

ANTI-LABOR ORGS.

ANTI-LABOR ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED ACTIVELY
IN UNION-~~BUSTING~~ ^{Smashing} STRIKE BREAKING, AND IN
ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS FREE SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE FOR
LABOR AND FOR MINORITY GROUPS

(The following report is incorporated into this memorandum by
courtesy of Labor Research Association, which is responsible for the
compilation. It is a part of xx of LABOR FACT BOOK III, which is about to
be published.)

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These organizations fall into three groups: those which operate nationally; those confined to one section of the country; and those which are scarcely organizations at all, but represent some one person's particular class phobia.

They undertake the spreading of propaganda, the initiation and support of anti-working class legislation, and such direct action as strikebreaking. In other words, they concern themselves with everything designed to defend the existing capitalist system and to perpetuate private profits. They attack all radicals, reformers and even liberals as agents of revolution.

Their programs include one or several of the following general aims: (1) suppressing Communism and Socialism and "curbing" trade unionism; (2) combatting revolutionary propaganda, "subversive" theories and "sedition"; (3) deporting aliens and radicals; (4) strike-breaking, spying and anti-labor activity in general; (5) spreading pro-Nazi and pro-fascist propaganda; and (6) stimulating race prejudice by dissemination of anti-semitic, anti-Negro and anti-foreign-born propaganda.

The following are brief descriptions of some of the leading organizations and individuals wholly or partly engaged in this type of activity:

¹ See also *Labor Fact Book II*, pp. 180 ff.

American Liberty League: The American Liberty League was organized in August, 1934, "to sustain and defend the fundamental principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States," to combat radicalism, and "to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired." It attacks both the "New Deal" and radical groups, and opposes all attempts "to subvert our form of government."

Backers: That the Liberty League was organized to maintain the profits and privileges of big business, at the expense of the liberties of labor, is shown by the list of its national executive committee and national advisory council, and by its statements against labor and in defense of company unions. On its national executive committee are Sewell L. Avery, president and chairman of the Morgan-dominated

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Montgomery Ward & Co.; John W. Davis, lawyer for J. P. Morgan & Co.; Irene duPont, vice chairman of the board of E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.; Grayson M.-P. Murphy, treasurer of the League, a director of Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co.; and other bankers and big industrialists. Murphy, through his bond salesman, Gerald C. McGuire, approached General Smedley D. Butler, according to the General's testimony, in the summer of 1933 in an effort to persuade him to lead soldiers to an American Legion convention and participate in a fascist coup that would set up an outright dictatorship for the bankers and industrialists. (Public Statement of Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 73d Congress, 2nd Session. Released in New York City, November 24, 1934.)

Others on the executive committee or advisory council include E. T. Weir, chairman of the anti-union National Steel Corp.; John J. Raskob, duPont vice-president and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Mr. and Mrs. Pierre S. duPont; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president and chairman of General Motors Corp.; and other equally prominent industrialists.

During the year 1935, the League took in \$483,175 and spent \$389,973. Principal expenses were for salaries, state organizations and "educational" or propaganda purposes. Jouett Shouse, president, received \$36,750 as salary and \$18,000 for travel and expense allowance.

Among the large contributors to the League, during the first 16 months of its existence, were the following who gave \$5,000 each: Sewell L. Avery; Donaldson Brown, vice-chairman and director of General Motors Corp.; Robert R. M. Carpenter, duPont vice-president and director; Charles S. Copeland, J. Howard Pew; John L. Pratt; H. B. Rust; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.; John T. Smith; E. T. Weir; Joseph E. Widener; Henry B. duPont; Pierre S. duPont; S. Hallock duPont; and William duPont. Members of the duPont family contributed a total of \$23,500 and lent \$114,500 during 1935. A number of these large contributors to the American Liberty League were also contributors to the Republican Party during the same period.

Program: Outstanding points in the League's anti-labor program: (1) attacks trade unions and favors company unions; (2) opposes the 30-hour work week bill as "an unwarranted attempt to control production in violation of constitutional principles"; (3) has attacked payment of war veterans' adjusted compensation (bonus) as extravagant expenditure; (4) opposes the Social Security Act, because of the "burdensome taxes imposed upon industry for unemployment insurance and old-age pensions." (5) opposes federal expenditures for unemployment relief or work relief.

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Methods of Work: According to its own report, the League has distributed several million copies of its more than 100 pamphlets; supplied information regularly to every leading newspaper in the country; maintained a speakers' bureau for nation-wide radio addresses; and organized active student chapters in 26 colleges and universities. It reported on January 25, 1936, a membership "now approaching 75,000."

On January 30, 1936, John J. Raskob made public a letter, sent out on personal stationery, appealing for mass membership in the League: "As a property owner, stockholder and director in several corporations, I hope you will not think me presumptuous in calling on you and your friends to unite with others in issuing a clarion call... to join the American Liberty League... which is doing everything possible to root out the vicious radical element that threatens the destruction of our government." (Our emphasis.—Ed.)

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Political Role: The League is clearly an association of big business, organized to protect the wealth and power of the richest men in the country. It is significant that with the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce already representing the interests of capitalism, it was thought necessary to set up an organization aiming more openly to protect Big Business and defeat working class demands.

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This "liberty" league, although at present representing mainly reactionary Republican interests, may very well grow into a party of "national unity," leading the open fascist forces drawn from the most reactionary elements of both Democratic and Republican parties. Recognizing the economic issues involved between capital and labor, it will function as a political agency in defense of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

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Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.: The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which claims a membership of 700,000, was responsible for a pamphlet entitled *Combatting Subversive Activities in the United States*. This was widely distributed by local Chambers of Commerce to business men, industrialists, bankers and professional groups, during the winter of 1934-1935. Its first appearance was timed to precede by a few weeks the opening of the 74th Congress, in order to prepare public opinion for support of anti-labor, anti-red bills.

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Recommendations of the national Chamber include the following points, most of them already embodied in bills before congress: a federal sedition law; denial of use of mails to organizations advocating "subversive doctrines"; immigration laws refusing entrance to any person whose country will not take him back if he is deported; refusal of citizenship to persons who believe in or advocate "violent overthrow" of the government; federal laws prohibiting attempts to incite disaffection or subordination among armed forces of the United States; and a special agency within the Department of Justice to investigate "subversive activities."

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Coöperating in this anti-labor campaign are 14 national organizations, including the Order of Elks, National Civic Federation, Kiwanis International, Military Order of the World War, United States Patriotic Society, and United States Flag Association.

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Chamber of Commerce subversive activities committee (1935) is composed of bankers and industrialists, including James A. Farrell, formerly president and still a director of U. S. Steel Corp.; Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; Felix M. McWhirter, Indianapolis banker; and Silas Strawn, Chicago lawyer and bank director.

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American Legion: National Office of the American Legion conducted a campaign in 1935 to amend election laws in order to bar working class political parties from the ballot. (See above.) In its anti-labor campaign during the past two years the Legion has worked in collaboration with Hearst newspapers, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and such reactionary organizations as the National Civic Federation.

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Through its American Commission, the Legion, which claims a membership of 850,000, has carried on such typical anti-labor activities as the following: urged deportation of foreign-born workers in San Francisco strike, 1934; formed a Constitutional Defense League in Pennsylvania and launched an hysterical anti-radical attack on steel workers, April, 1935; through its department executive committee, ordered all American Legion posts in New York State to strike from their membership rolls Legionnaires who are members of the Communist Party or "who advocate government overthrow by force or violence" (*New York Times*, April 2, 1935); addressed letters in March, 1935, to all leading college presidents asking them to report on "subversive activities" in their institutions; brought pressure to bear upon Ohio State University in December, 1935, and succeeded in barring the American Student Union convention from its halls.

Legion members encouraged or paid by employers have frequently participated in anti-labor mobs. (A list of such incidents is on file at office of Labor Research Association.)

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Rank-and-file members have in a number of instances opposed the official Legion policy of strike-breaking. Membership of an entire Legion post marched in the funeral procession of Howard Sperry, a veteran, killed in the San Francisco strike, 1934. Other Legionnaires picketed moving picture houses in New York City in a strike during September and October, 1934.

Dominating Legion national policies is the so-called "Royal Family," made up of army and naval officers, most of them belonging to such officers' organizations as the Legion of Valor and the Military Order of the World War. In 1935, the Legion of Valor advocated breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and condemned resolutions by National Education Association on academic freedom. Military Order of World War advocated finger-printing all aliens and deportation of radicals; favored universal military service in war-time and eulogized Hearst for his patriotic services. All these resolutions were passed by the Legion convention.

National Union for Social Justice: Father Charles E. Coughlin organized his National Union for Social Justice on November 11, 1934, with a demagogic program that has in it strong fascist elements. In November, 1935, he came out openly with an attack on League of Nations sanctions and defended Italian fascism's invasion of Ethiopia. On November 24, 1935, he talked about "democratic revolution" in the United States and hinted strongly that an armed coup d'etat might become necessary to carry out his program. And at one of his church lectures, January 22, 1935, he advocated use of armed force in Mexico to overthrow the Cardenas government and suggested similar action in the United States: "The only way the Christians in Mexico can put their prayers across is at the point of a gun. And that's what they're going to do in the spring. There'll be some fat, greasy scalps hanging on the wall. *And that's what we may have to do in this country.*" (Our emphasis.—Ed.)

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Basic point in Coughlin's program is *inflation*, which he terms "normalization." He has proposed that \$10 billion in paper money be issued to end what he calls a "famine of currency." This would of course raise prices by lowering purchasing power of the dollar and real wages of workers.

Several planks in 16-point program of the National Union for Social Justice sound radical, but when compared with the radio priest's practice, they are shown to be mere demogogy. Point 2, for example, proclaims every citizen's right to "a just and living annual wage," while point 10 announces "the right of the laboring man to organize in unions." Yet Coughlin himself employed non-union labor, at wages below union scales, in building his church, and until recently had his printing done in non-union, low-wage shops. He refused to meet an A. F. of L. committee appointed to confer with him on the subject.

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Coughlin helped to organize a dual union movement in the automobile industry, the Automotive Workers' Industrial Association, and on September 5, 1935, attacked A. F. of L. automobile union. For these anti-labor activities he was condemned in a report of the Committee on Resolutions, adopted at the 1935 A. F. of L. convention.

He is on record as opposing unemployment insurance, old age pensions and socialized medicine. He has stated: "The National Union for Social Justice contends that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary."

Coughlin maintains close contact with the Committee for the Nation, an organization of big bankers, industrialists and farm capitalists. He is a friend of William Randolph Hearst, and stayed at Hearst's ranch in California on his vacation in 1932. Indeed, Hearst's paper, the *Detroit Times*, started Coughlin on his successful career as a national figure and is practically his personal organ. (See *The Truth About Father Coughlin*, by A. B. Magil, Workers Library Publishers.)

William Randolph Hearst: Millionaire Hearst commands the largest single propaganda force in the United States, a force which he has been employing on behalf of Fascism, disguising it by lip service to "Democracy." Hearst advertisements boast that 24,000,000 read his morning and Sunday newspapers.

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Hearst is perhaps best known for his yellow journalism; his netarious part in the Spanish-American War; his subsequent campaign to create a war with Mexico; his vicious attacks upon the Japanese people; his lies about the Soviet Union and Communism. He is the foremost mouthpiece for American Legion leaders, professional patriots, National Civic Federation and other reactionary forces. He is a big Navy, big "defense" advocate.

His fascist tendencies took on more definite form after a visit to Germany in the summer of 1934. There he interviewed Hitler, was welcomed by high Nazi officials and was even photographed with Alfred Rosenberg and the chief of the press division of the Nazi foreign political bureau. This was soon after Hearst, from London, cabled his newspapers' attorney instructions to mobilize publishers to help break the San Francisco general strike.

In Germany a deal was made so that by January 1, 1935, the Hearst news service was being purchased for all the Nazi party press. And at the end of 1934 a series written by Hitler's lieutenant, Gen. Hermann Goering, Reich Air Minister and Prussian Premier, began to appear in Hearst Sunday papers. At the same time articles attacking the Soviet Union were using "Photographs and stories which for more than a year had appeared in the Nazi papers," according to George Seldes in *Freedom of the Press*. Moreover, on February 24, 1935, Hearst papers opened a lying attack on a group of leading educators all of whom had publicly attacked the Nazi regime in Germany. (*New Republic*, April 17, 1935.)

In November, 1934, soon after Hearst's return to this country, a red scare campaign was begun against schools and colleges, against the Soviet Union, Communism and taxation of the rich, and for teachers' oaths and similar reactionary legislation. (See, for example, *Revolt on the Campus* by James Wechsler.)

Hearst campaign against liberal students and the war-mindedness of his Metrotone News caused students to boycott theaters showing his newsreel in many colleges. Workers also succeeded in having it removed from neighborhood theaters in many cities.

Hearst editorial workers who were members of the American Newspaper Guild were victimized. Louis Burgess, an editorial writer of the San Francisco *Examiner*, was fired in the spring of 1934, shortly after he was elected chairman of the newspaper Guild unit; Dean S. Jennings was fired from the San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* for joining the Guild. Redfern Mason (mayoralty candidate of the United Labor Party in San Francisco in November, 1935), music critic of the San Francisco *Examiner*, was given the "hotel run" after activity in the Guild. He resigned. These Guild members were given the run-around by NRA agencies, President Roosevelt himself ultimately upholding Hearst's firings for Guild activity.

Typical of Hearst's anti-Soviet campaign was the series of articles in the New York *Journal* in February, 1935, by one Thomas Walker, described as a "noted journalist . . . who for several years has toured" the Soviet Union. Articles and photographs presented alleged famine conditions in the Ukraine as of the spring of 1934. Walker was not a noted journalist; he was in the Soviet Union only *once*, for 14 days ending October 25, 1934, in the fall rather than spring. It "would have been physically impossible . . . to cover one-third of the points" he described, according to *The Nation's* Moscow correspondent, Louis Fischer. In July, 1935, Walker was revealed as Robert Green, a convicted forger and passport perjurer who had escaped the Colorado State Prison in 1921.

At the very time the Walker series was appearing, Lindsay Parrott, Hearst correspondent in the Soviet Union, had completed a tour of the Ukraine. In an interview with *Izvestia*, February 26, 1935, he reported: "Nowhere . . . did I meet any signs of the effects of the famine of which foreign correspondents take delight in writing." This was not reported in the Hearst press.

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Other Reactionary Agencies

American Alliance, Washington, D. C. Organized 1931 by Rep. Hamilton Fish "to act as a national clearing house in combatting the revolutionary propaganda and activities of the Communists, through educational and legislative means." President, Mark L. Hersey, retired Major-General of U. S. Army. Secretary, Walter L. Reynolds, also an officer of *America First*.

American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic and Fraternal Societies: Includes 110 societies. Organized "to combat socialistic and communistic tendencies in the U. S." Chairman, John B. Trevor. Recommends deportation of all alien Communists.

American Concentration, Inc. Organized June, 1933. Head, Major John T. Prout. Successors to Khaki Shirts. Anti-Communist and anti-semitic. Many Italian fascist members and some Americans. Reported to favor concentration camps on the Hitler model for strikers, but this may have nothing to do with its name.

American Defenders. "The Blue Shirts" or American Fascisti. New York City. National Commander—Major Frank Pease. Slogan, "Communism must be destroyed."

American National Socialist League, New York City. Formed January, 1935, as offshoot from Friends of New Germany. Organizer, Kurt Georg Wilhelm Luedecke, formerly official Nazi representative in United States. Stated goal, "No Jew left in these United States." Held mass meeting, October, 1935, advertised by men in Nazi uniform, cheering Hitler, and riding through garment district, New York City. Speakers included Col. E. N. Sanctuary, New York representative of American Vigilant Intelligence Federation.

American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, Inc., Chicago. Founded in 1919. General manager, Harry A. Jung, formerly spy director of National Clay Products Industries Association. Federation claims to be "oldest continuous anti-subversive research organization in United States." Publishes *Items of Interest*, confidential news service on labor activities. Jung coöperates with spies in *U. S. Steel Corp.*, and engages in anti-semitic propaganda.

Associated Farmers of California. Began active anti-red campaign, January, 1934. President, S. Parker Friselle, manager of Kearney Vineyard at Kearney Park. Active head, Guernsey Fraser, leader in American Legion's anti-subversive activities. Purpose, "to fight communism in farm labor circles." Financial support for this big body of farmers come from utility companies of California.

Constitution Society of the United States, Los Angeles. Formed March, 1935, to fight "Communism, Epicism, Utopianism and Radicalism." Broadcast weekly with anti-labor speakers, including Hugh Gallagher, vice-president of Waterfront Employers Association, and Chief of Police James E. Davis. Coöperates with Hearst press.

Constitutional Educational League, New York City. Shares offices and telephone with *American Constitutional Association* and with *The Awakener*, openly fascist magazine. Head of League, Joseph P. Kamp, is also executive editor of the paper. League has engaged in strike-breaking through pamphlets attacking shoe workers' and textile workers' unions, as in February, 1934, in textile strike at Aspinook Bleachery, Jewett City, Conn.

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Crusaders, Inc., New York City. Organized, 1929, against prohibition. Revived in 1934 "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the U. S. . . . to stand firm against any drift or drive toward Fascism, Communism or Socialism." Advisory council includes John W. Davis, Morgan lawyer, and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President of General Motors Corp. American Liberty League contributed \$5,000 to Crusaders.

Edmondson Economic Service, New York City. Head, Robert Edward Edmondson. Has published 117 violently anti-semitic leaflets.

Friends of New Germany, New York City. Dickstein Committee described it as American section of Nazi movement in Germany. Organization directs its efforts toward "a day of reckoning" for American Jews, according to Walter Kappe, editor of its official organ. Maintains "Storm Troops of Friends of New Germany" in United States and youth summer camps in New York and New Jersey. Members attacked and beat director of labor plays in Hollywood, Calif., 1935.

Hollywood Hussars, Hollywood, Calif. Founded by Arthur Guy Empey, to promote "militant Americanism." Aims to organize uniformed, mounted and armed units in other cities. Empey says it is backed by "powerful financial interests." Has offered services to police to quell "public disturbances"—i.e., for strikebreaking. Gary Cooper withdrew from Hussars after terroristic attack on labor theater director, 1935. Chief of Police Davis of Los Angeles and Los Angeles Sheriff are officers of Hussars. Hollywood Escadrille and Hollywood Light Horse, similar to Hussars, were founded by George Brent and Victor McLaglen.

Industrial Association of San Francisco. Active in breaking San Francisco strike of July, 1934. Organized as Black Hundreds with militia, vigilantes and police to raid workers' organizations, homes and strike relief kitchens. Association issued special bulletin, September, 1934, purporting to quote from The Communist, "instructions" that were entirely contrary to Communist teaching. Similar open shop employers' organizations operate in California—for example, the Manufacturers' Assn. of California—as well as in other states and cities. (See R. W. Dunn, Americanization of Labor, page 48 ff.)

Ku Klux Klan. Revivified in 1934 to "go after" Communists wherever found. Head, Dr. Hiram W. Evans of Dallas, Texas. Supports anti-labor, anti-radical bills. Agitated, 1935 against any radical teaching in state-supported colleges, and for cutting off state appropriations wherever radicalism was found. Forty-four klaverns of K.K.K. reorganized in 1934, principally in northern Alabama. Klan was responsible for murder of Joseph Shoemaker in Tampa, Florida, December, 1935.

League for Constitutional Government, New York City. Organized 1934 "to engage in American educational activities." Head John B. Snow. Distributes pamphlets attacking the New Deal as "communistic" and "socialistic." Reprinted and distributed letter by Edward F. Hutton (chairman of board, General Foods Corp. and a member of National Advisory Council, American Liberty League), written to William Randolph Hearst praising Hearst's stand against "socialistic tendencies" of Roosevelt Administration and against "communistic theories."

National Americanization League, New York City. Head, Major John T. Prout of American Concentration, Inc. Announced July, 1935, it would take "militant action to stamp out Communism" wherever found. Pledged to vigorous support of Dies Bill for deportation of alien Communists. Will model its program on that of vigilantes in California. Claims 7,000 members, 1935.

National Republic, Washington, D. C. Calls itself a magazine of "fundamental Americanism." Editors, Walter S. Steele and Frank P. Litschert, fight against "socialism, communism, internationalism, ultra-pacifism," atheism and "all other social and political subversism." Advocate deportation of radicals, and publish alleged quotations from fabricated Communist "documents." Steele is national chairman of Securities Committee of American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic and Fraternal Societies.

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Order of '76, New York City. Secretly organized, March, 1934, for espionage and propaganda against Jews and Communists. Membership includes federal, state and city officials. Col. Sanctuary, New York representative of American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, is a charter member. Coöperates with paid Nazi agents in distribution of anti-semitic propaganda. Even Dickstein Committee called it a petty racket and declared "radical and religious intolerance" is its "real and hidden purpose." (See Plotting America's Pogroms, by John L. Spivak.)

77 Paul Reveres, Chicago. Organized 1933. "To cleanse the American educational and religious establishments of subversive influences." In 1934 claimed 200 chapters in principal cities. Advisory board includes Rep. Hamilton Fish, former Gov. Walter J. Kohler of Wisconsin, former Sen. Clayton R. Lusk of New York, formerly of Lusk anti-labor committee (New York State Commission for Investigating Seditious Activities, 1919), and representatives of American Legion and D.A.R.

Pioneer American Home Protective Association, Glens Falls, New York. Organized 1932, it stands for "American Fascism" with a 15-point program resembling Hitler's. Declares it is a "vigilance organization" and promotes vigilance committees to act against "anti-American" activity. Advocates sterilization. Appeals especially to the middle class. Had, up to March, 1936, published four issues of The Vigilante.

Sentinels of the Republic, Washington, D. C. Founded 1922. Opposes progressive and labor legislation, and "further centralization and bureaucracy," as represented by the "New Deal."

United States Fascists, Inc., also called American Fascists, Newark, N. J. Organized 1934. Head, Emil Gaetano Astone, Italian fascist. Advocates abolition of Communists, Socialists and Anarchists. Claims 10,000 members in New Jersey.

United States Flag Association, Washington, D. C. Organized 1924. "To combat communism, lawlessness," etc. Published pamphlet, 1935. "Your Rights under the Constitution," sent by A. I. duPont de Nemours to all its employees and stockholders in preparation for "Constitution Day." Pres. Roosevelt and Cabinet are honorary officers and sponsors of the association, which was listed October, 1935, as supporting six anti-labor, anti-radical recommendations of Chamber of Commerce of United States.

White Legion, Birmingham, Ala. Organized 1934 as Birmingham section Ku Klux Klan, "to stop Communism." Active against miners and other strikers. Operates openly and with approval of political powers. Raided offices of International Labor Defense, homes of Negroes and whites, and caused arrest of northern writers and lawyers, 1934.

White Crusaders, Pennsylvania. Much like Ku Klux Klan. Active in September, 1935, terrorizing union miners in western Pennsylvania and attempting to incite white workers against Negroes, Protestants against Catholics. Said to be sponsored by company unions and by Bethlehem Steel Corp.

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