

Underestimating or obscuring the facts, in my judgment are just as poor a way of meeting it as getting scared and putting the poor souls in jail. Fight it out in the open, my dear Mr. Fitch, and for heaven's sake, don't you and people like you, call it curious or deny that it exists.

And I must protect against your statement that for more than 23 years joining the union has meant discharge in the Steel Corporation. My dear Mr. Fitch, that is not true. I know that from my own experience. There are hundreds - yes, thousands of union men, known to be union men, in the employ of the Steel Corporation. Union men appeared before the Senate Committee in 1919 - union men have come to stockholders' meetings. In Birmingham two years ago I found that the chief Safety Inspector of the mines was one of the strongest union men in the State, a man who had been most active and who had taken the position after having once refused it because, as he said, he believed the Corporation was on the fair even if it did not recognize the union. There are many union men at work in Birmingham, though, as you know, there have been some terrible struggles down there, but no union man is refused employment even after a strike there unless violence has been proved against him. Then he is not taken back. Certainly hundreds of

against him. Then he is not taken back. Certainly hundreds of union men were taken back after the strike of 1919. The trouble come, I am convinced, when a man begins union activity, active propaganda inside a mill or counsels striking. There is no question that he is summarily dismissed for such activity in the factory. They claim that and defend it because they are running an open shop. You must remember that they have always fought for the open shop. That open shop was their first platform in their labor program. I believe that it is actually true

that whether a man belongs or not to a union is not asked when he is employed. Certain it is that great numbers of union men have been for many years in the employ. Probably 95% of their railroad men are union men. A much less percentage of miners and foundrymen. I would be the last to say that the dealings have always been open and square. The situation of mutual espionage which goes on, the mistrust creates an atmosphere of suspicion, but my experience in the steel plants has been that that suspicion has steadily grown less.

You rap me for not having made a survey. Well, it is true that for this piece of work I did not make a house to house canvas, and I always doubt whether I know enough to write about anything that I do write about. I have been saying for some time when I talk on labor subjects publicly that I thought it might be a good thing for all people who write or talk on industrial matters to be obliged by law to serve an apprenticeship for a year as a worker and a year as a manager, and then we might be able to get some kind of a real notion of the things we talk about. I don't know that that would do it. It would not if we went to our tasks with preconceived notions. Nevertheless I have known something about the steel industry for a great deal of my life. You see I came from northwestern Pennsylvania. I have known Pittsburgh and the vicinity and the Youngstown district very well. For two years

vicinity and the Youngstown district very well. For two years
— after I left college I taught school in the Youngstown district
Niles, Struthers, Youngstown. I knew employers and workmen,
went through strikes, had the awful experience of once seeing
half a dozen men who had been burned alive carried out. I feel
as if I got a certain feel of the thing; at any rate, I got an
need of seeing order and peace brought into that disorganized
industry.

on my part. What I was attempting to do was to show by the documents that the Steel Corporation has a labor policy and to explain what it is, for it does seem to me, my dear Mr. Fitch, that it has attempted seriously and consistently to build up points of actual not theoretical interest between men and management.

In talking about the Amalgamated movement of 1918 you object to the word 'attack.' If that seems offensive to you I am quite willing to withdraw it. I certainly did not mean to imply conspiracy in using it. I used it exactly as I would if I had said, "I am attacking the life of Judge Gary," that is, in the sense of attacking a piece of work, attacking my dinner, undertaking a thing. I think if you will look in the dictionary you will find this is a recognized use of the word. Certainly it is one that I am willing to withdraw or change.

No, I do not think that the strike of 1919 can properly be called Bolshevik. The Federation set out in 1918 to make one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America. That the more Radical element of the Federation was the more active in organizing this strike, that Mr. Gompers and his associates and the more conservative element were not in full sympathy and went in finally to the strike for ulterior political reasons, it seems to me all the documents show. Certainly my talks with Mr. Gompers at the time led me to that conclusion.

As to the part that Communistic or what you call
Bolshevik ideas played in the strike, I think there is no
doubt that they were an element. I am not willing to speak
of these notions as "curious" as you do. Communistic doctrine

is held by many people. Where people have little real knowledge of human history, human struggles, human conduct, they seem to see a way out. For the most people who held it, given what their experience in life has been, I think they are rather natural idea. I think it quite as unjust and as unwise to say that nobody has Communistic ideas as to get scared because some people have. There is one way of handling them and that is recognizing them and letting them talk it out. I think that all the documents show that there were a few foreigners who held the Communistic notion, who felt that now they could take over the plants and run them. If my information is correct the length of the strike in Cleveland was due to this feeling that if they held out they would get the plants.

You say you never found any Communism of that kind around Pittsburgh. It certainly is true that we never heard of any there. I don't think any of the records show much Communistic feeling there, but I think it did exist in certain Ohio centres, and to a limited extent in Gary. I don't see how we can expect that we should not have more or less Communistic ideas afloat in the country for there come to us constantly people that have been brought up under the Communistic doctrine. They have not had enough experience of life, and certainly have not had enough experience of the institutions of this country to have any doubt that it is workable and better than any form of Democracy.