The railroad industry has also been the scene of an enormous growth of company unions. The pioneer company in this respect was the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1921 this railroad organization went beyond mere barbed-wire fences and maintenance of way organizations and established its plan of employment representation, after taking a fake referendum vote of the workers on its vast network of railroads. This greatly weakened the unions on that road, large numbers of the weaker unionists deserting the bona fide organizations to pin their faith on the company organizations. During the great shopmen's strike of 1923, which was caused in large part by the growing company-union movement, most of the large railroad systems followed the lead of the Pennsylvania by establishing company unions among the ranks in their shops. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and a number of other large systems took a different tack. They did not establish company unions outright, but made a "settlement" with the shop unions. Shortly after this settlement the so-called 6 & 9 Plan was developed. The essence of this is to turn the trade unions into near-company unions. A further complication developed when some of the railroads, which had followed the lead of the Pennsylvania in erecting company unions, also made settlements with the trade unions. Such were the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, etc. On the roads involved, one sees the spectacle of company unions and trade unions existing side by side.

Thus, on the railroads, there are three stages of company unionism: (1) the Pennsylvania type of straight company unionism to the complete exclusion of the trade unions in the plants; (2) the Chicago typification of trade unions reduced practically to the status of company unions; (3) the Great Northern and Northern Pacific type of company unions and trade unions existing side by side.

Ike ideologically all these company unions are of one type. Their views are those of the class-conscious, national socialist or communist, which means the complete subjugation of the workers' interests to those of the employers. A typical statement of policy is that of the company union of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, Traffic Department, which says:

"The operating employees of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, and operated companies, desiring to establish a means of presenting to the Company the views of the employees on matters of mutual concern, through channels supplementary to the Company's administrative organization, and recognizing the common responsibility of the employees of the said Company in giving continuous and efficient public service have adopted the following plan of representation."

Organizationally the company unions follow two general
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The "Industrial Democracy" plan, a system of organization is set up parasitically on the back of a Cabinet, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Cabinet comprises the highest executives of the plant, the Senate is made up of foremen, and the House of Representatives is composed of the elected representatives of the employees. In the Senate, the committee type, the effort is to gagrady, to create a co-operative system, another form of organization. Committees are elected from the various shops and works.

There may be either entirely of workers or joint committees representing whatever system, whether the governmental type or the committee type, the company unions are always under the control of the company officials, and serve the companies' interests.

Company unions in American industry are not to be confused with Works' Councils in England and Betriebsrate in Germany and in other countries. The American company unions are pure instruments of the employers, set up as substitutes for trade unions and designed to preserve the "open shop" system. They were organized by the employers to check the growth of independent unions. The Works' Council and Betriebsrat system, on the other hand, in most cases either direct rule by the workers or joint committees representing the workers' and the employers' interests, have a number of members, a large proportion of which is located in Argo, III. When in 1918, the Workers' Cabinet held its first meeting at the company union which was used vigorously. After a short struggle, we captured this organization. But, when a general meeting of the company union committees representing all the plants of this company was held, we also captured that, by winning over every protection, and the company unions which we definitely established the trade unions in the plants. Another place where we captured the company union was in the town of the Blue Coal company, where we launched a direct attack on the company union which was used vigorously. After a short struggle, we captured this organization. But, when a general meeting of the company union committees representing all the plants of this company was held, we also captured that, by winning over every protection, and the company unions which we definitely established the trade unions in the plants.

The county unions are the employers' first line of defense against the trade unions. The success of these organizations depends upon their organization of the employees into their political party, and the capture of the trade unions is a great barrier to the spread of trade unions and to the unionization of the industries.

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