - is undeniable unlawful. It is a trial by force. It is war, and if no peaceful substitute can be found, the ~~most~~ logic of struggle indicates that both both sides will ultimately employ the most effective weapons to win. The "let-down" strike is precisely like the most effective weapon, the striking workers - and incidentally less bloody and destructive than the old-fashioned method. It will not be much more in future industrial disputes.

In passing - labor is not only going resolutely to "sit-down"
strike. Gait. Could not buy copper ^{in many} from com. Camp.
refused to bid, bec. Gait had passed the Wash. Healy Act
which provides that Companies shall maintain 944
man work week in filling gait. contracts. I hope Am.
cooperation "sit-down" in a strike against their ^{- refused to supply copper pipes} part - ^{because} ^{for}
they did not approve of an act of Congress...

The idea that all the strike-holders is ^{job, disinterested} the "owner", the plant
and the wage-earner has no equity whatever in his job
or in the industry - that is joining part from ^{supra} 7 men -
A point can be made that
\$100.000 worth in ^{the} working at its machines have
as substantial an investment in that water power
industry as the average man 300.000 strike-holders -

Men & women must room & later the task this position.

Now again, clear away the obstruction in the way of clear approach to problem. A distinct & plain unions for now, then leaders are masters & racketeers. A confusion, I. e. here, ^{what is held the} ~~unorganized~~ ^{unorganized} interference in a man's business ~~business~~ ^{business} is further position, I am afraid is tenable. There are of course racketeers among labor leaders - all too many, I think - almost as many as among bankers, brokers and financiers and shoddy bus. ags. No one condones them. They are labor's worst enemies. They should be exposed and expelled. But to pass from this to the conclusion that all labor leaders are in this category - and the whole labor movement. I am in a scandal is unjust and undesirable unwise.

Similarly - the so called interference unions in the many cases has - ought not to be so totally resented. The day of absolute unjust unaccountability in bus. is long since gone - altho the frustration & the yearning for it still remain in certain quarters. Just with the shipping and the private operational to corporate operational forms of business and the agit has had to step in, again & again to protect workers transmission, and the modern bus. establishment is not the free-lance op. it was - and the more reactionary a part is - the more it "interferes". There is no such interference with this any where in the world - as there is in Italy & Spain - the world for cent countries where labor unions have been completely destroyed & labor is under the terror to denunciation & death - It is far better to negotiate fully with its enemies - than to come under the heel of agit. Am. unions, let it be remembered he was hung dead - It has converted

Marxian - class struggle viewpoint has fallen on deaf ears
repeated socialism. It has not waged war on the ⁵ Cap.
order. It has ~~concentrated~~ ^{concentrated} itself on wages, hours + conditions
of work. - The ~~business~~ ^{business} largest bulwark against comm.
in the U.S. is not the Liberty League but the labor union.

7/ Industry should welcome complete union. resolve. buying
It is the only expedient + just way to deal with masses
of wage earners, whose ind. buying power is nil vs. a
vast, truly huge org, + tremendously powerful corporations.

8/ To check possible abuse of power on the part of ~~org.~~
labor so org. - as well as to protect the general public
against a possible combination ^{by the employees} of employees
to exploit the public - and to ~~facilitate~~ ^{mediate} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~workers~~ ^{workers} ~~bet.~~
employees & employers when negotiators break down - that
is the task of govt.

As org. labor gets stronger - it will have to accept
more + more responsibility + social control - to protect itself &
the public against temptation of unbridled power - Govt.
will have to define not alone the rights of labor
orgs. - but also their responsibilities - ^(Duty boundaries) ~~The degree~~ of govt
operation will be determined by the public reaction to unfair
labor practices. The public has a most vital stake in every
ind. dispute - and must be the final arbiter - (over)

9/ The Conference bet. 2 factions within labor will also have
to resolve itself into a satis. compromise - Chas. F.

If bus. plans wish to remain free to bargain & negotiate
they must consent to mediation & arbitration when these
are not break down - When voluntary arbitration fails
there must follow compulsory arbitration - As Econ.
life cannot be repeatedly shaken by costly & destructive
strikes without at the same time shaking the very
foundations of an democ. govt. the present chaotic
conditions simply encourage & forestall adventures.



"Only by persistently and courageously, and I think one may even say conscientiously, breaking the law, did wage earners win the right to organize".

Grad. School of Bus. Admin. of Harvard U.

"It should be noted that the right to do business is not an absolute right. It is often interfered with by sanitary regulations and the forms of the police power. In time of war, the right to do business may be nullified. Railways and other public utilities have had their rights to do business seriously circumscribed. In short, the right to do business is legally recognized only in so far as its exercise is in the public interest".

Prof. Carlton

Prof. of Econ. in "Case School of Applied Science."

STRIKES! STRIKES!

There is nothing new in the General Motors strike except the issue of ~~the~~ the "vertical" union and "sit-down" tactics employed. The legal phase of the "sit-down" strike is something for lawyers to argue and for courts to decide. It is doubtful, however, whether even court decisions which are, as a rule, passed on precedents and authority will help the situation much. There was a time when even strikes and picketing were declared illegal and the labor union itself was held to be an "illegal conspiracy". A people's sense of justice frequently outdistances its legal laws. If the ends to be gained in a strike are just ends, so recognized by the people of the country, and if there is no other way of achieving them, except through the "sit-down" strike, you will find that the people of this country will come to tolerate it regardless of its illegality.

The basic issue in the General Motors strike should not be overlooked in a mass of incidental and subsidiary issues. What is involved is the question of the total organization of its employees in an independent union and real collective bargaining.

Whether the United Automobile Workers of America is authorized to speak for the workers should be determined by polling the plants; and wherever a majority follows the leadership of this organization, it should be authorized to represent them all. This is the democratic way.

The present division in the ranks of American labor on the issue of the ~~xxxx~~ "vertical" versus the trade union, unless it is quickly composed, will disrupt and defeat the entire labor movement and will open the way wide for all kinds of Fascist achievements.