

WORKERS EDUCATION —IN THE— UNITED STATES

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON WORKERS EDUCATION IN
THE UNITED STATES HELD AT
THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL
RESEARCH NEW YORK CITY
ON APRIL 22nd AND 23rd, 1922

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The responsibility for editing this year's Conference Proceedings has rested almost exclusively on the Secretary. It has involved the difficult problem of the selection of material for the printed report within the necessary limitations of space. The various speakers at the Conference were invited to edit or revise their own addresses; these have been printed in the main as revised. Much of the informal discussion, however, has been eliminated and some of the more formal addresses have been edited. Such defects in the report as are the result of editorial revision, I must accept as my responsibility.

I want specifically to acknowledge my appreciation of the services of my friend T. S. Jones, Jr., of Mrs. Winifred Maclay and Miss Evelyn Wright, in reading proof, and other volunteers who assisted in preparing the copy for the printer. And finally I want gratefully to acknowledge the courtesy of the New School for Social Research for opening its doors for the second year in succession to the National Conference on Workers' Education in the United States.

SPENCER MILLER, JR.
Secretary.

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FIRST SESSION

SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1922, 2 P. M.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

*Tentative Executive Committee, see page 149.

I want to say that we have decided, or it is recommended to the Board of Control that instead of having our lectures in this ten lecture course, that we will have to divide them in two courses, because after a person has gone to school for ten nights a month and then has two or three weeks, it isn't so easy to get them back to the class.

Experiences with Classes

We always find the opening night, unless we have a special exercise, has a very poor attendance. The second evening we have our full attendance and that practically stays all through the term.

I want to say that the Class of Economics which we have had a hard time to build up in most cases, this past term we have had a registration of 32—which we thought was very remarkable because it seems that after the workers work all day they don't care to come to such a dry subject as economics at night.

We could fill a hall almost as large as this if we were giving lectures on other subjects; especially in our course of literature do we have to put a premium on visitors because we have had our lecture course very well attended. And the school rooms are not as large as this to permit a lecture course in some of the school rooms; so as not to inconvenience our students we put the premium on visitors. But we hope that next term we will also be able to have a building, whether it be a Public School building or whether it be a building of our own, where we can carry on our lectures and not have to turn anybody away. And the success of the Trade Union College is going to depend on the students and the Trade Union organizations in taking a much more active part than they are doing at the present time. (Applause.)

The Educational Work International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union**

By FANNIA M. COHN*

It is becoming evident that organized labor is destined to play an increasingly important part in social and economic progress. Even

*Executive Secretary, Educational Department International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**Report prepared for Conference Proceedings.

the temporary after-war depression cannot hide this fact. Labor is caught in a predicament where it is compelled to struggle bitterly for its hard-earned gains. But he who runs may read. It does not require very much knowledge to see that things will not continue as they are. It is merely a matter of time when Labor will be forced by existing conditions to unite more firmly than before, and to compel widespread and fundamental changes in the present economic system.

Who is going to accomplish this? Surely not millions of ignorant and dissatisfied men and women. All they can do is to give voice to discontent and to a deep-seated desire for change. The actual constructive work will be performed by those in the labor movement who know and understand.

But how are these to be found? Who are they? No one can answer correctly. No one can tell who are the men and women who, a few years hence, will lead their brothers and sisters to triumphant Industrial Democracy.

It is our sacred duty to find these men and women, and give them the knowledge and vision which will enable them to serve their fellow workers efficiently. This can be accomplished best by further development of labor education. All those who take advantage of the labor educational activities must be given the proper training, for they will be the great labor army of to-morrow.

The educational activities initiated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are gradually spreading and will sooner or later become an organic part of the American Labor Movement. They are a fulfillment of the ideal that economic efforts of the Labor Movement to accomplish its aims must be re-enforced by other factors, chief among which is Workers' Education.

Our Educational Policy

In formulating the plan of the character of instruction to be given in our courses, we could have filled them with propaganda. We decided, however, that this was not needed. Our members have been educated in the school of bitter experience. They have taken part in the struggles of their union. Can we make the need for social change any more convincing by class room propaganda than by the lesson of a winter of unemployment? Do we have to prove that there is exploitation of labor to those who have graduated from the sweat shop? Must we preach the class struggle to those who have faced the lock-

out? They have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

The labor union, consciously or unconsciously tends to reconstruct society. Our members have their dream of that new world where social justice is to prevail, where men and women will not sneer at friendship and love, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity. We do not need to supply our members with isms.

The duty of our Union is to supply its members with a working body of social and economic fact. We want to help our people to find themselves in the modern complex world. We have gained the confidence of our students. We felt that the best way to accomplish this, was to give our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts, which they can utilize in their economic and political activities on behalf of the working class.

Content of Our Courses

At present our chief concern is the teaching of the social sciences. As never before the unions are called upon to work out their relationships in the industrial life, to find their places before the law, and to define their position in the world of politics and government. Without a good education along these lines, it is impossible for our members to understand how existing economic conditions can be changed with the least difficulty and with the greatest possible success. This is the reason that so much time is devoted to industrial history, social psychology, economic geography, government, injunctions, trade union history and policy.

But we also recognize that our members are interested in other things besides their economic and social problems. They are human beings endowed with the irresistible human desire for play, joy and happiness. They are men and women who are interested in life as a whole. They seek to satisfy this interest, and turn wherever they can to do so. Hence, workers' education must not be narrow and the curriculum of the workers' college must be all-embracing.

We satisfy the desire of our members not only for the social sciences, but also for the best of literature, the truths of psychology, the beauties of music, the joys of dancing and play, the pleasure of social gatherings and the delights of nature.

Our Education and Our Organization

In all fields the effort is being made to break down the artificial

barrier between education and life. In workers' education we want every student to feel that his union life is a vital part of his education and his educational life a vital part of his union. We want him to bring his union problems to class and take his reflection and added grasp of facts gained in study back to his shop and the business meeting of the union. Trade union policy is not alone to be formed in the executive council of the International. The living policy is formed in the daily routine of the shops, in the meetings of locals and shop chairmen and in the union study groups.

Our Activities

During the past two years, the Educational Department expanded its activities to a large extent.

A—Courses in the Unity Centers

There are eight Unity Centers in public schools in different parts of the city where our members live. Registration for these is over 2,800.

In each Unity Center, we carry on various activities; educational, health, and social. Our members meet there from four to five nights a week.

Our International arranges independent courses, a History of the Labor Movement, American and European Trade Unionism, Applied Economics, Applied Psychology, History of Civilization, Literature.

Since most of our members are of foreign birth, it is natural that English should occupy a very important place in our educational plan. In each Unity Center there are classes in our English of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grade, all organized exclusively for our members. The teachers, about forty, are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education.

One evening a week in each Unity Center is devoted to Health. For one hour a lecture on health topics which concern the home and factory life of the workers is given by lecturers assigned by the Bureau of Industrial Hygiene of the Board of Health. These lecturers are physicians. The second hour is spent in the gymnasium, where, under the supervision of competent physical training teachers, our members receive instruction in gymnastics.

B—The Workers' University

The classes in the Workers' University have increased in number. The subjects taken up are more substantial than at first and

are taught more extensively. During the past season, there were six classes conducted in the Washington Irving High School, New York; three on Saturday afternoons and three on Sunday mornings. These courses extend from November until April.

Subjects

Single lectures were also given in important labor subjects. The following were given during 1920-1922: Labor and Management, Policies of Trade Unionism, Boycotts and Strikes, The Department of Records and Research of the I. L. G. W. U., Trade Unions in England, The Situation in the Steel Industry, The Coal Mining Situation, The Psychology of Trade Union Organizations, Workers' Control, Current Economic Literature, Current Economic Opinions, The Co-operative Movement, Economic Geography, Social and Industrial History of the United States, History of Civilization, Sociology, The Role of the State in Modern Civilization, Labor and the Peace Conference, The Plumb Plan, Applied Psychology and Logic, Social Psychology, Tendencies in Modern Literature, Public Speaking, etc.

Our Unity Centers and Workers' University do not simply give instruction. They foster a spirit of comradeship. Added enthusiasm and understanding are bound to come when people work together on their common problems and study to make their mutual ideals into living realities. The friendly spirit of the classes is heightened by social gatherings arranged by the students. A strong bond unites those who play together.

C—Extension Division

We have always believed that educational activities should be provided for different groups which constitute our membership. We feel that a large part of it cannot come to classes for many different reasons. Some are not used to class work. Others are tired, and many have other duties. But, we must make all possible attempts to reach them. For this reason, we organized an Extension Division. Its work consists in conducting lectures to which all our members are invited, arranging for talks at the business meetings of our local unions, conducting forums and entertainments, and other similar activities.

1. Forums

The Educational Department conducted several forums attended

by thousands of our members. A musical program was frequently provided. At some of these forums, President Schlesinger addressed the members of our Cloakmakers' Union on the current problems of the industry and their organization. We feel that this feature of our educational work is exceedingly important. These forums are organized in different sections of the city, so as to be accessible to all. We hope to extend this work.

2. Work in Yiddish, Russian and Italian

Some of our members do not know enough English to profit by our classes in the Unity Centers and the Workers' University. Courses on the history and problems of labor unions and our own International were given in Yiddish in different parts of the city. They were attended by large numbers who showed great interest.

A series of lectures in Russian on labor problems was arranged for the Russian branch of the cloakmakers union.

We are planning to organize educational activities for our Italian speaking members in their own language.

3. Lectures at Business Meetings of Local Unions

We have always encouraged local unions to arrange for speakers to address their members at business meetings on important labor subjects. During the past two years such lectures were given and much interest shown. Generally about an hour was devoted to the address and answering questions. Lectures were given in English and Yiddish. Since there will always be many of our members who can be reached only at the business meetings of our Union, this work will be extended. This activity serves a double purpose. First, it adds interest to the regular business meetings, and attracts members who might otherwise not attend, and secondly, it reaches a large part of our membership who for some reason or other do not attend our classes.

A list of topics for lectures is prepared by the Educational Department and forwarded to the Executive Boards and the Educational Committees of the local Unions. From these they select the subjects best adapted to their needs.

4. Strike Activities

During the recent strikes of the Waistmakers and Cloakmakers' Union, the Educational Department was active in arranging entertainments for strikers. Musical talent was secured. Lecturers ad-

dressed small as well as large groups of newly organized workers on various aspects of the labor problems in which the hearers were interested as recruits to unionism. Lantern slides were used to illustrate the International's activities.

5. Social Activities

The Educational Department always realized that it is not sufficient to appeal only to the intellectual interests of our members. Workers are human beings and have emotional, artistic and social needs as well.

For this reason, the Educational Department conducted entertainments. At each of them, an artistic program was rendered and addresses were made by speakers prominent in the Labor Movement and the educational world. They were followed by chorus singing and dancing. In all cases, a family spirit prevailed throughout.

6. Get-Togethers

The Educational Department helped to arrange get-togethers at the end of each educational season. They were directed by committees selected by our students and were attended by the students in the Unity Centers and Workers' University, the teachers and their families, and officials of our Union. They were financed by the students.

7. Hikes and Outings

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers with the assistance of the Educational Department also plans excursions, hikes and outings during the summer months.

The hikes have always been most interesting. Many of our members belong to different local unions and do not know each other. At the hikes they become acquainted, make friends and spend a few hours a week in sociability and good-fellowship, called forth and influenced by beautiful natural surroundings. It is needless to emphasize the importance of this open air recreation to our members who spend most of their working time indoors.

D—Libraries

An important factor in the development of labor education is the labor library. In classes, students are referred to books dealing with the subjects studied. Many purchase such books. Others obtain them from libraries.

To satisfy the needs of their members a great many of our local

unions have equipped their headquarters with libraries. In all cases there may be found standard books dealing with the history problems and philosophy of the labor movement and with the social and political sciences. There is also usually a plentiful supply of the best literature, particularly works of those novelists and dramatists who deal with important social problems.

The Educational Department of the International has been of help in suggesting to local Unions books to be purchased for their libraries and in obtaining them at wholesale rates. Our Summer Unity Home in Forest Park, Pa., the Unity House at Philadelphia and the Italian Waistmakers' Union have several thousand volumes in their libraries which are used extensively. The movement for building up libraries in English and other languages is spreading among all locals. Before long, libraries will be a permanent feature in every local union.

Conclusion

It can be seen from the above that an attempt is made to provide educational activities for as many different groups of our members as possible. Much more can and will be done in time.

Size of Classes

While large classes are useful for general cultural purposes and to instill enthusiasm, and while certain subjects lend themselves readily to large numbers as, for example, in the study of literature, all agree that in the study of labor and economic problems, the best results are obtained when a comparatively small number of people participate in the discussion.

Accordingly, most of our classes in the social sciences numbered between twenty and fifty students, while our classes in literature and psychology had as many as 150 at a time.

Our Unity Homes

The effort to develop the artistic sense in our members has resulted in the establishment of Unity summer homes conducted on a co-operative basis by our New York Dress and Waistmakers' Union, the Italian New York Dress and Waistmakers' Union, and the Philadelphia Dress and Waistmakers' Union. In these thousands of our members live in an atmosphere of perfect democracy and fellowship, in cottages surrounded by gardens and forests, and equipped with all the conveniences that one could desire.

Our Unity Village in Forest Park was built for the mighty, who can get everything out of life that money affords. The workers who built it never intended it for their own use. Compare these beautiful cottages with the ugly, uninspiring and unsanitary tenement houses of New York, in which so many workers live and take it as a matter of course that these are the only homes they can afford and society can provide for them. How much more workers can get out of life, even within their meagre means, when they learn how things may be done collectively through the effort of their trade union.

Management and Control

Broad planning for the educational work of the International is entrusted to the Educational Committee. Their policy forming body is a sub-committee of the General Executive Board and consists of five members.

The Committee while leaving to itself the planning of the educational activities, has created in the office of the International an Educational Department, which is in charge of the entire educational work. This Department is managed by a Director, who is an educator (Mr. Alexander Fichandler is the present director), and by the Executive Secretary of the Educational Committee, Fannia M. Cohn.

Democracy in Our Education

Since our education exists for the sake of helping forward democracy, we try to foster self government in workers' education. To guard against an over-centralization of educational control, we have established a Permanent Joint Conference of the educational committees of our local unions. This conference meets from time to time with the Educational Committee. It renders valuable service in helping us to keep in touch with the locals and in passing on suggestions from the rank and file.

Student Councils

In each Unity Center, the students elect two members from every class to serve on a Students' Council. In our Workers' University, the students elect three members from each class. The members of the students councils besides aiding in keeping in touch with classes, select three of their number to sit with the Executive Committee of the Faculty. This group considers the problems of each Unity Center and of the Workers' University and passes upon the curriculum. The

Students Councils also arrange for social affairs to make possible a fuller acquaintance of pupils and teachers.

Methods of Organization

As was reported in the last proceedings of the W. E. B., "we find that we reach our membership most effectively by coming in personal touch with them." We direct all our energies to the rank and file.

Notice of classes and news is given in the daily English, Yiddish and Italian papers which reach our members. Our International's weekly organ "Justice", published in English, Yiddish and Italian, has a page devoted to Education. It gives news of the Department's work and of other union experiments at home and abroad. Here are given labor's educational aims, problems and achievements. On this page, lesson outlines have been published during the last few years, which in themselves were very educational.

No opportunity is lost to impress upon our members that "knowledge is power." Speakers tell of our classes at shop and membership meetings. Mass meetings and get-togethers get our message. Leaflets and posters tell that story.

Teaching

The teacher cannot follow the usual time or logical order of presenting a subject common in a text book written for youth with little background of practical experience. Our teachers are developing their own technique. In presenting a subject, they begin with current events fresh in the minds of the students, or with present day problems that are of immediate interest to them. For example, in teaching History of the Labor Movement, an important problem which is actually before them is presented. In discussing it, the teacher compares it with past events of the same nature, going as far back as is necessary, and then gives the students the historical information which will help them to understand the question before them. In the study of labor law, for instance, the instruction starts with an injunction facing the union today and goes back to the origin of injunctions.

How Our Work Is Financed

From the outset it has been the policy of the I. L. G. W. U. to appropriate a sum from the treasury of the Union to support the educational activities.

We started six years ago with an appropriation of \$5,000 a year,

and the Cleveland Convention which was held in May, 1922, voted \$17,500 a year for our educational activities.

Our members are admitted to all our activities without fees. We also admit members of other trade unions at the official request of their organizations. This is done for two reasons: first, because we feel that we should demonstrate our solidarity in that manner, and secondly, we may thus stimulate other organizations to initiate educational activities of their own.

Lesson Outlines

An important feature of our educational work is the preparation of outlines of all our lessons. These are prepared by the teacher, mimeographed, and a copy is given to each student. Pupils keep them and at the end of the year have what may be called a condensed text book. That these outlines are helpful is proved by the fact that many students come to the offices with requests for those which they have either mislaid or did not receive. At the end of the last season, many had to be reprinted because of the great demand. Workers' Colleges throughout the United States also sent requests for sets of the outlines. In many cases, these were used as lesson guides or as models for new outlines.

Book Purchase

Another useful work performed by the Educational Department is the furnishing of text books to our students at wholesale prices. This Department made arrangements with leading publishers, by which books recommended by teachers are furnished at wholesale cost. During the past two years the Educational Department furnished hundreds of books to our students. Not only has this been a money-saving but, what is more important, it stimulated our members to own books, to read and re-read them.

Labor Text Books

For some time, we have felt that one of the problems to be solved by the Labor Movement in this country, is that of text books. At present when our members wish to become acquainted with the facts of history and economics, they usually have to turn to books written in a one-sided way. These seldom deal with the every day life. They ignore the interests of the toilers and the story of their struggles. Such books are obviously not for the workers. Worker-students must have the facts. They must not be fed on material, selected by prejudiced minds.

In addition, such books must be presented so as to be understood easily by workers. The language must be simple and clear.

We have advocated the publication of text books in social sciences written for workers from the workers' point of view. We also felt that these books should be the outgrowth of actual teaching in workers' classes and that they should contain the results of the teacher's experience with such classes.

We are happy to state that the Workers Education Bureau is editing "The Workers' Bookshelf" and will include books on important social subjects prepared by specialists, including teachers in our classes.

Specialized Training for Small Groups

An attempt is being made to organize studies for small groups of our members who have the ability and the desire to serve our organization.

The training of these groups will be of an applied practical character,—a combination of theory and practice. The instruction in practical organization will be given by officers of our organization as well as of other organizations.

Difficulties and Obstacles

In judging the success of our activities in the City of New York, one must remember some of the difficulties which we had to overcome. It is necessary to consider the fatigue of the workers, their family duties, their personal and organization interests and the time consumed in travelling to and from work. Also in the City of New York there are a great many conflicting attractions, all bidding for the interest of the workers. Lectures, entertainments, concerts, drama, opera, and various other similar activities, are conducted almost every day and every evening. They appeal to various interests.

Considering all this, we feel that a great deal has been accomplished, for in spite of these conditions, a large number of our members were attracted to our courses, and attended them regularly and faithfully.

Activities Outside of New York

While planning our work in New York City, we always realized that our duty towards our members in other cities is equally great. We have, therefore, started classes in Boston, where arrangements were made with the Boston Trade Union College to accommodate our

members. Classes were also organized in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Newark, N. J., and Mt. Vernon, N. Y. We are now working on a plan whereby educational activities will be initiated in Chicago and other cities where our members reside. Due to the industrial depression that caused so many strikes in our industry in these cities we had to postpone our plans temporarily.

Our Educational Department is in constant touch with little groups of our members in other cities, encouraging organization of classes, helping to find teachers, sending lesson outlines, writing and making personal visits. The classes are conducted by local committees of members, but assisted and directed by the Educational Department.

What Has Been Accomplished

For five years thousands of workers attended our classes, lectures and other activities. In these they learned a great deal about matters connected with their industry, their organization and the Labor Movement. They learned some of the economic laws underlying the development of the present order. They learned some of the fundamental psychologic laws which govern the relations between human beings. They were inspired by literature which deals with the life, hopes and sorrows of other men and women.

But chief of all, they became acquainted with the story of the struggle of their class. They heard how other workers, like themselves, speaking other languages and members of other races, struggled for many weary years; how they attempted to get more joy and happiness out of their miserable existence. They learned how through the devotion, loyalty and endless effort of other workers, they are in a position today to enjoy some of the beauties and comforts of life. They learned how unity and solidarity helped their fellow workers to achieve all this.

Perhaps this has not all resulted in a marked increase in the organization work of the International. But there is no doubt it has added power to the union. We believe those attending classes have been strengthened in their high ideals, filled with a greater desire to serve their fellow workers and guided toward a practical expression of their ideals, and energies.

Other Educational Experiments

In all literature dealing with the development of labor education in the United States, the I. L. G. W. U. is admitted to be the pioneer in this field. But in developing its educational activities our Union

did not serve its own purposes only. It helped to create a sentiment which has become realized in concrete form. Within the last few years, labor schools have been opened throughout the United States. Many of them communicated with our Educational Department making inquiries as to our method of organization, teaching, subjects,—outlines of lessons and many other details. In many cases, we were informed that the information we gave them was helpful and enabled the other organizations to perform successful work along similar lines.

Our members were willing to pay the price of the pioneer and have their vision realized.

Education an Integral Function of the Unions

The success of the educational undertaking of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union should not make us forget that inauguration of educational activities in trade unions is after all a formidable task. During the past two years our Unions had on their hand several problems of a most serious nature. Chief among these were the strikes of the waistmakers, the dressmakers and the cloakmakers, which concerned the lives and happiness of tens of thousands of our workers. The opposition was strong and bitter. The universal industrial depression was utilized by employers in this struggle, want was felt in the homes of our workers. Our members had to solve problems of bread and rent, and to fight for the very life of their organization. One would imagine that under such conditions, there would be no inclination or willingness to concern oneself at all with educational activities.

But this was not so. To the eternal credit of our International it should be recorded that in spite of these depressing conditions, our educational activities went on not only the same as before, but increasing and widening in influence and usefulness. The classes continued as usual. Additional educational activities were organized for strikers and for newly enrolled members of the striking unions.

In short, our educational activities grew because all were convinced that they are no longer a mere incident in our organization, but a fundamental factor, important because they help our organization to achieve its glorious aims.

Conclusion

All must agree that the educational activities of the International Ladies' Garment' Workers' Union must go on. The time for

doubt and skepticism has passed long ago. The world moves and we must not stand still.

All this will require more effort. But it will be well used. It will be a wonderful investment, one for which future generations will bless us. We urge all to realize its significance, for labor education will give to many in our midst an opportunity to develop body and mind. It will furnish them with the materials which will enrich the leisure hours which had been won by their organization in its struggles on the economic field. It will develop intelligent leadership and an intelligent rank and file, educated, healthy, full of life, full of desire for a new world. They will be trained for self-expression. They will obtain fuller understanding of the great economic and philosophic problems and of the social facts which confront them. Educational activities will develop in the workers a new vision of brotherhood and cooperative effort to be attained by organization in the Labor Union and the Labor Movement.

Our members, men and women, young and old, without exception, endorsed full-heartedly our educational activities. Even those who for one reason or another did not find it possible to take advantage of them directly, were conscious of the fact that the educational work of our International Union, tends to develop intelligent men and women, and that this tends to elevate the intelligence of the membership as a whole. Therefore, they contribute their share toward its material support willingly and gladly. It has been said that there are always individuals behind every movement. We wish to add that behind the individuals there must be power,—a driving force. In our instance it was the rank and file of our International Union, that supplied the enthusiasm, energy and inspiration which made this work possible.

The First Year of the Workers Education Bureau

By SPENCER MILLER, JR.*

To make a fair appraisal of the growth of Workers' Education in the United States during the past year, and to recount the accomplishments of the Workers Education Bureau during the past twelve months, it is necessary to recognize certain outstanding facts

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about the industrial situation in our country during the same period of time.

During these past months we have experienced critical days in our national life as far as unemployment was concerned. The auction block for unemployed workers on the one hand and a national unemployment conference at Washington on the other have served to focus attention on the seriousness of the situation. These periods of enforced idleness are not times for study and reflective thought on the part of the workers.

When unemployment is accompanied by a real business depression, we are confronted with a condition of general disintegration of morale which is reflected in a disorganization in the life of great groups of people. No one feels this disintegration more than the industrial worker who has become a particularly dependent toiler in our modern industrial society.

To the disturbing effect of unemployment and business depression upon the general morale of the industrial worker during the past year, must be added the open shop campaign. On all sides the effect of this campaign, designed to destroy trade unionism, has left its toll of workers to whom work itself was more vital than the condition under which they worked.

It is true that this campaign has made labor in America more conscious of its role in the commonwealth and has added purpose to organization in communities where it was not clearly expressed. Out of the campaign instituted to counteract this open shop movement there has been developed a very considerable increase of understanding on the part of labor in the elements of power in organization. Yet a fair summary of the past twelve months of the labor movement in the United States cannot fail to reveal a definite loss in membership and a weakening of morale in many sections of the country.

I mention these seemingly obvious facts because they properly fall into the picture of this past year during which this Bureau has been in existence. As one person expressed it, if the Workers' Education movement can grow under all of the disintegrating elements of the past months it has met the most severe test.

II.

While the movement for Workers' Education, however, has struggled to be and to become a more vital force during these past months,