

STRIKE MANAGEMENT NOW A SCIENCE

LABOR LEADERS TELL HOW THE PASSAIC AND OTHER PRESENT DAY STRIKES ARE ORGANIZED FINANCED AND DIRECTED



JAMES P. THOMPSON, SAM KNEBEL AND JEROME KETCHAM. THE ORGANIZERS OF THE PASSAIC STRIKE.

Whenever mill hands or other laborers quit their work in an industrial community there appear on the ground certain individuals with a local or national reputation who are popularly held to be responsible for an increase of activity on the part of the strikers. They are commonly called agitators; but they describe themselves as organizers. Their real mission is to apply scientific management to the strike.

While most of them possess fluency of speech nothing is more disappointing than to hear them one after another addressing strikers. The thrill is lacking. Agitators! Makers of incendiary speeches! Why, they never cease to caution their hearers against getting into trouble with the police. Violent and excited men cannot be easily organized. Violence brings about police intervention and defeats the schemes of organized warfare which they have come to carry out.

Locate some of these organizers, follow them about from strike town to strike town, and you will soon realize how much energy they spend and how little they receive, how cool and businesslike they are. Soap box speeches, parades and angry words are merely the smoke of a strike. The real fire is kindled in another way.

The youngest and at the same time the most radical of all labor organizations, the Industrial Workers of the World or I. W. W., which has been managing the textile strikes all over the East, laughs at the methods of the dead Knights of Labor, at the aims of labor unions. They are not fighting for a millennium when employer and employee will celebrate a feast of love and reconciliation. They aim at driving the employers out of the field by all practical and effective means through a scientific, mathematical husbanding of their strength and resources. It is by the application of such methods that they are able, though their treasury is almost always empty, to set the industrial East on fire with only a handful of organizers in the field.

The best known of the I. W. W. organizers is William Haywood, who first became widely known in connection with the Steunenberg murder trial, when as secretary of the Western Federation of Miners he was tried for his life in Boise, Idaho, and acquitted. Like every other organizer, he is not easily located. You can always reach an organizer by writing to him care of something or other at Chicago, Ill. Securing an interview with him is another story. The stormy career of labor wars with an apparent lack of system fit from Spokane to Mexico, from Chicago to Massachusetts, from Lowell to Pennsylvania.

It took a good deal of wiring and telephoning on the part of a St. Paul reporter to discover Haywood's whereabouts. He should be easy to locate, for his formidable stature—he must be 6 feet 6 inches tall—should make him conspicuous wherever he goes. As he looks distinctly American, however, is clean shaven, has his hair cut short and wears the derby hat, the collar, the tie and the suit which 200,000 sports wear on Broadway at the luncheon hour, he easily disappears in a crowd. If he hadn't lost one eye he wouldn't in any way attract attention. He was finally found in a back room of the I. W. W. headquarters in this city. He had just come into town and was resting on a leather couch until train time. At midnight he was to jump on a train and take charge of a strike somewhere in New England.

"Tired to death, that's what I am," and he extended a hand of generous proportions.

"Too tired to talk?"
"I never too tired to talk."
He was then asked to explain the I. W. W. tactics and methods. He began by defining the attitude of industrial unionism toward craft unionism of the Mitchell and Gompers type.

Labor Unions Criticized.

"The American Federation of Labor," he said, "is not a labor organization. It is purely and simply a business concern. It is a political affair. When it moved its headquarters from Cincinnati to Washington, from an industrial centre to the place where laws are passed, it showed its plans very plainly.

"The American Federation of Labor is made up of about 2,000,000 workmen who have only one aim in life—to get as much as they can for their work and prevent anyone who is not a member of their group from obtaining any work. This is not democratic. This is a heartless monopoly. 'Unless you are a union man you shall starve'—such is Gompers's slogan."

"The public is clamoring against the trust. What about this labor trust, which has an income of \$50,000,000 a year and uses this income not to benefit the working class in any way but to keep the door shut on all 'scabs' out of honest work?"

"For the trust does not aim at unionizing all industries. In the past twenty-five years the population of this country has doubled. The membership of the labor trust has remained practically the same. You are not a union man; you shall not work," it says. "Well, then, you say, I'll join some union."

"The labor trust does not want you. It keeps you out by raising in front of you the insuperable barrier of outrageous entrance fees. You are a poor musician kept out of work by walking delegates. You are willing to become a union man. One hundred dollars, please! Yes, it costs you \$100 to join the union. If you are a stenographer it will cost you \$250. If you are a stage employee the holdup will average the same.

"Finally there is the highly aristocratic union of green glass bottle blowers. Talk about your fashionable Fifth Avenue clubs. Society leaders aren't in it with the green glass bottle blowers. If you are elected a member of the union—and you may be kept on the waiting list for three years—the fee to be paid on joining is \$500. And these aristocrats, who are trying to get the public's sympathy, are considering the propriety of raising the fee to \$1,000 in the case of foreign born applicants.

"That's your labor unions. What good are they doing? Making life more expensive for everybody concerned, creating in our democracy two classes of workers, those who are allowed by the labor trust to work at high wages and those who are neither allowed to join the unions nor to earn a livelihood.

"Labor unions do not order strikes to better the conditions of the workers. They order strikes for the purpose of robbing some more poor devils, who are not welcome in the union, of an opportunity to earn an honest livelihood. 'We shall fight the labor trust as bitterly as any other monopoly that seeks to deprive men of what they are entitled to: the right to work. Raising wages now and then amounts to nothing. The workers, not only of this country but of every country in the world, must organize, take possession of the earth and of the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

Methods the I. W. W. Uses.

"The centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed, and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization, formed in such a way that all its members, in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banners the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with the capitalists but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

"As craft organizations have rendered no positive services and will disappear in the near future owing to the advance made daily in the construction of machine tools, and furthermore as the experience of the past has proved that the mass form of organization such as that of the Knights of Labor is as powerless as the craft and the mass principle.

"The unit of organization is the local industrial union. The local industrial union embraces all of the workers of a given industry in a given city, town or district.

"Local unions have full charge of all their local affairs, elect their own officers, determine their pay and also the amount of dues collected by the local from the membership. The general organization, however, does not allow any local to charge over \$1 per month dues or \$5 initiation fee.

"All local industrial unions of the same industry are combined into a national industrial union with jurisdiction over the entire industry.

"National industrial unions of closely allied industries are combined into departmental organizations. For example, all national industrial unions engaged in the production of food products and in handling them would be combined into the department of food products. Steam, air, water and land national divisions of the transportation industry form the transportation department.

"The industrial departments are combined into the general organization, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like international organization; and through the international organization, establish solidarity and cooperation between the workers of all countries.

"And now as to methods:



ELIZABETH G. FLYNN, "JOAN OF ARC OF LABOR."



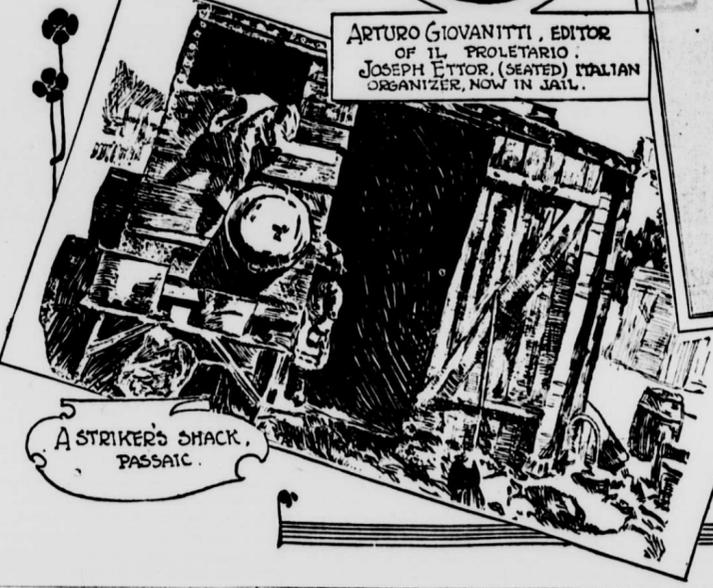
VINCENT ST. JOHN, SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.



ARTURO GIOVANNITI, EDITOR OF IL PROLETARIO. JOSEPH ETTOR, (SEATED) ITALIAN ORGANIZER, NOW IN JAIL.



WILLIAM B. HAYWOOD ("BIG BILL") STRIKE DIRECTOR. FROM PHOTO BY BROWN BROS. N. Y.



A STRIKER'S SHACK, PASSAIC.



GROUP OF PASSAIC MILL WORKERS CLUBBED BY THE POLICE.

"As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aim to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of right and wrong does not concern us.

"No terms made with an employer are final. All peace, so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

Long Strikes Useless.

"The Industrial Workers realize that the day of successful long strikes is past. Under all ordinary circumstances a strike that is not won in four to six weeks cannot be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months than he can six strikes that take place in that period.

"The organization does not allow any part to enter into time contracts with the employers. It aims, where strikes are used, to paralyze all branches of the industry involved when the employers can least afford a cessation of work, during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

"The Industrial Workers of the World maintain that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of the organization. Therefore, we seek no agreements with the employers.

"Falling to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

"The great progress made in machine production results in an ever increasing army of unemployed. To counteract this the Industrial Workers of the World aim to establish the shorter workday and to slow up the working pace, thus compelling the employment of more and more workers.

"To facilitate the work of organization large initiation fees and dues are prohibited by the I. W. W.

"During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to keep the employers from getting workers into the shops. All supplies are cut off from strikebound shops. All shipments are refused or mislabeled, delayed and lost if possible. Strike breakers are also isolated to the full extent of the power of the organization. Interference by the Government is resented by open violation of the Government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers—which are but another name for the employing class.

"In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use

of militant 'direct action' tactics to the full extent of our power to make good."

"How much violence does the principle of direct action justify?"

Don't Advocate Violence.

"We do not advocate violence. Violence brings about retaliation and justifies the employers in calling to their aid the constabulary in Pennsylvania, the militia in other states. Once, however, at McKees Rocks, Pa., our organizer had to advocate violence in self-defense.

"Beginning in July, 1908, at McKees Rocks, Pa., 3,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen different nationalities, waged the most important struggle that the I. W. W. has taken part in to date. The strike lasted eleven weeks. As usual, the employers resorted to the use of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, the American Cossacks, to intimidate the strikers and browbeat them back to work. Every strike in Pennsylvania since the institution of the constabulary has been broken or crippled by them. Men, women and children have been brutally maimed and killed by them with impunity. Their advent upon the scene in McKees Rocks was marked by the usual campaign of brutality.

"Finally one of the cossacks killed a striker. The strike committee then served notice upon the commander of the cossacks that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. And that they were not at all concerned as to which cossack paid the penalty, but that a life for a life would be exacted.

"The strikers kept their word. On the next assault by the cossacks several of the constabulary were killed and a number wounded. The cossacks were driven from the streets and into the plants of the company. An equal number of strikers were killed and about fifty wounded in the battle. This ended the killing on both sides during the remainder of the strike. For the first time in their existence the cossacks were 'tamed.'

"In Spokane in November, 1909, we won our point by another method which didn't entail any bloodshed.

"The city government of Spokane, Wash., started to arrest the speakers of the I. W. W. for holding street meetings. The locals at that point decided to fight the city and force them to allow the organization to hold street meetings. The fight lasted up to the first of March following and resulted in compelling the city to pass a law allowing street speaking.

"Over 500 members went to jail during the free speech fight, men and women. Two hundred went on a hunger strike that lasted from eleven to thirteen days and then went from thirty to forty-five days on bread and water, two ounces of

bread per day. Four members lost their lives as a result of the treatment accorded them in this fight.

"And now it's train time. So long."

"Who can tell me about the actual management of strikes?"

Typical Start of Strike.

James P. Thompson, the general national organizer, is fully as tall as Haywood, but hasn't lost his waist line as irrefragably as Haywood has. He is like Haywood, of old American stock, and descended from New England Puritans.

"How does a strike begin?" Mr. Thompson was asked.

"Well, some strikes start almost without any warning; the majority of them, however, have been prepared. Mill workers always have some grievances. The local organizer, who keeps in touch with labor conditions, makes it his business to find out the need of the day.

"After several conferences with the dissatisfied workers he communicates with the central organization. The dissatisfied workers do some propaganda work among their fellow employees, and when a large number of them have signified their intention to press certain demands a strike is declared.

"In the case of the Passaic strike the main cause of discontent was a system of fines which robbed the mill hands of the greater part of their earnings. Some of the workers have to serve as many as four looms, the loom fixers don't always attend to their duties as speedily as they should, and in consequence the weaver misses a pick now and then; in other words, one thread runs short. That means a fine of 25 cents, 50 cents, \$1 or even \$1.50 imposed by the foreman on the weaver, especially when the weaver is a man or an old woman. Youth and looks are said to play an unfortunate part in the matter of fines.

"The result of this fine system was that after weeks of seventy to eighty hours pay envelopes contained sometimes as little as \$1.16. Here is a list of pay envelopes from one mill."

Mr. Thompson handed the reporter the following statement:

Number of employees' card.	Hours of work.	Number of looms.	Salary for the week.
25	70	2	\$5.00
443	77	2	1.14
32	66	1	4.00
12	66	1	2.63
848	70	1	1.43
192	71	2	4.19
169	70	2	3.50
164	70	2	4.00
127	70	2	4.00
128	70	2	3.15
200	70	2	4.00
200	70	2	4.00
168	70	2	4.00
7	76	1	3.65
682	76	1	6.65

A strike was called and organizers were ordered to take charge of the fight.

The first thing the organizers do on arriving at their post is to call a mass meeting of the strikers, at which speakers deliver addresses in the various languages current among the workers. Every national committee represented is invited to elect a strike committee of five. The various national committees then meet and discuss, with the help of interpreters, the various demands on which they will agree.

The following morning the general strike committee reports to the strikers assembled in one or several halls. Votes are taken, and by the end of the second day a set of demands is formulated and communicated to the press. For the I. W. W. refuses to ever confer with the employers. As soon as the question of demands is settled the organizers, acting as chairmen of the various meetings, appoint men and women who are to serve on the various committees.

Committees in Charge.

There must be a finance committee, which sends to all labor organizations and all the friends of labor an appeal for funds. There is hall rent to pay and printers' bills, and then there are the expenses connected with the purchase and distribution of food supplies. Socialist locals generally contribute one-half of all the cash received.

labor unions more or less in sympathy with I. W. W. methods send in about 25 per cent. of the money needed and then those of the agitators who can be spared from the battle field organize lectures and meetings in other communities not affected by strikes, pass the hat around and return to their post. The proceeds from some of Haywood's lectures delivered for such purposes are said to have amounted to \$500 or \$600.

The next committee to be appointed is a legal committee. Strikes and organizers must be instructed as to the local laws and customs, and the business of the various committees must be transacted in a way that will make charges of misappropriation of funds impossible. Speakers and strikers arrested by the police must be defended in court.

Finally a relief committee is appointed. The I. W. W. does not pay cash strike benefits. It endeavors to extend to the strikers whatever material assistance they need. Relief committees receive applications from destitute workmen for food, clothing and shelter and investigate the cases.

All unmarried strikers are served free meals at soup kitchens as long as the strike lasts. Then carloads of provisions are purchased and either a cooperative store is opened or arrangements are made with grocers who have shown a special sympathy with the workmen. Married strikers are then given orders for food supplies according to the size of their families. Children are placed in the homes of workmen not affected by the strike or, when every industry in the community is practically at a standstill, as was the case in Lawrence, the children are sent to other cities.

The problem of shelter is frequently solved by application to the landlords, who, in order to avoid legal proceedings, remit all or a part of the rents due. In Lawrence landlords lowered all rents 50 per cent.

Picketing is the next question to be taken up by the organizers. It serves two purposes. The workers on picket

duty are not likely to betray their trust and return to work. By watching and whenever possible speaking to the mill hands who have remained at work they may now and then succeed in making them join their ranks. Picketing is generally done by women, as the police dare not handle them as energetically as they would men; still in an encounter between women pickets and representatives of the law in Passaic seven or eight girls had their arms and shoulders bruised severely enough to require medical attendance. This only caused them to attend strike meetings with more enthusiasm. This group of martyrs attracted a good deal of attention wherever they went.

While attending to the material end of a strike organizers must not neglect the psychological side of it. Men and women on strike must be kept busy all day long. This is especially important in strikes of mill workers, of unskilled laborers. When the American Federation of Labor calls a craft out the men, being highly paid operatives, have savings. Furthermore they receive weekly strike benefits.

Keeping Up Enthusiasm.

In these Eastern strikes the I. W. W. is facing quite a different proposition. With a weekly wage of \$5 or \$6 a head families cannot put much aside. When their supply of money is low and they begin to feel the pinch of privations they must be lured to meeting halls where they hear their praise spoken by strange men, who tell them of hope, of victory, of human brotherhood, of comfort for the future, of an assured morrow. It's as good as a show to them.

Hour after hour they sit in various meeting halls, forgetful of all the threatening things of credit stopped at the grocer's, of the dispossess notice on the door. Watch such an audience of mill hands. Men and women are wearing their Sunday clothes. All cheer and laugh or hoot when some superintendent's name is mentioned and they shout with glee when a photographer explodes his flash cartridge.

And then about one o'clock, when the meeting adjourns, follow them about the streets. As they walk further and further away from the hall where the speaker held forth you can see their countenances slowly lose their brightness; discouragement again reappears. They must be brought back to the hall resonant with eloquence, that they must be kept under the spell from early morning until late at night.

On Saturday the tradesmen have grumbled a little more, the landlords have been a little more pressing. The temptation of giving up the struggle, of returning to the mill on Monday morning is greater. Therefore brilliant speakers, men and women who can hold a crowd spellbound, must follow one another on the platform in lightning succession, making short speeches in German, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, until the hour of 12 or 1 o'clock strikes, so that the workers will forget their immediate worries and reach their homes tired and sleepy, too tired to get up at night time the next morning.

All this is hard work. Organizers

Continued on Fifth Page.