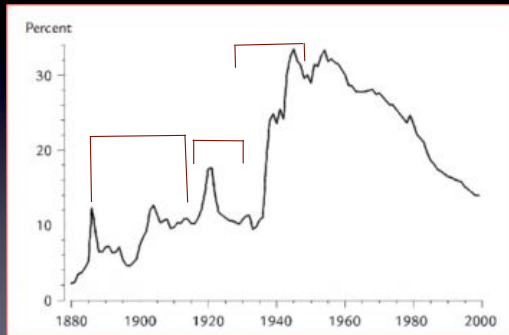
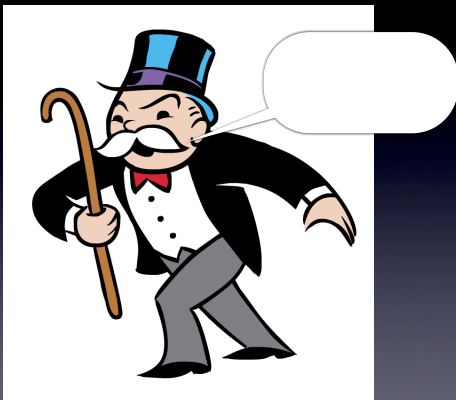


Rebuilding the House of Labor 1932 - 1946




% American Laborers in Labor Unions







The Red Scare & The Palmer Raids 1919-1921

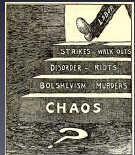


Alexander Mitchell Palmer
1872 - 1934
Attorney General of the U.S.





Labor Radicals Awaiting Deportation






Ruins of the I.W.O. Office after a Palmer Raid



John Edgar Hoover
1895 - 1972
Head of the Department of Justice
General Intelligence Division

The American Plan

- The Open Shop Movement**
 A campaign on the part of corporations, trade associations, chambers of commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Anti-Boycott Association, and their political supporters to weaken organized labor by requiring employees to work in an open (non-union) shop.
- Employers Pledged not to Sign Union Contracts or Recognize Unions**
- Launched a comprehensive Political Program to Break Unions**
 A comprehensive program of political lobbying and economic pressure to break unions by seeking labor injunctions, lobbying local, state, and federal government to outlaw union practices, black-listing union members, and organizing private guard associations to inflict violence on union members and activities.
- Financed and Organized Local Anti-Union Political Campaigns**
 Sponsored political tickets at the local level, bought newspaper ads and even newspapers to publish articles and ads to discredit unions as "un-American," and denied credit to and boycotted small firms that held union contracts.



National Association of Manufacturers' Billboard, 1925

The Fall of the House of Labor in the 1920's

5 Million Union Members in 1920

3.5 Million Union Members in 1923

- Both old and new unions collapsed because of the American Plan and - in part - because of bitter conflicts among right-wing, moderate, and Communist within the unions; United Mine Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Seaman's Union, Brewery Workers etc.
- Unions came to be concentrated in a handful of industries; great segments of American industry were devoid of unions.
- The industrial New Unions suffered the most with the result that the conservative craft unions came to dominate the A.F.L., even as craft unions were becoming obsolete as result of mechanization.
- The Merger Movement accelerated during the 1920's, especially in steel, tobacco, glass, automobiles, utilities, and chemicals were bitterly antiunion and a number of others (coal, textiles) moved to the South, which was inhospitable to unions and collective bargaining.

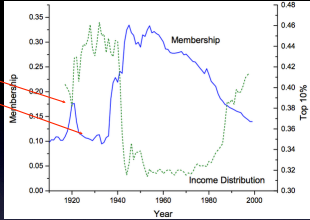
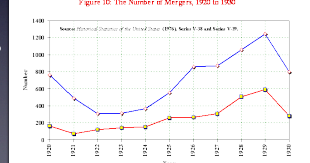


Figure 10: The Number of Mergers, 1920 to 1930



Standard 2B: The student understands the impact of the New Deal on workers and the labor movement and the impact of the labor movement on the New Deal.

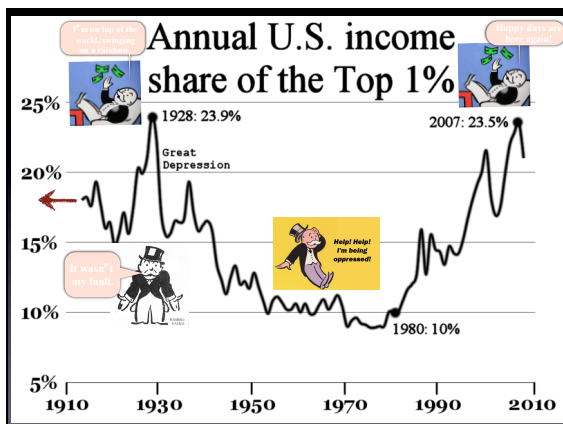
- Explain how New Deal legislation and policies affected American workers and the labor movement.
- Explain the re-emergence of labor militancy and the struggle between craft and industrial unions and their effect upon the evolution of New Deal Policies
- Evaluate labor union positions on minority and women workers

• To what extent did Roosevelt and The New Deal advance the interests of working class Americans?


- What was the impact of the first and second phases of the New Deal on the labor movement?
- How valuable was Section 7a of the NIRA in promoting unionism?
- How successful were New Deal measures in reducing the number and frequency of strikes?
- To what extent did the New Deal support unions over management?
- What workers were least affected by the New Deal?
- How did the New Deal affect nonunion workers?
- What effects did New Deal programs, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, have on farm laborers?

• What were the differences in philosophy and policy between the AFL and the CIO and how did each contribute to the welfare of working Americans?

- Why did the AFL prove reluctant to organize workers in the mass production industries?
- How militant were these unions?
- How effective were the unions?
- Which unions had as a major goal to secure equitable conditions and pay for "minorities" and women?
- How effective were unions in organizing "minorities" and women?
- What role did the Communist party organizers play in organizing workers in the 1930's?
- How did the general public respond to the "sit-down strikes" of 1937-1938 and what effect did public perception have on support for the New Deal?
- What workers were least affected by the New Deal?
- How did the New Deal affect nonunion workers?
- To what degree did the American Federation of Labor encourage women and "minorities" to join unions?
- How did the Congress of Industrial Organizations differ from the AFL in promoting interracial industrial unions?
- How committed were unions in organizing migrant farm workers?
- What unions did Mexican Americans establish to protect their interests?
- What was the impact on women workers of the AFL's program to restore "family life"?




- Perkins worked in Settlement Houses in New York and Chicago in the early 1900 's and was affected by the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911.
- Governor Al Smith appointed Perkins to the New York Industrial Commission where she sought protective labor legislation and better safety conditions. When FDR was elected New York Governor in 1928, he appointed her New York Labor Commissioner. When FDR became president, he appointed her U.S. Secretary of Labor.
- Perkins favored the protective labor legislation of Progressive Era reformers - abolition of child labor, unemployment and old-age insurance, minimum wage and hour legislation, and workplace safety - rather than proposals to promote union interests such as the right to organize unions and collective bargaining.



Frances Perkins
1880 - 1965
U.S. Secretary of Labor
1933 - 1945


The Achievements of Frances Perkins

- Social Security Act of 1935:**
 - Title I: OAA: Old Age Assistance
 - Title II: Old Age Benefits
 - Title III: Unemployment Compensation
 - Title IV: ADC: Aid to Dependent Children
 - Title V: Education, health assistance and aid to pregnant women, sick and crippled children,
 - Title VI: Public Health Service
 - Title X: Aid to the blind
- Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938:**
 - Prohibited child labor in interstate commerce
 - Established a 40 hour workday
 - Enacted a minimum wage
- Broke the barrier to women in high political office.




Perkins came to Homestead Steel Works in 1933 to make a speech to the workers. Homestead authorities denied her permission to speak to people on the streets outside the very building where Mother Jones had been arrested in 1919. Perkins moved her meeting to the Federal Post Office and spoke freely to the crowd about their newly won rights to organize.

Which Way for Labor in the 1930' s?



William Green
President , A.F.L.




John L. Lewis
President , U.M.W.

Craft Unionism

(American Federation of Labor)
"Skilled craftsmen organized" according to their craft specialties.

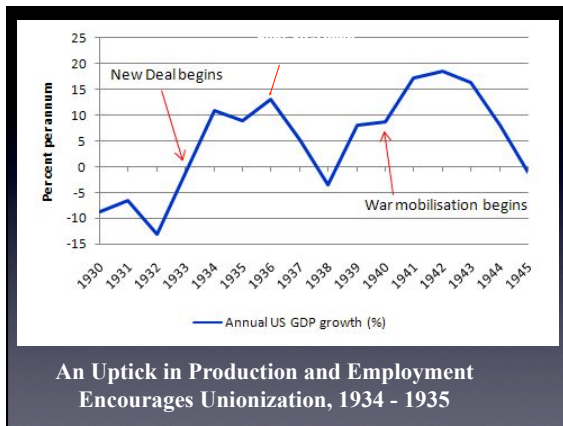
- Conservative Unionism emphasizing voluntarism, without government interference in labor-management relations.
- Focus on bread and butter issues, such as wages, hours, and working conditions, work rules, and maintaining strict jurisdictional boundaries between separate craft unions .
- Membership primarily confined to skilled "old stock" Americans rather than "new immigrants" from Eastern and Southern Europe (as well as women and African-Americans) who toiled in mass production industries, such as steel, rubber, chemicals,



Industrial Unionism

(Congress of Industrial Organizations)

- Unskilled or semi-skilled workers in large-scale production industries
- Unions should represented all of the production workers in a particular enterprise, rather than in separate units divided along craft lines
- Progressive Political Unionism that seeks government support and protection for unionization and the general welfare of workers.
- Focus on bread and butter issues, such as wages, hours, and working conditions, work rules. .
- Membership open to all workers, including recent immigrants, women, and African-Americans



National Industrial Recovery Act

1933

Title I, Section 7(a) guaranteed the right of workers to form unions and banned yellow-dog contracts:

“... employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; [and] (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing...”

WE DO OUR PART

“President Roosevelt wants you to join a union.”

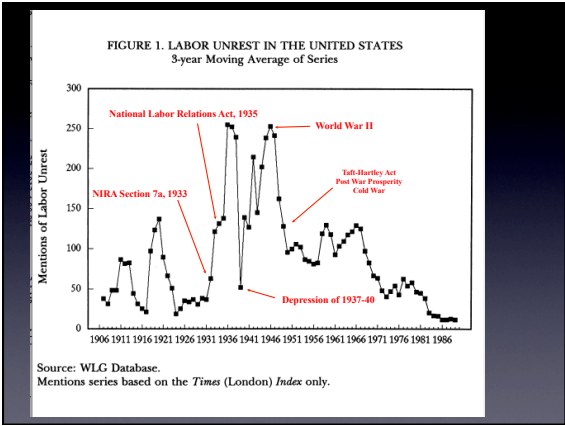
John L. Lewis

The enactment of Section 7a of the [National Industrial Recovery Act](#) on June 16, 1933, led to widespread union organizing in the United States.

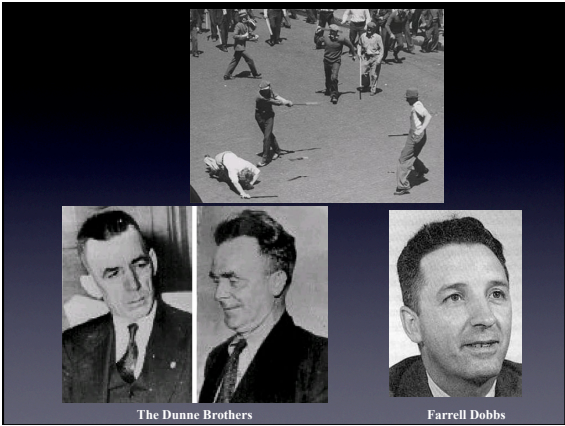
In 1933:




- Over 900,000 workers went out on strike for union recognition and wage increases - 3 times as many as in 1932.
- Over 775,000 workers joined trade unions: 500,000 to the AFL, 150,000 to independent unions; and 125,000 to the Communist Party's Trade Union Unity League.
- AFL's response drive to this spontaneous unionization drive was obtuse, weak, and obstructionist

John L. Lewis











A. J. Muste
1885 – 1967




Harry Bridges
1901 - 1990
President, ILWU:
International Longshore and Warehouse Union

Harry and Noriko Swando Bridges



George Earle
Governor of Pennsylvania



Frank L. Murphy
Governor of Michigan



Herbert Lehmann
Governor of New York

Pro-Labor Governors

The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) of 1935

[The goal of the NLRA] is to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection.

The National Labor Relations Board has two basic functions: overseeing the process by which employees decide whether to be represented by a labor organization and prosecuting violations



Senator Robert Wagner
Democrat, New York
1877 - 1953

"My boyhood was pretty rough passage. I came through it, yes. But that was luck, luck! Think of the others!"




Irving Fajans
Department Store Worker

Anna Novak Packing House Worker

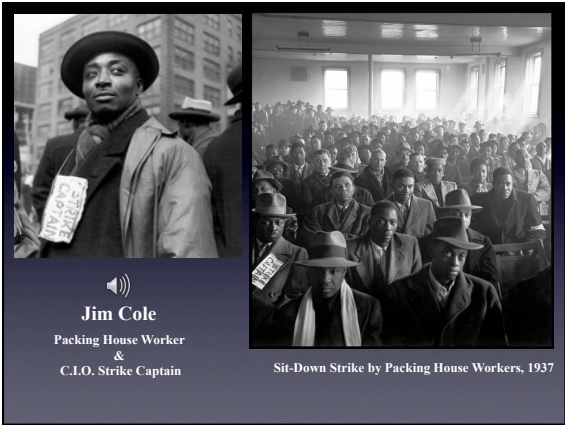
Birth: Wisconsin, about 30 years ago

Ethnicity: Polish

Family: Married with two children, boys, ages 10 and 13

Education: 8th grade and one and a half years of high school in St. Hedwig's Orphanage





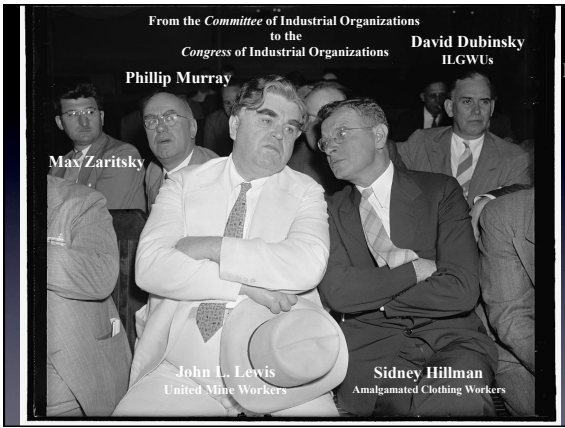
Jim Cole
Packing House Worker
&
C.I.O. Strike Captain

Sit-Down Strike by Packing House Workers, 1937

A.F.L. Unions, 1924		
International Union of Adhesive Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators, Associated Actors and Actresses of America International Union of Associated Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union of Amusement Builders International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Book Binders, and Hangers International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and Iron Shipbuilders International Brotherhood of Bookbinders Broom and Shovel Workers Union Brewers, Plum, Canal and Salt Drink Workers of America United Brick and Clay Workers of America Brooklyn, Mason and Plasterers' International Union of America International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers International Bureau and Whisk Maker's Union Building Service Employees International Union Amalgamated Association of Carpenters and Joiners United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America Cigar-makers' International Union Club Hat, Cap, and Military Workers' International Union Order of Sleeping Car Conductors Coppers' International Union of North America International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers of America Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America Amalgamated Association of Elastic Goring Workers International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers International Union of Elevator Constructors National Federation of Federal Employees International Association of Fire Fighters International Brotherhood of Friendly Employees Gar Worker's Union of the United States and Canada United Garment Workers of America Glass Bottle Blowers' Association American Glass Workers' Union National Window Glass Workers International Glass Workers' Union of America International Union of Granite Workers United Hatters of North America International Hat Carriers, Building and Costume Laborers' Union International Union of Journeymen Shoemakers of the United States and Canada Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America Amalgamated Association of Lays, Steel, and Tin Workers International Jewelry Workers' Union International Association of Lorry Operators	International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers International Laundry Workers' Union United International Union of Leather Workers' International National Association of Letter Carriers National Association of Rural Letter Carriers Amalgamated Lithographers of America Brotherhood of Railroad Carpenters Brotherhood of Railroad Shipbuilders of America Order of Railroad Telegraphers Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks Railway Mail Association United Brotherhood of Maintenance and Way Employees International Association of Marble, Stone, and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Scurveys, Tile and Marble Setters International Association of Rodgers National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America Amalgamated Sign Cutters and Banner Workers Metal Engravers' International Union International Metal Polishers Union of North America International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers United Mine Workers of America International Millinery Union of America American Federation of Musicians International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America International Brotherhood of Papermakers Pattern Makers' League of North America International Union of Pattern, Broom-makers, Flag Lays, Bridge and Stone Setters Pawtucket Union of the United States International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America International Piano, Organ, and Musical Instrument Workers' Union of America Plaster and Cement Finishers International of the United States and Canada International Plate Printers' and the Stampers' Union of North America United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada National Federation of Postal Employees National Brotherhood of Operative Pattern United Powder and High Explosive Workers International Print Cutters Association of America	International Association of Machine Printers and Color Men of the United States International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America Quarry Workers' International Union of North America Brotherhood of Railroad Carpenters Brotherhood of Railroad Shipbuilders of America Order of Railroad Telegraphers Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks Railway Mail Association Rand Club's International Protective Association Readers, United State, Title and Composition and Waterproof Workers' Association Seamstresses' National Union Sewers' International Union of America Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union International Signmakers' Union Stage Employees and Moving Pictures Machine Operators of the United States and Canada International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Others International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers International Brotherhood of Steam, Naval and Dredgers Journymen Steam Carriers' Association Stone Masons' International Union Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America Switzerland's Union of North America Journymen Tailors' Union of America American Federation of Teachers (1916) International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Hackers International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects, and Draftsmen's Union Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America American Federation of Teachers (1916) Tobacco Workers International Union International Steel Pipe Transmitters' Association of America Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union International Typographical Union Lithographers' International Union of North America United Wall Paper Crafts of North America American Wire Workers' Protective Association International Association of Wood Carvers' Association of North America



The 1935 American Federation of Labor (AFL) Convention



From the *Committee of Industrial Organizations*
to the
Congress of Industrial Organizations

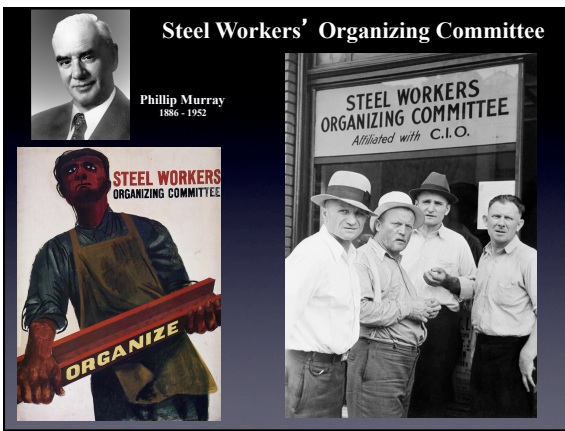
David Dubinsky
ILGWUs

Phillip Murray

Max Zaritsky

John L. Lewis
United Mine Workers

Sidney Hillman
Amalgamated Clothing Workers



Steel Workers' Organizing Committee

Phillip Murray
1886 - 1952

STEEL WORKERS
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

STEEL WORKERS
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Affiliated with C.I.O.



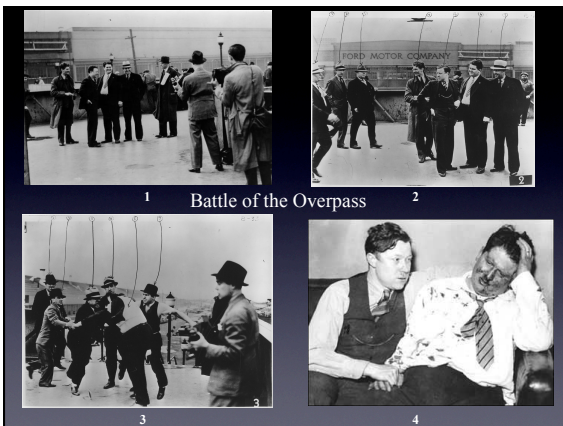
Sit Down Strike
Flint Michigan, 1936 - 1937. Part I



Sit Down Strike
Flint Michigan, 1936 - 1937
Part 2



In the first test of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, National Labor Relation's Board officials watched as Jones & Laughlin Steel workers voted on whether the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) should be their sole bargaining agency. During the vote, eight Republic Steel Corporation police officials were arrested for attempting to break up the election. After the successful vote, J&L signed a contract with the SWOC to represent the plant's 27,000 employees.



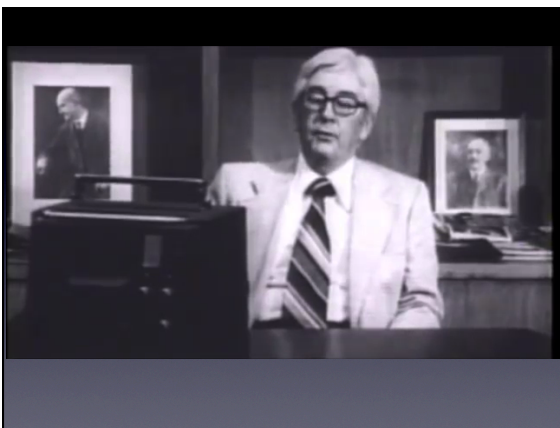
1 Battle of the Overpass 2

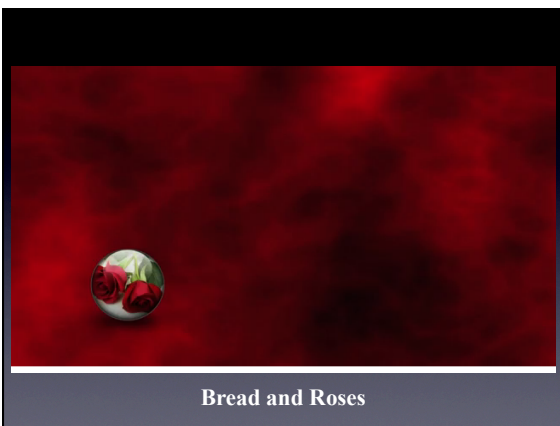
3 4



Organizing “Little Steel”

The Memorial Day Massacre of 1937





Bread and Roses
