

Is it time for Labor peace and Labor racketeers? If there are to be factory racketeers and fifth columnists? Are we to put an election eye on Labor? It is alright for a candidate, but not for a statesman who is going into the winter seeing things correctly.

September 20, 1940

LABOR NOTE

It is time for labor peace and unity. The labor movement is the backbone of the nation and it is the duty of every worker to support it. It is the duty of every worker to support the labor movement and to work for the betterment of the labor movement. It is the duty of every worker to support the labor movement and to work for the betterment of the labor movement. It is the duty of every worker to support the labor movement and to work for the betterment of the labor movement.

September 20, 1940

This is an exercise in fortune telling, and does not mean a thing.

We are all to take a journey. It will rain. Somebody is going to die. A tall black man will cross your paths.

But to start to write the fortunes of us all is fun.

It starts, of course, with the biggest thing that can affect us as individuals--the war progress. Hitler goes on winning here and there until next fall. But the line of winning lessens in ascent, and begins to flatten out. He becomes foot-sore. The timid will exaggerate his victories. The fool-hardy, through wishful thinking, will exaggerate his defeats. The calmly brave will keep his eye on the daily and monthly balances. He must have victory until the end. And, as with every force system, expansion must become complete so that both victory and defeat cost more effort faster than they make new force. It will look awfully black, but an individual opposite Hitler will know how to work and believe.

So this fortune telling is based on a weaker world opponent to our style and routine twelve months from now. Whether we are weaker--and just how weak we become--clouds the crystal. But the presumption is that the heart and the work on our side is not handicapped as is Hitler's. And we are learning from the expert in war offense. Hitler will not be able to manufacture new methods of force as fast as we assimilate his early advantages of method and preparation.

As individuals our cost of saving ourselves will profoundly affect our lives for the rest of our lives. But if it does not affect our belief and our work in believing and doing, we as individuals will be able to adjust. And in this adjusting we will have joy and work. Individuals

have saved life probably for a million years. More are now here than ever. And certainly these are not the darkest ages of man.

So the picture is rather pleasant for the individual. A challenge to life in quick motion and change is our future. As each one grabs his own wheel of self-direction, he will not be sitting in the back seat--and fewer people will be able to sit in the back seat. And as more people, through necessity, bestir themselves, the doers will determine the doing. And the do-nothing critics and the whiners and the cowards will disappear or become silent under the pressure of self-preservation. Thus will unity come.

There has been much progress in America the past year--a bit of forecast for the year ahead. Our spiritual momentum is reaching a finer quality and a larger quantity of action.

The minorities breathing fear, the placid drifters, the non-constructive complainers, and the minor leaders, seeking more than the give, will grow less in news and power. People, as individuals and in the mass, learn through trial and error. We have gone far in one year by this method. We are going much farther and faster in the coming year.

The individual's business in the mass which is our country is to see that the country's health is but a sum total of the parts. He will adjust himself to his conception of the country's health. He will have to spend less and make more as he gives to his country. He will have to use less of things and energy for self as he presents more to the need of all.

This may be called Socialism, or by any one of a hundred names. Actually it is the movement of individuals in awareness that all must act as one when danger of the loss of all for both the mass and the individual is in question.

Perspective--3

At the base of the pyramid as we reach in building toward the apex is the un-coordinated but unified will of the average individuals. Call this public sentiment. Out of it comes the individual action which is unified at the apex of the effort. We are building that pyramid.

This coming year we shall build quite a bit of it. And though the apex, as seen by the mind, is a point of light, there is plenty of room on the point for all the millions, because the spirit needs no space in unity.

This above writing needs an apology. No one has had any fortune told. Perhaps this is because one tells one's own fortune within the fabric of things in quality and quantity. He always shall have a fortunate future who best within his ability moves along the line in appreciation of his place. So it may be a closing suggestion that all begin today to make their own fortunes and leave out the fortune teller.

An Exercise in Charting Labor from Today, Thanksgiving, 1940
in the United States

Labor is closing meetings today in New Orleans (Craft Unions) and at Atlantic City (Vertical Unions).

A vertical union is latent fascism within a minority. A craft union is a federation based on a democratic formula.

Five years ago the direct action Lewis led the rebellion from the democratic form into direct action militancy seeking mass numbers and union funds at a central point for speedy maneuvers in behalf of labor. He led those impatient of the decay or slowness of craft unionism which had:

A. Restricted national leadership through craft control jealous of a national leader for all labor.

B. Restricted numbers within the craft through apprentice restriction.

C. Sought to accomplish a goal of high wages and low hours as an individual craft problem through the craft strike, or through craft negotiations, regardless of other labor affiliates or labor itself.

D. Had ceased any real effort to organize labor as a whole, satisfied to remain a privileged class of crafts between capital and unorganized labor.

E. Had fallen into corruption through a decay of leadership and become merely a loose federation of labor bosses, each boss independent according to his own ethics and objectives.

Lewis' contribution was to weld for labor a better weapon with the objectives:

1. The organization of all labor for direct action within and upon the democratic political system.

2. The obtaining of larger national labor influence and ultimate labor

control of the United States.

3. A fascistic approach to a sincere objective by the old method of strike with the new method of bribery, governmental blackmail, and a reign of terror directed at governmental officials in opposition.

These weapons of fascist action within labor in five years, directed from Washington by Lewis, reached an increasing democratic resistance and an increasing capitalistic acceptance. (Roosevelt ultimately defending democracy from Lewis; and steel and heavy industry largely accepting peace with Lewis; and Willkie, capitalistic representative, finally receiving him politically.)

Today the situation is:

Craft unions, decadent, seeking to dominate defense effort with Roosevelt--democracy's leader--as Lewis joins Willkie, the capitalistic leader. Roosevelt, as democracy's leader, defending America, seeks peace within labor.

Lewis re-organizes the fascist C. I. O., naming Murray, a Roosevelt supporter, as liason with the New Deal as he promotes himself to Chairman of the Board of the fascist labor movement, consolidating his gains with large scale capitalism management which opposed Roosevelt--so much for the elements. There is four years of Roosevelt; four years of capitalism; four years of fascist labor; four years of craft unions; four years of defense effort.

As long as Roosevelt and the democratic ballot exist in theory the public remains supreme. In theory Roosevelt through public opinion will be able to force peace upon craft and fascist labor, using defense effort as a major appeal. In theory Roosevelt forcing peace for the public and national safety will concede to win. Concessions should be limited to concessions in favor of the public and the public defense. Concessions between warring labor methods should not be conceded anything which weakens democracy or defense. Eight million in two minorities must take nothing from one hundred thirty million in a death struggle of democracy against the expanding theory of ~~slavery labor supremacy in Europe~~ labor. Slavery labor supremacy in Europe did not provide democratic leadership, it did not result in national safety. It will not here any more than will capitalistic supremacy provide health in democracy for labor and capital or both functions within any concept of pure democracy.

Any dislocation of power by either capital or labor means a minority control of a majority for the selfish interests of the supreme minority.

When two elements seek supremacy at the expense of a third element which is supreme. The two defeated elements often unite for progress against the common enemy. If one thief can't crack a safe alone, he joins another thief with an agreement to divide the loot. A Jesuit in labor and a Jesuit in capital are merely two leaders of defeated, or delayed, minorities seeking to over-come a majority. The end justifies the means. The means will be combinations of organized capital and organized labor merging in Washington between now and 1944.

The capital minority is headed by the New York oligarchy, represented publicly by Willkie through his sincere and fanatical salesmanship of individualism through the middle and upper classes.

The labor minority consists of bosses of perhaps a thousand labor chiefs divided into two camps. One is the craft union boss combine now seeking direct action through craft control, through craft union cohesion in controlling the great business of national defense. This group expects to fatten the craft treasury by ten's of millions and to increase annual income by closed shop forces of greatly increased memberships, with the resulting initiation fees and monthly dues of added millions. The fascist C. I. O., following Lewis seeks production control of existing industry, especially heavy industry, through which the defense effort must function under the existing democratic system of voluntary contracts between capital and the government. These contracts are based upon costs. Fascist labor and fascist capital can combine ~~without~~ without the government in deciding these costs to the government. Lewis knows this. The strike is not outlawed. Voluntary negotiations in defense orders is still a democratic concept. Every element of selfishness indicates increasing closeness of objectives between capital and labor as against the government, so that so-called labor liberty and so-called capital initiative may gain and protect their objectives--objectives of minorities not in harmony with a speedy and economical defense effort. The roads of approach of fascist capital and fascist labor do not converge in shop and mind and heart where defense materials move toward the customer. The buyer is the United States--one hundred thirty

million representing the last hope of a democratic world. The power roads of these fascist minorities converge where the purchasing agent of one hundred thirty million is located. For years a monopoly of fascist capital has bled the United States by price fixing. Now fascist labor joins. Two monopolistic minorities meet before and not after the people buy defense of liberty. The buyer--Roosevelt, for convenience--is surrounded by experts representing both minorities. Roosevelt has said that he is the boss buyer. Is he?

Is he the boss buyer of defense cantonments with a closed shop plumbers' union having the domination of Mexicans digging ditches in Corpus, having them join the plumbers' union, having their wages raised from fifty cents of a dollar seventy-five cents an hour, and paying ²²⁵\$175 each into a plumbers' union treasury. That is the craft union racket now going on. Who pays for it? Who buys it? How much does defense of liberty get? How powerful does the plumbers' union get? What happens to the poor Mexican when the racket is over and he returns to normalcy as an American citizen? Is this the price of peace and speed and democracy in the defense of America?

An intelligent, fanatical, class-driven Lewis presses a button at Detroit, at Buffalo, at Bridgeport, at Los Angeles, a representative of labor sees a manufacturer. The manufacturer may appeal to Democracy or he may become a partner of labor. Large scale production with time limits is bossed by the New York banking oligarchy. As long as democracy is not resisting a majority of the two minorities will join hands letting Roosevelt wait or capitulate. And all the experts ~~representing~~ representing all of us are but liasons--they are neither principals representing the government nor principals representing fascist labor and fascist capital in conspiracy to get the most for the least. A labor leader becomes merely a commission man getting his from union entrance fees and union dues from ten million of the sixty million employed and the one hundred thirty million paying the bill. The bigger the bill, the bigger the rake off. The fascist capitalists also so function.

The purchasing agent, Roosevelt, has certain defences:

A. Income and capital gains taxes, badly administered, dillatory, cleverly avoided.

B. The National Labor Relations Board which merely checks defense work sabotage when fascist labor and fascist capital disagree--that is, quarrel over the percentage of loot.

C. The force of persuasion--salesmanship in patriotism.

But the vision of a minority leader of fascist labor or fascist capital is hardly accurate. Greed now is almost greater than postponed fear. Patriotism sold by Roosevelt to such is but the sale of fear of the loss of liberty to men who see other things first and foremost. They see Roosevelt, the buyer. They see that two monopolistic minorities have Roosevelt over the barrel. They also see that Roosevelt the buyer has but four years to go. They see too that the job of defense and Roosevelt's place in history are at stake but the speed of his safety effort and not by the ultimate price.

If this ultimate price were merely money, nothing serious to democracy is forecast. A few billion among war capitalists, hidden in bookkeeping and plant expansion isn't important. Democracy could pick that up later through the Congressional Ways and Means Committee, backed by a public demand, and a strong enforcement taxation machine. If a few million more unorganized laborers go through the shute, paying \$100 for a union card, getting in return triple wages for for a short time, there would be no cause for alarm.

The true alarm note is what happens to democracy when a large scale capital and large scale labor join to loot the public treasury.

What happens?

When craft sniping loads union treasuries with million, and loads craft union membership with undigested and unskilled members which will be thrown out of a peace time economy through non-payment of dues.

Will Lewis, a fascist leader sleeping with Willkie and the New York plutocracy continue his fellowship into the black shirt with a private army of workers, paid by government dole or by union funds extracted from the national

treasury during war defense? Will labor racketeers use millions of union funds in a death struggle with the labor fascist capital combine, bribing an electorate and blackmailing candidates for office in 1942 and 1944?

Will the craft unions have blue shirts, opposing brown shirts? In America--in any democracy of free association--money is power. The more money a majority pays in defense of all, the more money two minorities have, and the less money democracy has.

A Hatch Act may be a democratic defense from money power at vote time. Has it, or ever will it, work? As long as information costs money to sell and as long as individuals seeking office as democrats need money, can it work?

If the great reservoir of money is controlled by a combination of fascist labor and fascist capital, how wide will the valley be in 1944 as a democracy marches to the polls?

One who has seen Mussolini dissolve the Italian parliament, and one who has seen Hitler address a dying Reichstag, and who has seen Stalin speaking to representatives at Moscow, needs no answer.

The pathetic thing about leadership is that leaders talk to leaders. One who talks to people as a person may say that the cleanness and vision has not been lost within the people, now helpless in the direction of leaders in capital and labor. Their eyes are turned on the democratic leadership. They await, believing and hoping that America shall endure as a state in which all may achieve a greater freedom as states laboring expands elsewhere. The people are willing to pay the price in effort, in sacrifice, and in temporary postponement of whatever privileges that they enjoy in normal peace time. They want the valley of democracy to widen. They want the mountain chain of special privilege to the right and left to disappear as the mass marches on toward the broad plain of idealism in liberty equality and brotherly love. A leadership pledged to this has just been returned to Washington after almost eight years of progressive effort. Where will it go from here as pressure of speed and need of funds raise new peaks of greed and blackmail above the plain?

So democracy is on trial today, this thanksgiving, in the business of the defense of America, which will, or will not, lay the foundations of things to come. 1942 and 1944 are merely due dates of the note. If we borrow now too freely in the patriotic defense of America, in the appeasement of voluntary association in the defense of America, or for peace on the labor front, we will win a Munich and lose a democracy.

Mass production in an age of steam, inventiveness in transportation, has assembled the peoples of the earth in close group associations of money and men. Individualism proudly granting necessary power to leadership in states and nations were safe when these groups functioned for profit and protection within industry itself, leaving the government pure in the leadership of the finer and nobler emotions. Representatives then did truly represent, merely policing the over-greedy preying in gangster combinations upon all. The corporate age, banker bled, reached all capital and Washington, bribing and bullying. And now the labor racketeer, over-reaching and feeling blindly for ultimate power through joining the senior member, now slightly senile in his debaucheries of self.

This is no time for Isaiah. This is no time for John the Baptist. This is the time for a Jesus Christ, not in the tradition of the foreign missions and the preacher of the other cheek, but in the tradition of the young Christ seeing and doing something about it.

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For one who, as has Roosevelt the gallant humanitarian, seen the worker oppressed by capital during the span of life, it must be a terrific task. For one who, in a small way, has been thrilled by a Bryan, by a La Follette, by a Theodore Roosevelt, by a Wilson, this is a sad thing to write. Democracy through courageous evolution is the hope of human justice and the dignity of free association and progress for all of us. The leader may be crucified who tries it, but I believe that the average man is the most intelligent man of all. All he needs is leadership intelligently expressed, courageously defended. And within the working members of labor and capital is this average man--this average American.

Let him see. Defend him as an American. Do not let him sleep. Do not let him appease. The clocks tick, and there are no calendars.

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This average American does not want a drifting before the settlement into a chaos of conflict within ourselves.

This average American does not want a Dr. Ley black shirt detachment seizing union headquarters and union funds, filling concentration camps with labor leaders and declaring work through joy under state slavery.

Nor does this average American want capital confiscation, nor corporate destruction.

This man merely wants democracy and liberty first. He wants his country operated for the average man and no one else. He paid the price of capital collapse in 1929. He willed for humanity to have food when jobs did not exist.

But he is opposed to being bossed and bled by profiteers of labor, profiteers of capital, or any new group of power profiteers such as have arisen upon the ruins of labor sabotage and capital inter-nationalism in Europe. He believes in four more years of Roosevelt leadership.

Vaguely he sees that Roosevelt may protect the Americas from Hitler, may protect the Americas in liberty, but may lose the liberty of Americans within America.

And vaguely he sees that democracies are safe from the left and from the right as long as the left moves through the middle to combat the right, and as long as the right moves through the middle to combat the left.

He also sees that if the left and the right join against the middle, there is no middle, and there is no democracy. He sees it is merely a future in which the left and the right meet, spawning forth a bastard topping all. The bastard of state absolutism, power, and force without recourse and without responsibility to the individual.

Labor

The New York Sun statement that a union of American Army draftees at Camp Lee ordered no flags be carried except on time and a half and double time seems an impossible situation. Two days ago a man named Petrillo said no army bands should function off the parade grounds until he had made a deal with Washington.

Whose war is this?

Next move will be that the amalgamated order of flag stichers will declare a strike against making American flags until the Communistic member consults Moscow.

December 16, 1940

1703 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
December 20, 1940

Dear M. A. Aschbrough

A Christmas gift to a lady calls for a thing material. I am sitting here realizing that many have gotten things material, and that a most exquisite lady is to get nothing.

So, nothing at the moment is just a bit of gossip from the East Coast to the West Coast in the spirit of service to a couple of unknowns in the middle of the country.

Tann wrote me S.O.S. about a pair of eighteen year old twins collapsing under an adopted mother control, and this item coming to Tann on a kick-back. Having robbed you so many times, I could not throw this one at you, so I got on the phone. I presume the children will work hard at stenography under Top Sergeant Tann, and will stay reasonably away from the defense of America in the vicinity of the army camps. So, that is Christmas. Seeing an over-draft in February, I screamed a bit, but will cheat somebody who is expecting gains sometime in January in the amount of \$400.00.

The business of the defense of America is looking a little bit better than last August in spite of the prospective Christmas excitement over the eighteen mile waterfront called the English Channel. We still do have over 2,000 miles of water between here and London, and 4,000 between you and Tokyo.

Because you know Herman Brown slightly as one who, coming from German-Irish stock, has industriously spent thirty years successfully in the standard American pattern of self-expression, I am enclosing a note which I am mailing today to massage his brain for 1941, as he completes the \$25,000,000 base at Corpus for the Navy. This is the first big new defense business on the Texas coast, and Herman has been having a little trouble with the plumbers' union, which wants to raise Mexican sewer diggers from 50¢ an hour to \$1.75 an hour, because then the Mexicans can put \$225.00 a head into the plumbers' treasury by having the Government, through the contractor, deduct each week. Herman is on a flat fee, but he really thinks he should save the Government from petty larceny. And to that extent, I am proud of him as I watch other contractors building army camps with country boy plow hands at \$26.00 a Sunday for double time in the vicinity of Washington. I rather imagine these cantonments must be on a percentage of the total cost, as were Stone and Webster in 1917 when the Texan Labor had the same kind of a holiday.

My own work is opening up, now that everybody agrees that this European business is slightly dangerous since Pepper went crazy last May. I am sure the great statesmen, the columnists, the editorial writers, and the recent campaign have informed 130,000,000 Americans that there is a war. So the business at this peaceful Christmas time is to find out whether during the next six months we can tell 130,000,000 people that they can't defend America at \$26.00 per man per Sunday because they might run out of money, as England seems to be doing.

This is merely the side show. Under the main tent we shall have to determine whether P. T. Barnum, in the shape of John L. Lewis, shall control steel and motors, fixing the price of airplanes and tanks and guns as he collects his percentage, which I estimate will run about \$200,000,000 in fees and union entrance requirements. With this little take-off—I almost said "rake-off"—he ought to do well by 1942, should he decide he doesn't like Congress anymore. He got a taste of buying Government with cash in 1936.

And the little business of another one-ring circus south of Forty-second Street in New York, with stables on Long Island. These horsey people have about decided that polo and horse manure will not stand up unless they have a sufficient number of dollar a year men at Washington to work with Lewis, the boss, fixing prices at the St. Regis Hotel before they tell Purchasing Agent Roosevelt what the bill is to be—this defense bill. All this is voluntary business, and the true and noble way in which to defend this fair land, for we are not at war, and below Forty-second Street the poor boys in the marble halls of the banks and insurance companies realize that they are merely hired men feeling with the people's money on a commission, and that something has happened to the inalienable right, God given and Washington defended, to refinance and to reorganize the business of America whenever the bank balance justifies the trouble.

And the preachers and the college presidents, who got the crumbs from the table after the final victor Death, may also be a little worried as to the continuity of their sale of after-life and education according to the accepted and standard methods.

I am an optimist today as the year closes, because I believe a time has been good for America. The thing in central Europe has been blowing up for forty years as the Age of Steam put the mediaeval simplicities into complex, concentrated masses of thing makers. Money stretched into credit as Rothschild gold could not carry hard money far enough and mortgages on future labor and things caught up with themselves. In this very fine country we had it easier because there were more things, and we could also write our ticket as to how much we believed Florida land was worth since the Indians died off and we took over. So we say the land we live in now is worth a few hundred billion because we said it was so. That is making an awful lot of money to eat up and wear up as well as the forests and all the coal and all the oil that we have had the pleasure of consuming. But Europe—an old country—was a little short, and got hungry and quarrelsome—and so the paper hanger of Berlin by way of a little village in Austria.

But I said I was an optimist. For God's sake, let's never by anything but optimists, for the surest thing of all is that one who looks down and back is dead. It is not for us to be pessimistic. Our business is to erect a sound structure of the forward march and the light ahead from the facts of the now. We do know that fifty thousand years ago things were a darn sight worse—before men found imagination and fire and guns. Guns will go before fifty thousand more years—perhaps before fifty years, if the pain becomes acute enough and the imagination of man remains in health. Perhaps other things will go, but it is a good world, and the sun is shining through the window as I write, "Merry Christmas" to you. Christ saw something and Paul wrote about it, and, though Christmas today is a fiction, the imagination of man has made it a fact, giving it birth out of superstition in North European forests. And, again, "Merry Christmas to you!"

Labor:

Is Knudsen in contact with Lewis?

Is Sidney Hillman really anti-Lewis?

Knudsen selection by Roosevelt may have been planted. Knudsen very honest, but 67. Stettinius was planted by whom? What is the real inside of these appointments? It can be found out through an honest secretary named Rowe, or through Corcoran.

Point is to determine where Lewis is. Now that Roosevelt has kicked him out, and he has made his play at Philadelphia with the big ones looking down toward Fascism in 1944.

Personally believe Hillman O. K., but perhaps not over-bright; that Stettinius is not over-bright; that Knudsen is old; that Roosevelt has many things to do and sometimes ~~like~~ he is careless. But Lewis is never careless really, and

Thought is that big business put Knudsen and Stettinius over, and that neither one took the job without seeing somebody. That somebody used to be Lamont. Lamont was at Philadelphia. Young of General Electric used to be the messenger boy for both parties, but Young got old and talky, and Lamont went to Philadelphia--this being the first time he ever personally attended a convention probably. Lamont is the big principle in Morgan and company and did the big business in 1914 when Morgan made three hundred million dollars out of the French and English Commissions.

And that Morrow was merely Lamont's office boy in Europe. History says Morrow did the work in Europe. House said Lamont did. Lamont might be worth an observation to find out whether he is senile in going to Philadelphia or merely big smart.

Remember Lamont, Westrick, and Lewis were all in Philadelphia, and very active. Remember the German deal was big business and labor front leaders to oppose communism. This thing also worked in North Italy and made Mussolini. In Germany it was in Berlin.

(Out of all this is Lamont and Boyer. (worth saying) Lewis check in.
Hillman check in. Movements of left against Roosevelt in Philadelphia
while big business also fought him.)

(Out of all this is lament and Boyer. & worth saying) Lewis check in.
William check in. Movement of left against Roosevelt in Philadelphia
while his business also fought him.)

LABOR