WILDCAT.

At a time, for strike action. Chief stewards have helped the company in naming the first 20 or more cine would vote this power to him.

Many workers are also thinking how the machine was built. They are determined not to let the same thing happen again.

BEFORE THE MACHINE TOOK SOLID CONTROL

Before the long General Motors strike of 1946 there were two political factions in the UAW. One was the Thomas-Addes faction. R. J. Thomas was president of the International Union and Addes was secretary-treasurer. They held the leadership, supported by the Communists and left-wing radicals, with the Community boys controlling top leadership in many of the local Unions. The other faction was led by Walter Reuther and his supporters.

Neither faction could feel certain of how workers would vote in any election. They were constantly changing their support from one to another, and they could and did use one against the other in getting grievances settled.

There was no solid bureaucratic machinery because the Communists and opportunists wanted to stay in the good graces of both factions so that, whichever way the workers turned, they would float to a job.

1946: THE TURNING POINT

Reuther was the leading negotiator with General Motors during the 1946 strike. His demands were for 25% gains. He won out as International president at the 1946 UAW convention because he claimed that the workers were stabbed in the back by the left-wing Communists who settled for 18% on the West Coast.

Several years previously, however, when Reuther appeared to be a close sympathizer of the Communists, he made a statement at a local Union meeting to the effect that any member who red-baited another would be brought to trial for conduct unbecoming to Union membership. There, as Reuther became president this same red-baiting became his No. 1 political weapon.

REUTHER'S MACHINE BEGINS TO ROLL

After Reuther won top office, the International representatives began to float to his side. He began to take over local Union Workers began to give their support. At the 1947 Convention he won full International control. A few years later he had a solid control of the biggest majority of all local unions. Practically all of the former supporters of Thomas-Addes were now in the Reuther camp. Even Thomas and Addes came in.

In 1947, Local 212 became a Reuther-Mazy Union. Workers went along with them. The machine defeated or eliminated every splinter caucus that tried to emerge by red-baiting, by threats of firing their supporters (and firing some of them), and by buying off those they could force to become part of the machine. There was a lot of rank and file dimension beginning to show again, but no opposition. Then the machine turned against the workers.

THE MACHINE TURNS AGAINST THE WORKERS

Membership meetings became solidly controlled. Everything was planned, geared and timed in advance. Mazey or Kent Morris or the local president laid down the line. Rank and file workers couldn't speak their minds and they went to floating meetings.

After every wildcat strike a meeting would be called at which the main point was the president's request for more power to handle the next wildcat. The machine would vote this power to him.

Many workers have been fired, as many as 20 and 30 at a time, for strike action. Chief stewards have helped the company in naming the first 20 or more who punched out, saying, "These are the leaders of the wildcat."

Ten years ago, after 111 miners were killed in the Centralia mine in Washington on March 25, 1947, John L. Lewis told a Congressional committee:

"If we must grind up human flesh and bones in the industrial machine that we call modern America, then, before God, I assert that those who consume coal...owe protection to those men first, and we owe security to their families after—they die.

And, in defiance of the Supreme Court, he called a memorial period to honor the 111 men who were killed in the explosion. Ten years ago, in his thundering speech, Lewis gave statistics:

"During the 5 years...there were total accidents in the mining industry of 322,637—consider those appalling figures!—That record clearly demonstrates that every man who goes to work in a coal mine will be, statistically, killed or injured every 6 years."

WE KILL THEM; YOU BURY THEM.

And he added, later that same day, "...that is the history of the industry, that is the operators' philosophy, 'we kill them; you provide for their widows and orphans. You bury them; we just kill them.'"

What has he said this year? Nothing. Was blood dearer then than it is today? Unofficial reports of the Bishop explosion indicate that management failed to meet its responsibilities for safety.

There is absolutely no question that the death and accident toll of miners taken by the operators can be eliminated. Yet it continues, and in terms of the reduced number of men in the mines today, it is increasing.

The industry is as brutal and murderous as ever. The miners, always militant and rebellious, are growing more so—but John L. Lewis has changed. What has caused Lewis to become the opposite of what he was? The continuous miner.

THE CONTINUOUS

Half-Way Round the World—Is Closer than Home

Vice President Nixon and Congressmen Diggs Jr., travelled to Africa as America's official representatives at Ghana's Independence ceremonies two weeks ago.

In the capital city of Accra, an American newscast reported, Mr. Nixon found himself on the same platform with Rev. King of Montgomery, Alabama, who, it was reported, had been invited to Ghana by Prime Minister Nkrumah as a representative of Negro Americans.

Mr. Nixon was said to have invited Rev. King to Washington to talk things over. Rev. King was said to have replied with his own invitation that the Vice President come South to talk things for himself. It is the request Southern Negroes have made repeatedly—to no avail.

Accra is some 12,000 to 13,000 miles from Washington. Montgomery is 700 to 800 miles from Washington—but every mile is below the Mason-Dixon line.

(Continued on Page 3)
COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

COAL Bosses Try to Get Away With Anything

FURGLOVE, W. Va.—Those bosses on a section with just 5 of us working by themselves. All he done was interested in was to come before them at the same time.

There were just 5 of us and 5 of our regular crew might be expected to get a good run of coal, I didn't object to this. I knew it couldn't go on. He just made his point by saying that the working people have almost met up face to face with the big so-called leaders of Amer­

In the UMW They Call it "Assessments"

OSAGE, W. Va. — We were seeing our boss one day in the dinner hole. He was talking about safety and production. One of the men on the crew was a committeeman. To make his point he was telling the boss all of the things the super had said. He had been in on cases, a lot of them. He quoted what the super had said about being for safety: about the men not taking chances when it came to a question of safety or production.

"Sure," the boss said. "The super in his office, he's talking to you, says that. He says something else to us."

I didn't object to this. I should have from the very beginning. The first time he took me up to the office, I would have said, "I'll shut the machine down and wait until you get back." I didn't.

From there, he kept going further and further. My buddy and I were going for an hour or two, then a half a day at a time. All the while, the boss kept pushing for more and more coal.

At the same time, he expected me to keep the places cleaned up by shovelling all the loose coal. That's the kind of day I couldn't pick up. He expected me to move from machine to machine as fast as if I had my mudy handling the cable. It just couldn't be done. I knew it couldn't be done, but he still kept pushing.

ENOUGH WAS TOO MUCH

I had enough of it. I started to go into places and clean up what the machine could pick up and pull out without touching a thing. I didn't care about losing any coal. I didn't care about losing any coal. This was agreed to by all of the men who were there, including the boss.

BOSS IS COAL HUNGRY

Our boss was a production man. Of days, everything went as it was arranged in the contract. We had to work safely and keeping the section clean and in good shape generally.

Our boss was a produc­tion man. Of days, everything went as it was arranged in the contract. We had to work safely and keeping the section clean and in good shape generally.

He started out easy at first. He'd take my buddy away from me. "Just to hang up a piece of canvas the next place over," he'd say. "Just to carry a couple of bundles of pins. It'll only take a minute."

I didn't object to this. I should have from the very beginning. The first time he took me up to the office, I would have said, "I'll shut the machine down and wait until you get back." I didn't.

VACATION—14 days and one half Sunday work — double time

Wages—$140 (days straight)

Vacation—14 days and one half Sunday work — double time

Wages—$180 (days divided)
Steelworkers' Machine Grinds Grievance Man For Pushing Negro Up-Grading at Homestead

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — MacDonald (president of United Steelworkers) stated that the Union is supposed to stand up for every member who is supposed to be brothers. They bring that "brother-stuff" in all the time for the very few jobs it's something else.

The situation at Homestead was that a Negro griever who was fired from his job in the Union because he kept worrying the United Steelworkers and various Negroes, has really gotten hot.

BACKFIRE

Johnny Duch, the head grievor, left a letter when he left town over the Christmas holidays to the effect that Everett, the colored grievor, was no longer a trusted administra­ tion man for Zone 5. Everett just turned around and showed all the letters and documents that had been filed and then pulled out by Johnny Duch. Duch had really had to call a meeting. The meeting was supposed to be a trial, and Duch did look guilty of the charges Everett had made against him. Duch claimed that the reason he had fired Everett was because he didn't have enough meetings to be a grievance man.

The real story was that Duch had originally given Everett the job as administrator because the labor gang at Homestead is 85 per cent Ne­ groes, and Everett would be instru­ mental in seeing that he stayed in office. Instead Everett started processing a lot of grievances on up-grading.

Everett was born in the mill himself about 10 or 11 years and is still using a pick and shovel. A lot of the Negroes here have been there longer and they're still using the pick and shovel. But Everett was going to find out whether Duch or the Un­ ion or the company was in fault.

NO SKILLED NEGROS

At the trial, Duch just claimed he didn't have anything to do with all the things Everett presented. In fact, all the things that Duch represented there isn't one skilled Negro. Pipe­ fitters, tin shop, mansion, day supervisors, boil­ ers—there isn't a Negro in any of them. If Everett man straight from the employ­ ment offices for those de­ partments, they're pulled right off the line. A lot of men have been pulled from labor, but never a Negro. A Negro gets in labor and that's where his stick goes when he dies or quits or gets pensioned off, etc.

It was quite a debate. It almost flared up plenty of thought and well attended, too. There were easily more than 75 Ne­ groes there, and others in the gallery.

It got so heated a few times that the board wanted to know if Duch knew all the men sitting on the board that was try­ ing the case, and the chairman asked who was on trial, everybody got so disgusted they got up and walked out.

The last I heard was that they had another meeting and Everett was out of the vote. At the first meeting it was supposed to be up to the board, and there were only a few Negroes here. Now, we hear the vote was 20 to 25. It sounds as if Everett wasn't at the body at this second meeting. The body wasn't allowed to say anything about it, but shop stewards, they probably saw they had a majority at this time, so they said, it was Friday and pay-day, and they probably saw to it that the vote would have a major­ ity.

Read: "New Passions at Work"—Two Worlds Column on Page 5

After 10 Years of Reuther's Machine

(Continued from Page 1)

TRIM SHOP WORKERS SPEARHEAD THE REVOLT

For the past five years the largest department in the plant, the Trim Department, has revolted against the machine. The struggle for control of that department has been constant and the workers resentment has grown sharper. Reuther never could take complete control of the Trim Department.

The Trim Department workers threw out Reuther's chief steward. But all the other Reutherite chief stewards remained and the local officers felt secure. They could not get themselves anything with all this control and power.

Several months ago, a few workers called a meeting in the hope of forming an opposition caucus. Eight attended out of a plant of some 12,000. They held several meetings and grew to 14 members. Reuther's machine paid no attention. As one bureau­ crat said, "They are too small to see."

But small as they were, they were what the big '57 workers were looking for. They first heard of them at a Local elec­ tion when these 14 members, calling themselves Rank & File, ran three candidates for Election commit­ tee— opposed against the old power of the ma­ chine and won the election.

At that moment many of the old, dead opportunists came to life and joined the opposition. This the Reuther boss couldn't understand. He moved quickly to liquidate the opposition. He tried to get the leaders blackballed into the mail, and moved them to an out­ side week later. What the Reuther boys can't under­ stand is that there are thousands of discouraged workers fighting for a new life. They had been defeated in the machine for election for delegates. They did.

The workers turned from the "green slate" Reuther boys in the same manner they went to him in 1946 and 1947; a complete sweep.

Steelworkers' Machine Grinds Grievance Man For Pushing Negro Up-Grading at Homestead

Chuck Terrano
“Right to Work”...

The labor-hating Republican legislators of Indiana have joined the labor-and-Negro-hating Democratic legislators in the South and have passed a “Right-to-Work” law.

They roll their eyes to heaven as they say they have now restored human dignity and freedom to all honest workers by “protecting” them from being forced to join unions; by “protecting” them from labor racketeers; by “protecting” them from union-made violence.

They sound like white-supremacy Southerners who “preserve” human freedom by arrogant brutality against Negroes.

They sound like their predecessors during the depression who “preserved” workers’ freedom by machine-gunning them and starring their families. Then, they also “preserved” workers’ freedom by hiring thugs and killers to promote violence so they could “legalize” their shootings by calling in the sheriffs and constabulary, whom they owned, to join them against the workers.

And they toppled it off by having the judges they owned—sentence workers to jail.

It is 20 years but we remember it well in the coal fields of Kentucky and the steel mills of Chicago; at Chevrolet in Flint, and Ford in Dearborn, and Chrysler in Detroit.

But this is 1957. Workers have long since fought and bled to win their own kind of freedom. It is 20 years since the CIO was built. There is now a huge, merged, 15 million-member AFL-CIO (though the South remains unorganized).

The importance of the new Indiana law is that this is the first highly industrialized State that has dared openly to move against the workers. There are thousands and thousands of Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Mine Workers, AFL members, etc.

The combined labor leadership has been so concentrated with being “responsible labor statesmen,” that their pressure and venom is reserved to be used only against the rank and file in their own unions. This has given the most reactionary elements in the country the courage to move openly against the workers.

There’s new wind in their sails in Wisconsin where they see the ineffectual three-year strike the UAW has been waging against Kohler. And even in Michigan they see the ineffectual three-year strike the UAW has been waging against the Briggs plant in Flint.

Most of us Chrysler-Mack workers were sure we had the “green slate” heat. But while workers were in solid opposition. Out of 12,000 workers only 2,000 voted. It was the highest vote in the history of the local. How could there be any doubt?

But I heard an old burlap worker say, “We didn’t put ourselves to the head of a snake before you can say you’ve killed it.”

—Steelworker, California

NEGRO STRUGGLE

You have just got to look at the capital, Washington, D. C., itself, to see what Jim Crow means. They talk about equal rights, but when they don’t even call Jim Crow, what do all the rest of their rights mean? You have to get at the head—you have to kill the head of a snake before you can say you’ve killed it.

—Ex-Miner, West Virginia

What burns me up are the people who talk to me about how bad it is for the Negroes to use violence to win their point. There’s been plenty of violence down there and they haven’t been the Negro using it—it has been the whites.

During the election campaign, Eisenhower came out strong against violence. He said the Negroes shouldn’t use it, and the whites shouldn’t use it.

Nothing is more disgusting to see than what happened afterwards. The Negroes didn’t do anything violent, but the whites down there did.

Eisenhower walks around like his mouth is a clamp; or something—he doesn’t say a word now about “violence”—not now that the whites are using it. It looks to me as if they’re almost trying to force the Negroes to a place where they’ll have to use it.

—White Ex-GI, West Virginia

I think the situation between whites and Negroes should be shown in a movie I saw on TV about the last war.

There were two Russians holding some Germans captive in a caved-in cellar. When the lights went out, the German asked the Russians what they were going to do with them. They said, “We’re going to peel his eyes.” He did it in the dark. In the end he didn’t care, and came over to their side openly. But it took time,
TWO WORLDS
New Passions & New Forces

New passions and forces in the struggle against the labor bureaucracy have come to the fore in the local struggles against the Reutherites. The workers in some Chrysler shops have moved from wildcatting to organized action whereby they were able to stymie bureaucratic stranglehold over their Union. When the Reutherites got wind of the rank and file opposition, they tried to stifle the new forces with an effort to declare that the opposition state its "program." For these bureaucrats "program"—writing is easy and they will lose time. That, the workers know from long experience.

The Rank and File caucus refused to enter into a "program"-writing contest. Instead, they stated what they wanted in a "program"—organized action. They had come into existence only a few weeks before the election for delegates to the UAW convention became connected with the proposed dues increase. They hadn't bothered to elect officers until the week of the election itself.

While, individually, one or another on their slate may have been a member of some old description caucus, this caucus had no connection with any of the old caucuses from the Trotskyites to that "most loyal opposition" led by Stellato-Aston for the Communists, for the moment they are supporting Reuther. Yet new formations in opposition to Reuther could have been discerned during the wildcats in 1955. In our analysis of the new stage of the battle against the labor bureaucracy, then, we pointed to the new formations among workers. In one instance it took the nebulous form of a movement that swept the hall while the leadership sat on the platform. We wrote: "That is how the hunger for unity of purpose and action, gotten on the line, expressed itself."

(News & Letters, July 22, 1955)

WHERE, in 1955, the workers expressed their opposition by staying in the back of the hall, they don't want their leaders on the platform at all now. The most insistent cry today is: put them back on the production line.

THE WORKERS' NEW CONFIDENCE

The Rank & File caucus not only overwhelmed the labor bureaucrats, they also overwhelmed the old "program"-writing radicals. These would-be leaders, even as the press of the leaders comes into existence that is boundless in its promise but reduces itself to the same old story: follow them. They will lead. They know.

Lest these old radicals be too quick with their conclusion that if the workers do not follow them, they are "bellying the brand," I quote these words of Lenin in a program—writer's day:

"When Skobelev, in a moment of ministerial abandon, threatened to deprive the capitalists of 90% profits, he repeatedly offered us in that speech a sample of a phrase calculated to impress. It is just such phrases that are always used to deceive the people in bourgeois parliamentary republics...Down with all this fricas of bureaucratic and bourgeoisie proponent mongering...The workers must demand the immediate establishment of actual control, to be exercised only by the workers themselves...If this is lacking, the rest is sheer deception."

There is no more horrifying proof of this than present-day Russian socialism itself. It is basing itself on the mechanism that the old radicals, along with the American labor bureaucracy, are heading with their attitude toward the workers.

They fail to see what is new: the workers' confidence in themselves. Where old radicals have reduced the question to "program," the workers have reduced it to the decisive question: WHO will control production standards in the factory: workers or labor bureaucrats in cooperation with management? The workers must demand the immediate establishment of actual control, to be exercised only by the workers themselves...If this is lacking, the rest is sheer deception.

Confidence in themselves is all the workers need in their struggle to win back control of their union. It is the only thing that will win them a say over conditions in the plant. It will win them, not only in Local 212, but in the country as a whole and in the world over, if civilization itself is not to come down in a crash because of the misuse of the present rulers. The workers alone can control production and build a new society, and nobody else can.
"If Only Adults Tried to Understand"

DETOIT—The TV drama, "based on the actual Poznan revolt," made me furious. The actual Poznan revolt was a part of the youth of Poland who set up the cordon, "Bread and Freedom." They challenged the Russian might. They killed the secret police. They inspired the Hungarians to rise against the secret police, but wasn't even this mild sentence. The court only sentenced him to 4 years, and the Polish state show. Nevertheless, I could sit down in a spotless house, 20 years, and tip the clean house mean to the clean of the lawyer and the present Gomulkas.

He went on to show how "tenement" the regime is. He pointed to one youth, who was accused of killing the secret police, but wasn't sentenced to death. The court only sentenced him to 4 years, and the Polish state show. However, all the impulses found in the addict are secondary to the present Gomulkas.

I suppose it wasn't the fear that Poland might go the way of the Ugandan pyramid that brought about this change—but the brilliancy of the lawyer and the present Gomulkas.

If only we adults half as hard to understand the youth, as they try to understand this mad society in which we live, it is found in all races, all classes, and all occupations. It is different conditinats of life few people would need to the clean of the lawyer and the present Gomulkas.

However, all the impulses found in the addict are secondary to the present Gomulkas. However, all the impulses found in the addict are secondary to the present Gomulkas. However, all the impulses found in the addict are secondary to the present Gomulkas.
Police Whitewash Brutality

DETROIT—It has happened again here in Detroit. Many Negroes hold a grudge against a Negro Detroit policeman who is one of the most prejudiced and racist of all the police system.

Several weeks ago, a Negro bar owner, Mr. Mitchell, was beaten up by two police for a traffic violation. The police charged "resisting arrest," but the judge threw those charges out.

A police trial board whitewashed the two white cops and Commissionaire Pierigo said that the men were following correct procedure to protect city life.

And anyway, he said, Mr. Mitchell wasn't hurt as bad as he claimed—he only had a few cuts and bruises.

Those police in Montgomery, Alabama, will try to forget what happened when it involves a Negro.

WHERE'S THE NAACP?

The NAACP was disappointed by the findings but they promise further cooperation with the Commissionaire to improve community relations.

The NAACP is not outlawed in this State, but they have not mentioned the last such incident nor the one here.

Many workers in the shop are saying, "We need a movement like the Negroes in Alabama to combat Detroit racial hates."

How can this city say anything about prejudicial and discriminatory practices anywhere, when every one can see it here?

WHY AFRICA?

Now that Congressmen Diggs, a Negro, and Vice-President Nixon are touring Africa, workers are saying, "The United Negroes and workers are saying, "We should start here in Michigan and in all our states; Why Africa?"

Many Africans know the attitudes here in regards to what happens to Negroes.

—Indignant White Man

“Negro Baiting” Takes Subtle Forms in Union Struggle

DETROIT—Ever since we beat them, there are Reutherites who go whispering around the shop saying to white workers that they wouldn't have been defeated so badly if it wasn't for the Negroes.

They don't get anywhere with the white workers here in Trim. We've been fighting them too long.

This is a real department of human relations. It's the biggest department in the plant and the only one where white and Negro work together on a real social basis. It's also the department, where the largest number of women work.

CUTE TACTIC

There's another cute tactic they're working on now. The white workers are saying, "There's still some lilly white departments here. Don't work with Rank & File unless they do something about that."

And then they say, "Don't work with that Rank & File unless they give us president or vice president."

Then they end up with, "Let's get together and talk it over. To hell with both caucuses."

WHY, SUDDENLY?

Reuther has been in control for ten years and a Negro hasn't even been re-elected as mayor of Local. Now these gus worry about us getting president or vice president of Rank & File.

It's true what they say about lilly-white de-partments here. They worry about it 2-3 weeks ago. Why do they suddenly start worrying 4 days after they lose an election?

—Negro Trim Worker

Chrysler-Mack
Coal is Saturated with Miners' Blood

(Continued from Page 1)

reorganized production of coal. Fewer men are required to produce the same, or greater amount of coal. 1950 through 1955 sees the miners reduced in number from 450,000 to 220,000 men.

UMW VS. WILDCATS

This same period is marked by wildcat strikes on the mines, as the miners for seniority recognition, which they never had; and for safer and better working conditions. These attempts of the men to better themselves are met by Lewis sending Inter- national representatives to break these strikes.

The pattern becomes monotinous. When the men have grievances, they are met with contempt by the operators. Before, the operators considered the District representatives down on cases. Now, they are the first to call for them. The miners can take much abuse. Then they strike to maintain their seniority, dignity as well as their lives and means of livelihood. It is the District or International which forces the men back to work.

But the wildcat strikes continued through the first six months of 1956. How does Lewis meet this new challenge? Let us look at what Lewis considers the Welfare Fund as his greatest monument, yet the Fund is supplied with money reeived from production, 40c on each ton of coal now mined. If production stops, for any reason, money into the fund stops. It is based on production, just as the operators' profits are based on production.

LABOR CAPITALIST

Lewis owns banks. He is a member of the board of directors (along with vice-president Kennedy of the UMW) of American, Security, Shipping, Inc. This company was organized in May, 1956. Lewis was its prime mover, and is the largest stockholder in the four companies such as C. H. Sprague & Co.; General Coal Co.; Pittsburg & Ohio Railroad; Chicago & North Western; Consolidated Coal Co.; Norfolk & Western Railroad; Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad; Virginia & Ohio Railroad; and Pocahontas Fuel Co., Inc.

Lewis, once bitter foe of the coal operators in his battles with and for the coal miners, is now in partnership with these operators. The Tooth Wheel has made its turn. Lewis is now the labor capitalist.

1955 and 1956 saw the rank and file erupt in wildcat strikes against their union leaders, first in auto and then in coal. Already these first moves of 1957 have seen the rank and file erupt, apparently out of nowhere, in organized opposition, first to the CIO, then to the AFL, ex-socialist, Chief Minister Norman Washington Manley, who has been the spokesman of the past for his struggles in Jamaica.

The leader of the Barbados group is Prime Minister of the United States, Professor Williams, a relative newcomer in public office.

With the automation that is now so commonly introduced by the giants of industry, the feelings and aspirations of the miners find their mirror in all production workers.

They Measure Production in Lives

The completely inhuman attitude that the operators have towards the miners is shown by their conception on how to figure the death rate in the mines.

On the average miners work some 200 days out of the year. For every day of work, two men lose their lives and 96 are injured.

The operators say it is because of increased productivity. They figure that "on the average" they have "one fatality for every million tons produced. This, they say, is "normal''.

Now, what kind of a being, it certainly can't be human, can say that it is "normal" part of the mining industry?

The regime's plan is to reduce the African population to the status of a labor force without voice or vote, on a level equal to cattle. The Africans are resisting, organizing and, through such measures as bus and store boycotts, fighting back to regain their continent from the white minority.