

NEWS & LETTERS

"This Paper Belongs to the People Who Read It and Write for It"

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

After 10 Years of The Reuther Machine

By CHARLES DENBY

The total defeat that the rank and file Chrysler workers handed to Reuther's "green slate", in the Local 212 elections a few weeks ago, has left the bureaucrats gasping. The Reutherites can't believe it happened after they spent 10 years to build a powerful machine which they were positive would control and dominate workers to the end of time.

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 Communist 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 porkchoppers 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 on top.

1946: THE TURNING POINT

Reuther was the leading negotiator with General Motors during the 1946 strike. His demands were for 22½¢ an hour raise. 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 18½¢ 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 members. As soon 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 control of local Unions. 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-Mazey 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 dissension beginning to show again, but no opposition. Then the machine turned against the workers.

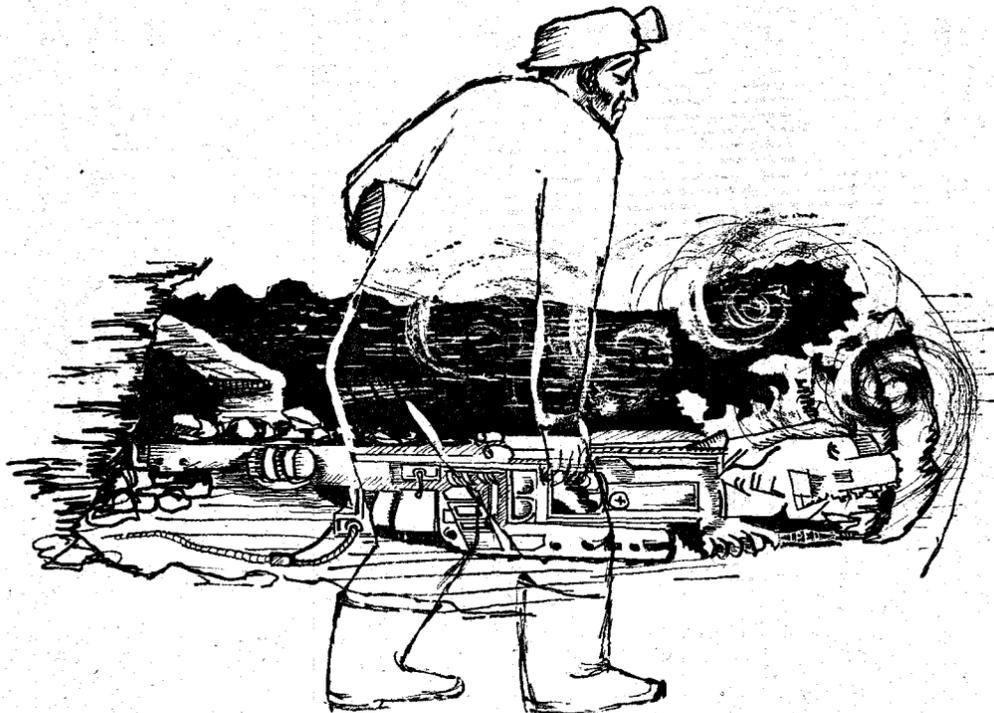
THE MACHINE TURNS AGAINST THE WORKERS

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 mind and they quit going to 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."

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THE CONTINUOUS MINER MEANS SPEED-UP & LAY-OFF

"Coal Is Already Saturated With The Blood of too Many Men"

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The explosion which rocked the Bishop mine on the West Virginia-Virginia border, at the turn of this year, killed 37 men. The reports that kept coming out from reporters emphasized that this was a highly mechanized mine, that the chances for an explosion were a million to one. Yet, it happened—and 37 men died, and their widows and orphans mourn them.

Ten years ago, after 111 miners were killed in the Centralia mine disaster of 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—if they die.

And, in defiance of the government and the Supreme Court, he called a memorial period to honor the 111 men who were killed in the explosion.

NOW—NOTHING

What has he said now? Nothing. What has he done now? Nothing. Are 37 too few to die? Does it require 111 dead before he will speak? Then listen: In West Virginia alone, almost 38 miners were killed every month of 1956, or about 450 for the year — and 19,300 miners were injured.

Ten years ago, in his thundering speech, Lewis gave statistics:

"During the 5 years . . . 1942 to 1946 inclusive, 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.

MINER THE CONTINUOUS

The continuous miner, introduced in 1949-1950,

(Continued on Page 8)

Half-Way 'Round the World —Is Closer than Home

Vice President Nixon and Congressman 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 see 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.

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

Coal Bosses Try to Get Away With Anything

PURSGLOVE, W. Va.—Those bosses on a section will try anything to see how much they can get away with. You take the situation we had. We had a skeleton crew and were getting this section ready for a regular crew to move in. We were all called into the super's office, including the guy who was to be our boss, and told what was expected of us.

NO PRODUCTION CREW

The super told us that we were not a production crew; that he didn't expect us to get the coal that a regular crew might be expected to get.

There were just 5 of us and it was impossible to keep the loading machine, cutting machine, pin machine and buggies going and still have 2 men working together on a machine.

This was pointed out to him and he said he knew that, but no one was expecting the operators to work by themselves. All he was interested in was to have the section in good shape for the regular crew when it moved in. The 5 men who were working there would pair off and do the work that had to be done. When one machine was going, another would be idle and in that way the machines in operation could have 2 men working on them at all times. This was agreed to by all of the men who were there, including the boss.

BOSS IS COAL HUNGRY

I was operating the loading machine. For a couple of days, everything went as it was arranged in the office. We were doing the work safely and keeping the section clean and in good shape generally.

Our boss was a production boss though. His old habits concerning production slowly began to come out. He began to figure that he could make more of a name for himself if he could get high tonnage with a few men.

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," or "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 my buddy away, I should have said, "I'll shut the machine down and wait until he gets back." But I didn't.

From there, he kept going further and further. My buddy would be gone 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 the machine couldn't pick up. He expected me to move from one place to another as fast as if I had my buddy handling the cable. It just couldn't be done. I knew it and he knew it, but he still kept pushing.

ENOUGH WAS TOO MUCH

I'd 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 shovel or trying to dig down any coal that was hung up. I took my time in moving from one place to another. I wanted the boss to get on me just one time. But he didn't say anything.

I knew it couldn't go on the way it was. One day, when we had a chance to make a good run of coal, I was backing my machine out of a place. My cable was in the way and I moved my machine just a little to make sure that the cats would chew into it. It naturally blew up.

This, I thought, would do it. The boss would come running, start bawling me out, and I could have my chance to get him in the super's office and get

SAFETY OR PRODUCTION?

OSAGE, W. Va. — We were arguing with our boss one day in the dinner hole. The argument was around 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 cases. He quoted what the super had said about being for safety; about the men not taking any chances when it came to a question of safety or production.

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

"He says he doesn't want excuses, he wants production. If we don't get it, he'll get someone who will. When we go into his office with our report, he doesn't look at the conditions, he looks at the tonnage figure. If what he figures should be there isn't, we have to answer to him.

"He may talk to you guys one way, but he talks to us in another."

everything off my chest. He wouldn't have a leg to stand on.

HE MUST HAVE KNOWN

He came running all right. But when he saw me splicing the cable, he turned away and walked off without a single word. The only way I can figure it out is that he must have known what I was trying to do, only he wasn't going to get himself involved in an argument with me to give me the chance to blow my stack at him and get him in the office.

I'm off his crew now, but I wonder how much longer it would have taken me to get a rise out of him. I know I'd have gotten to him sooner or later. Maybe it's just as well that I'm rid of him. I'd rather load coal than be splicing cables.

In the UMW They Call it

"Assessments"

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. —At the last UMW convention the miners' dues were raised from \$4 a month to \$4.25 a month. Only a quarter raise. That's not much. Who would argue about that?

But there are dues increases and dues increases. Lewis doesn't have to wait for a convention to get an increase. He just puts on an extra assessment.

After the 1953 contract, the men were assessed an extra \$20; the 1954 contract and another \$20 extra assessment; the last contract, signed last October, and so far a \$10 extra assessment. A lot of men are saying that after April 1, when we get 80c more, we can expect another \$10 assessment.

ALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL

To date we have paid \$50 extra in 3 years time. The regular dues are split up among the Local, District and International organizations. But not the extra assessments which all went to the International treasury.

Figured on a 3-year basis, with that extra \$50 we haven't been paying \$4 a month, but \$5.40 a month. Of this amount, \$1 went to the District, \$1 remained with the Local, and \$3.40 went to the International.

To put it another way, with 225,000 men paying just the extra assessment, the International has gotten \$11,250,000. And this is a nice piece of change.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

It Is Time

All Struggles Are Coming Together

After all these years the problems of the Negroes and the fighting of the working people have almost met up face to face with the big so-called leaders of America. Now what will they do or say to get this unsettled world free so that all people can speak and live as freely as they wish to?

The UAW workers have almost got things to an end so that they can work like they want to when they are tired or sick. They are voting out all those no good leaders who would kill their father or their brother just to be a leader of the union.

DO FOR THEMSELVES

The working people know that if they don't put their heads together and do something for themselves, no leader will take it on himself to try to do anything. These leaders won't do anything to help the Negroes solve any of their problems, or help the union workers get things straightened out so they won't have to kill themselves in one day to try to make 8 hours for a little money.

DEAD END

The bureaucracy is at the dead end—not the worker.

It is true that the struggle of the Negro people and the fighting of the working people have almost caused all the big leaders to go crazy trying to think out some kind of way to

keep the Negroes back and to keep the workers down. But they have some thinking to do to try to answer all the questions that have come before them at the same time.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Questions like asking the president of the United States to send someone—or come himself—to help Negroes in their struggle for peace in the South where the white man never wants to give up. But that question has never been answered.

Another question these leaders have never let themselves be heard from is to let the Negroes up North live wherever they please. They say that up North is a free place for people to live wherever they please. So why keep trying to keep the Negroes from living where they want to?

NO REASON WHY

Some time ago I asked an old white, "Why do some whites not want Negroes to live in their settlements?"

She said, "Because they try to outlive us and that is something we will not do."

So I said, "That's no reason why a Negro shouldn't get out and work for what he wants, is it? That is just life. Negroes do not try to tell white people how to live so why try to tell us what we need? Living under white people will never happen anymore."

NEW COAL CONTRACTS

Which Twin Has the Sickness?

At the last convention of the United Mine Workers (Oct. 1956), the anthracite (hard coal) industry was described as somewhat sick. The bituminous (soft coal) industry, on the other hand, was pictured as glowingly healthy with a bright and glorious future.

On Dec. 1, 1956, a new contract was negotiated with the anthracite operators. Here are the relative provisions of the contracts covering the anthracite and bituminous miners:

ANTHRACITE

Saturday work — time and one half
Sunday work — double time
Vacation—14 days and \$140 (days straight)
Wages — \$2 a day (straight increase)
Seniority — Classification (not worth much)
Holiday work — Double time
Welfare Fund — 50c for each ton
Hours — SEVEN

BITUMINOUS

Saturday work — time and one half
Sunday work — double time
Vacation—14 days and \$180 (days divided)
Wages—\$2 a day (\$1.20 Oct. 1, 80c Apr. 1)
Seniority — Classification (not worth much)
Holiday work — Double time
Welfare Fund—40c for each ton
Hours — EIGHT

Maybe if the bituminous industry got as sick as the anthracite, we bituminous miners might have our hours reduced too.

—West Virginia Miner.

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

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — MacDonald (President of United Steelworkers) has stated that the Union is supposed to stand up for every member—down there you're all supposed to be brothers. They bring that "brother-stuff" in all the time, but when it comes to jobs it's something else.

The situation at Homestead, involving the Negro griever who was fired from his job in the Union because he kept worrying the Union about up-grading Negroes, has really gotten hot.

BACKFIRE

Johnny Duch, the head griever, left a letter when he left town over the Christmas holidays to the effect that Everett, the colored griever, was no longer an assistant grievance man for Zone 5. Everett just turned around and collected a lot of grievances that had been filed and then pulled out by Johnny Duch.

They finally had to call a meeting. The meeting was supposed to be a trial, to see if Duch was 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 assistant griever because the labor gang at Homestead is 85 per cent Negro, and he thought Everett would be instrumental in seeing that he stayed in office. Instead Everett started processing a lot of grievances on up-grading.

Everett has been in the mill himself about 10 or 11 years and is still using a pick and shovel. A lot of other Negroes have been there even longer and they're still using the pick and shovel, too. Everett was going to find out whether Duch or the Union or the company was in fault.

NO SKILLED NEGROES

At the trial, Duch just insisted that he didn't have anything to do with all the things Everett presented. Yet in all the branches that Duch represents there isn't one skilled Negro. Pipefitters, tin shop, masonry shop, carpenter shop, boilermakers—there isn't a Negro in any of them.

If men aren't hired straight from the employment offices for those departments, they're pulled from general labor. A lot of men have been pulled from labor, but never a Negro. A Negro gets in labor and that's where he

sticks until he dies or quits or gets pensioned off.

WHO'S ON TRIAL?

It was quite a debate. It almost flared up plenty of times. It was pretty well attended, too. There were easily more than 75 Negroes there, and about 15 or so whites. It got so heated a few times that the board wanted to know who was on trial. Duch knew all the men sitting on the board that was trying him, and when 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 vote. At the first meeting it was supposed to be up to the board, and there were only 5 men sitting up there. Now, we hear the vote was 29 to 25. It sounds as though they put it up to the body at this second meeting. The body wasn't allowed to say anything at the first meeting, but they probably saw they had a majority at this second one. It was Friday, and pay-day, and they probably saw to it that they would have a majority.

Read: "New Passions & New Forces," in Two Worlds Column on Page 5

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

Those Who Make Cadillacs Can't Drive Them

A friend of mine who works over at Cadillac was telling me about the conditions in that shop. You never hear much about Cadillac, their lay-offs or conditions. The only thing I have heard is that they have been working steady the last 3 or 4 years, 7 days a week.

Well, he told me a little more about the place. They are having lay-offs right now and the only reason he is still working is that they can't get many guys to work in the foundry. This is his story about Cadillac.

CAN'T REFUSE

"Some departments are working 7 days a week, not my department, we are working 40 hours and that is enough for me, I can't see this working 50 or 60 hours a week. But you can't refuse if you want to keep working. If they schedule it you have to work.

"The only thing you can get from the committeeman or steward is, if you want to kill a few minutes, you can call them over and talk to them, but you never expect them to do anything for you.

"And that foundry, with all that dust going into you—when I come home I

can clean my nose till the next morning and I keep getting nothing but that black soot and dust.

HAZARD TO HEALTH

"They have these big blowers going all the time and I work right under one. My shoulder is just stiff from the drafts. I have already had pneumonia once this winter.

"I told my foreman about it, I told him I would sue the company if I got sick again. I asked my doctor to write in saying that it is detrimental to my health to continue working in the foundry. That's the only way you can get out of that department.

"And this foreman is always standing behind you. Why does a foreman get paid? He doesn't do anything but stand with his hands in his pockets. The people that do the most work get the least.

THEN AND NOW

"This foreman is white, and he just hates Negroes so. Why does he hate us like that? I can't understand it.

"You know, I was over in Korea. There, we all were friends. We slept together, ate together, and fought together. But when we came back here, it's as if we never knew each other."

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 there.

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 see themselves losing 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 bureaucrat said, "They are too small to see."

But small as they were, they were what the biggest majority of these 12,000 workers were looking for. They first heard of them at a Local election when these 14 members, calling themselves Rank & File, ran three candidates for Election Committee—against the untold power of the machine and won the election.

At that moment many of the old, dead opportunists came to life and joined the opposition. This the Reuther boys could understand. They moved quickly with daily leaflets. They started red-baiting—to no effect. They called these opposition workers gangsters. To no effect.

The Rank & File workers could not reply because they had no funds, no membership, no organized caucus. But some 150 or 200 workers came to their meeting a week later. What the Reuther boys can't understand or believe it is that thousands of discouraged workers now saw a new hope for a new life. They said they would defeat the machine in the election for convention 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.

CHRYSLER WORKERS WILDCAT IN LOS ANGELES! LOCAL UNION PREFERS TO "DISCUSS" IN DETROIT

LOS ANGELES—Chrysler workers walked off Monday at noon (Mar. 4) for a day and a half. The situation has been brewing since last year over speed-up. On Tuesday morning we had a union meeting where 1,500 to 2,000 people showed up. It lasted for 2½ hours.

The president of Local 230 asked the men to go back to work and send 2 delegates to Detroit to discuss with the International and meet with Chrysler. He said that they're producing more cars this year with fewer men.

EFFICIENCY MEN

Even now when they're producing more cars than ever before, the company says they're only getting 50 per cent efficiency. They want to pay off 600 more men and still produce the same number of cars, and even then they say they won't be getting 100 per cent efficiency. The company said they didn't believe in working the men over 100 per cent efficiency, but 98 per cent is O.K.

But the president stated the Union knows that if the company gets a few more cars today, they'll want a few more the next

day, and so on until it gets to be impossible.

RIGGED DEAL

As far as I could see it was a rigged deal. The meeting was only for browbeating the membership into going back to work. I think there was a definite feeling to continue the strike at the beginning of the meeting.

One chief steward got up and made a speech in favor

of staying out. He said we should continue to strike with or without the blessing of the International.

After 2½ hours of this, an agreement was made to send two men to Detroit and to go back to work the next day. The president is to return within 10 days with a report to be given to the membership at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Tensions & Maneuvers at Chrysler-212 Since Rank & File Election Victory

DETROIT—There was an incident in the plant today that almost ended in a strike. A superintendent moved 2 workers from a group of 6, and the 4 who were left were supposed to do all the work.

SPEED-UP

The chief steward here is a Rank & File man. He called the bargaining committeeman who is a Reutherite. The committeeman was late getting there and, in the meantime, the super blew his top and threatened to fire the four men for refusing to work.

The chief steward said, "Then you'll have to fire the whole department because we'll all go out if you fire those 4 men."

WORKERS' TALK

The workers were talking, that ever, since we whipped the "green slate" in the election, the Reutherites have been getting the foremen and supers to put on pressure so the committeemen can rush up and show how they fight our grievances.

"MORE THAN THAT"

One worker was saying, "I'm so tired of them with their nickel and dime doubletalk. My life is more than that, it's got to be more than that. I wish it was May already so we could whip them in the Union elections the way we whipped them on the delegates."

—Chrysler Worker, Local 212

EDITORIALS

"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 starving their families. Then, they also "preserved" workers' freedom by hiring thugs and killers to provoke 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 topped 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.

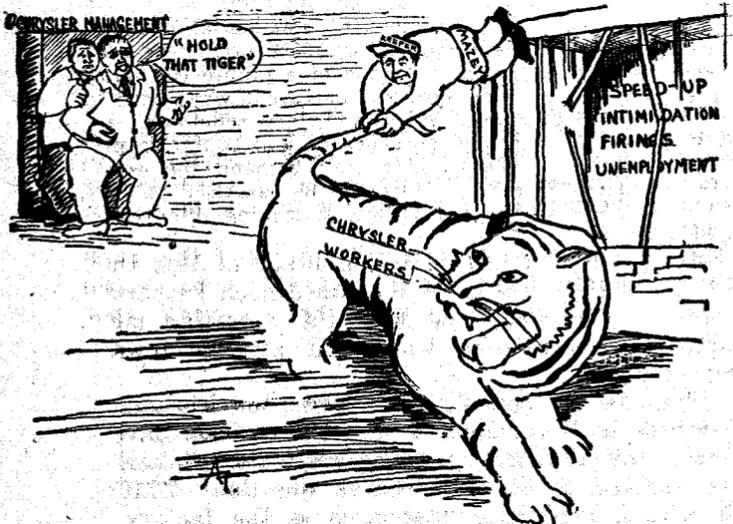
The combined labor leadership has been so concerned with being "responsible labor statesmen," that their pressure and venom is reserved to be used only against the rank and file in their own unions. This has given the most reactionary elements in the country the courage to move openly against the workers.

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 have taken new hope which not even their colleague in Washington, "bird-dog Wilson" could give them.

At least, in Indiana, 10,000 AFL workers marched in demonstration in front of the State Capitol—with the result that the Governor "deplored" the "Right to Work" bill so much that he let it become law without his signature.

And what does the UAW plan, to show its opposition to the vicious Indiana law? An educational program!

Twenty years ago, the auto workers educated the "Right to Work" boys in the school of the sitdown strike. What kind of "education" does Reuther propose now? Lectures by college professors? Or perhaps by Union educational directors? Or is he thinking radically about a public relations program?



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Readers'

RANK & FILE OPPOSITION

I met an old leading red-baiting man in the A & P the other day. I never saw a man look so sick. He's one of the Negroes who used to do Reuther's dirty work in the hopes of getting a job with the machine. But Reuther dumped him.

He said, "Man—all the things I used to say about Reuther, what a great guy he is, and how he's helping our people, I was wrong. I didn't know how wrong I could be."

I said, "You're not telling me anything I don't know. Every-time I'd say something you got the hatchet out and called me 'trouble-maker,' and 'Communist'—which I never was."

He said, "I was wrong and you were right. But I want to get back now and bring the truth to the people."

I said, "You're too late. The people knew the truth long before you did. You haven't got a chance in a million years."

—Negro Worker
Chrysler Trim Shop
Detroit.

If the plant manager and head superintendent of this department had run against the Reutherites I believe I would even have voted for them. What I have lived through under the Reutherites for the last 5 years, nobody could be any worse.

—Local 212 Worker,
Detroit.

I'm glad to see that the striking auto workers in the Briggs plant in England have the same reputation for being militant that the Briggs workers here have. (Mar. 5).

The old Briggs workers were always fighting back and wild-cattling. They were the heart of Local 212. And when Chrysler bought out Briggs it became the Chrysler-Mack plant where we just began to clean up on the Reutherites and their vicious machine.

—212 Rank & Filer,
Detroit.

Bureaucrats all over the country are just the same. They think they know something workers don't know and they try to brush off objections with big political statements and trickery.

Most of us Chrysler-Mack workers were sure we had the "green slate" beat. Negro and white workers were in solid opposition. Out of 12,000 workers, about 10,000 voted. It was the highest vote in the history of the local. How could there be any doubt?

But I heard an old bureaucrat who saw a way back for himself by riding the Rank & File wagon, say, "I'm afraid we'll lose. If we can only hold the day shift we have a chance."

After we won, this guy Buckley who maneuvered himself into being president of the caucus, gave out a statement to the daily papers as "president of a city-wide Rank & File caucus," that the Dodge-Main workers were following the Chrysler-Mack workers in opposing the dues increase.

I'm more than glad if Dodge-Main felt stronger because of what Chrysler-Mack did. But they didn't follow Buckley, and we didn't follow Buckley, and it isn't a city-wide caucus and, we didn't vote the Reutherites down because of the dues increase. We voted them down to get them off our backs. I'm sure that's why Dodge-Main voted them down.

Whoever these guys are you've got to watch them when they get the smell of power in their nose.

Old Chrysler Worker
Detroit

They have a new program going on out at the mill now. They even went from \$10 to \$10,000 for suggestions on how to improve production.

I asked them what happened to all those engineers they got running around out there—did they run out of ideas and decide to turn to labor now?

I figure one thing that will appear in the suggestion boxes is to do away with the discrimination on upgrad-

ing out there. I figure it will appear quite a few times, too, because the feeling is all over in the Negroes now. They've been thinking about it in private for a long time, but now they're thinking about it harder.

—Steelworker,
Pittsburgh.

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 if they don't count 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 him.

—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 South, sure. But it hasn'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 haven't done anything violent, but the whites down there have done plenty.

Eisenhower walks around like his mouth is a clam 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 point where they'll have to use it.

—White Ex-GI,
West Virginia

I think the situation between whites and Negroes is something like 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 one of the Germans helped the Russians, and he didn't want the rest to know it. He did it in the dark. In the end he didn't care, and came over to their side openly. But it took time,

Views

he thought about it a long time before he made the step openly.

That's the way some of the white people are. I think we'd be surprised to find how many white people down South are behind the colored people but just afraid to show it. It may be in the dark right now, but I feel there are a lot with them, and in time they'll do it openly.

—Negro Housewife, Pennsylvania.

* * *

A lot of the strength of the movement down South comes from the power of the Dollar. The colored outnumber the white 4 to 1 down there, almost. If the whites don't get the colored trade, they aren't going to stay in business.

It was the same thing that changed the minds of some of the businessmen in Pittsburgh. It's estimated that there's about \$10 million spent by Negroes annually in Pittsburgh. The stores knew that they had to have some colored working in the stores to keep their business.

Gimbel's has the most colored working of all the big stores—and they do the most business, too. A lot of Negroes dropped their accounts with the other stores and switched to Gimbel's. It's the dollar mark that changed the minds of the white businessman.

—Steelworker, Pittsburgh.

* * *

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

Virtually every worker in this area knows Ruby. He has either worked for him at one time or other, or has a close friend or relative who has.

Directly or indirectly, the workers have tasted Ruby's brand of humanitarianism in the form of speed-up, miserable working conditions and intimidation.

With this background, they know that his bringing the refugees means no good for them or for the refugees. They feel he will try to use the refugees to divide the workers in the plant in order to get even greater profits at their expense.

—Reader, Morgantown, W. Va.

Some 15 refugees were picked by representatives of Ruby, owner of Sterling Enterprises, to work for him. Among those put to work at his faucet factory was a young couple who had made plans to marry in Hungary before the revolution.

They remained together during their escape and finally ended up in Morgantown.

When this situation was made known to the workers at the Faucet Factory, they demonstrated the natural tendency of workers everywhere to help people in distress. They took up a collection in various departments to outfit the groom.

—Student,

Morgantown, W. Va.

* * *

WAR & PEACE

King Saud is nothing but a murderer as bad or worse than the regime of Russia. Yet he was wine and dined and treated like a god by Ike and his two-faced cohorts. And enough of our tax dollars were spent on him probably to keep an American family in luxury for 20 or 30 years.

What for? To make the already rich and powerful American oil Tycoons more rich and powerful and thus give them an ever greater economic control over the lives of the rank and file.

We don't have to accept that and we don't have to fight for it. It is out duty as men and women and individuals to fight against it. We can never become free and don't deserve the name "free" by enslaving other peoples.

—Edgar Leslie, California.

* * *

READERS REPLY TO OUR APPEAL

I just saw your paper in the plant when I went in to work last night. I think it's very good and I'd like to subscribe for a year (26 issues). I'm sending you my money order for \$2.50. I'd also like to have some extra

copies (March 5th issue) to show to some of the men at work.

—Rank & File, Local 212, Detroit.

* * *

I'm enclosing my check for \$25. I have long been a fan of News & Letters. I think "Coal & Its People," "Worker's Journal," and some of the articles and letters that come right out of the workers' fights in the plant, and also those written by rank and file Negroes, are the best features of the papers.

—Engineer, New York City.

* * *

Here is my contribution of \$10 to help maintain News & Letters.

—Intellectual, Maryland.

* * *

Will you please send me 10 issues at \$1. I like your paper very much and I enjoy reading it. (Enclosed, \$1).

—Auto Worker, Detroit

* * *

Sorry we took so long to renew our subscription, but to make up for our slow response, we submit names and addresses of two new subscribers, all paid up, each of them, and us, too, for one year (26 issues).

And thanks for a newspaper with news and views not available elsewhere.

—Old Subscriber, New York City. (\$7.50 was enclosed—Ed.)

* * *

I'm sending you \$25 for now. I'm going to be away for a half year (though the paper can keep coming to the same address), and I hope to be able to send more money when I come back.

—Scientist, New Jersey.

* * *

I really enjoyed reading News & Letters, March 5th issue. I have long advocated militant unionism. It inspires me to read the militant action of local 212 UAW against the faker Reuther-Mazey machine. This militancy seems to be growing in all plants, mines, etc. More power to your kind.

Enclosed is \$1 for more copies of March 5, 1957, issue to pass out to friends.

—New Reader, Cleveland, Ohio.

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 to challenge the bureaucratic stranglehold over their Union. When the Reutherites got wind of the rank and file opposition, they flooded the factories with green leaflets, demanding that the opposition state its "program". For these bureaucrats "program" - writing is easy and they will promise anything. 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 were against — against the labor bureaucracy's domination over the workers in the union hall as on the production line. Every worker understood and voted accordingly. The rest is history—for the first time in 10 years they swept the election in Local 212. (See News & Letters, 3-5-57).

The Rank & File caucus would not fit any of the old descriptions of "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 former opposition caucus, this caucus had no connection with any of the old caucuses from the Trotskyites to that "most loyal opposition" led by Stellato. As 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 struggle against the labor bureaucracy then, we pointed to the new formations among workers. In one instance it took the nebulous form of merely walking to the back of 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 picket 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 present leaders, come with a "program" 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 "backward," let them ponder over these words of Lenin to a "program"-writer of his day:

"When Skobelev, in a moment of ministerial abandon, threatened to deprive the capitalists of 100% profits, he really 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 fracas of bureaucratic and bourgeois project-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 Russia itself. It is toward such barbarism 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? WHO will rule in the Union hall: rank and file workers or the so-called leaders who haven't seen a production line in the last 20 years?

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 factory. That is the problem today, 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 misrule of the present rulers. The workers alone can control production and build a new society, and nobody else can.

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

Several weeks ago we carried an article written by a Detroit father whose teenage son was brought home by two policemen for smoking a cigarette on the street. This is a crime in Detroit. (News & Letters, Dec. 25, '56.)

The police are prepared to take such an offender off to a youth detention home and fine the parent. But apparently the biggest delinquents aren't touched.

TEEN-AGE PITCH

The March issue of Consumer Reports carries an article on Teen-age Consumers. They quote from a story in the Wall Street Journal:

"One of the most delicate problems of appealing to teenagers was faced by the American Tobacco Co., maker of Lucky Strike Cigarettes and sponsor of the Hit Parade, long a teenage radio and TV favorite. Many a teenager smokes, of course, but no cigarette company would risk the approbrium that probably would attach to a direct sales appeal to teenagers. American Tobacco,

however, conducted a careful study of teen musical tastes to guide its Hit Parade show."

'MORAL DEFENDERS'

It seems to me that the defenders of the morals of youth, who register shock and indignation at young people smoking and drinking, would do better if they spent their time challenging this kind of advertising campaign.

If they were more serious they might war on the cigarette and beer sponsors of so many of our radio and TV sports shows that have such great appeal to youth. I don't think young people are any less susceptible to advertising than anybody else.

INSULT & INJURY

In short the real battle—which officialdom isn't prepared to fight—is against the kind of society that makes for the tensions and dissatisfaction that lead to these vices. Instead the authorities are content to lock up the victims of their society.

"If Only Adults Tried to Understand"

DÉTROIT—The TV drama, "based on the actual Poznan revolt," made me furious. The actual Poznan revolt is a story of the youth of Poland who set up the cry, "Bread and Freedom." They challenged the Russian might. They killed the secret police. They inspired the Hungarians toward their revolution. As the saying went around Poland, after the Hungarian revolution far outdistanced that of the Poles: "The Hungarians acted like Poles, the Poles acted like Czechs, and the Czechs acted like pigs."

LAWYER IS 'HERO'

Well, "Armstrong Circle Theatre," which presented the drama based on actual incidents in life and narrated by the news commentator John Cameron Swayze presented a lawyer as the hero of the Poznan revolts and not the youth.

We are made to go through all of the lawyer's soul-searchings. The mass of youth, on the other hand, who made the revolt, and the youth who are on trial and who thereby put the regime on trial—these the TV presented as no more than the spark that rekindled the "brilliance" of the middle-class lawyer. Mind you, this is a man who has collaborated with the regime of terror. He began the trial as a mere State show. Nevertheless, he became "the hero."

COMMUNIST WHITEWASH

At the end of the show they present an actual participant in the events. And who do you suppose speaks at the end of the show? God forbid, it should be a youth either from Poland or Hungary. No, it is some big shot Polish official who tells us that while Communism continues, still it is a national Communism and should be supported.

He went on to show how "lenient" 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 government "generously" suspended even this mild sentence.

I suppose it wasn't the fear that Poland might go the way Hungary went that brought about this change—but the brilliance of the lawyer and the present Gomulka's.

If only we adults tried half as hard to understand the youth, as they try to understand this mad society in which we are raising them, there would still be a chance for civilization not to get blown sky-high into outer space!

—Disgusted Adult.

Adults Are Squares

Adults can't understand teen-agers because they're such squares. The only ones who can understand teen-agers are teen-agers themselves.

—14-Year-Old Girl
Detroit

NOTHING BETTER THAN RAISING A FAMILY, MINER'S WIFE SAYS

As far as I'm concerned, if you can see your way clear to raise a family, and if you can provide for them, there's nothing better. We've been lucky, I know. My husband has never been out of a job since we were married. We don't have anything fancy—but we've always been able to provide their food and clothes—and plenty of love. That's what counts.

It's different if you have to beg for charity to keep a family going. My husband has often said that his family would never starve, even if he had to fight or steal to get their food. That's how most people feel about another depression. A family is what makes you fight for something better, a better world for them.

HAPPY MARRIAGE

I think children do help to keep a marriage happy. I don't mean the cases of women whose men are really rotten and deserve to be left. But I mean all the little squabbles that make you so mad at the time you would just up and leave if it weren't for the kids. After a while you patch it up and forget it because you have something more important to share.

You get to know the really important things in life with a house full of kids. I just can't see worrying about keeping a house spic and span all the time, for example. What would be the use of even cleaning a house, if there was no one to track it up? I can just see myself sitting in a spotless house, all alone. I could sit day and night and it would still be clean. But what would the clean house mean to me?

—Miner's Wife
West Virginia

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and

Contributions

Keep News & Letters

going.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

Who Are the Dope Addicts?

Most physicians have little contact with persons addicted to dope. Those few addicts, who of their own will decide to take the cure or are subjected to it by law, enter special federal institutions.

However, nearly every physician has had individuals come to his office, imitating very accurately the symptoms of someone ill with a disease such as a gallstone or kidney colic, in urgent need of relief from severe pain. Frequently these addicts claim that they are but passing through the city and on their way to their home town and their own doctor. Sometimes they are agents working for the state narcotic bureau seeking to trap the unwary doctor.

THE PHYSICIAN CAN DO LITTLE

There is very little that the physician can do, to cure narcotic addiction. Most addicts return to drugs again and again after the cure.

The question has been raised: Is addiction determined by the chemical action of the drug or the mentality and personality of the individual? It would appear that the drug itself determines addiction since it is found in all races, all classes, and all occupations.

Yet there are many people exposed to the drug who show no interest in it, while others will repeatedly seek the drug.

THE YOUNG ADDICT

In the average normal adolescent certain physiologic drives, pleasures and goals are found. Social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists have become fond of the term "immature personality." They use it to classify those individuals who seem to have developed little ability to meet their own needs. In a study of the young addict, to determine feelings before addiction, it has been found that a deep fear existed that he could not make his way in the world.

There are those who see in this the inheritance of defective minds and bodies, whose course toward addiction was more or less predetermined. Such "scientists" seem to be always with us. But this easy explanation lacks vitality as well as foundation in fact.

In studying the developed drug addict one finds a person who is withdrawn and who has an overwhelming feeling of inadequacy. He has no confidence in his ability to do anything on his own and must rely on others to help obtain what he wants. But these characteristics are not much different from those found in the general non-addict population.

The habit of using drugs frequently begins in adolescence, is maintained generally until the middle 40's, and then dwindles out. These are normally the most active years of one's lifetime. This period covers man's most active sexual years as well as the assumption of responsibility as a mature adult.

There is evidently something faulty about present day living which prevents thousands of young people from becoming normal mature adults. The fears, frustrations and terror of modern life are very real to young minds.

The addict fears and avoids sex. He cannot take the stress now associated with it, and finds relief and satisfaction in the opium compounds.

The addict often shows a complete lack of confidence in his ability to compete successfully. He cannot get satisfaction from the aggression of our civilization and becomes indifferent to the usual values and rewards. Yet he has a great need of proof of success and of recognition.

He reacts to lack of success with a near panic. He comes to live in a world where all his primary needs—hunger, sexual urges, and fear of pain are met by a drug. The drug tolerance assumes the same force as the primary needs. Finally, all thoughts and associations become meaningless to him unless they help him toward this goal.

THE MADNESS OF OUR TIMES

However, all the impulses found in the addict are but exaggerated and intensified reactions of many considered normal.

The low self-esteem; the fear of showing hostility, the withdrawal; the lack of a feeling of security; the absence of gratification from the day's work—all are characteristics increasing among us. To me, this is an indication of an abnormal social existence: one that is frustrating to human beings because it is lacking in human values.

One cannot say that all who become addicts start off as normal individuals, but certain it is that under different conditions of life few people would need to seek relief and escape from living.

Department Store Strike to Break Segregation

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—We broke up some segregation at Murphy's when I worked there some time ago. It only took one day.

They didn't have any colored sales-girls at the time, but they had colored working in the cafeteria. The colored girls and the white girls had separate dressing rooms. It was really one big room, but at one end they had the whites, and at the other the colored. We had a little cubby-hole with a bathroom at our end. It was way up on the third floor.

CAN'T USE WASH-ROOM

It got to the point that if we were downstairs, they didn't want us to use the washroom down there—it was a real nice one—we were supposed to run all the way up to the third floor to our own.

I never did know just what happened, but one morning when we came in the head colored woman stopped us and told us, "You're not going to work today."

STRIKE!

They told us we were on strike. I didn't really know what a strike was, but I knew that you didn't work because of what would happen to you if you did. It

didn't really matter to us, we just joined the rest on the stairs and refused to work. They had about 15 colored girls and some boys.

The white woman in charge kept running out and begging us to work because the dishes were piling up and the white girls couldn't wait on customers and wash dishes at the same time. But the head colored woman just said we wouldn't work unless we could use the washroom downstairs.

They said we couldn't use it, and we said we couldn't work then.

That kept on all morning. They even had the head colored boss to keep running up to tell us it was okay for us to walk up the 3 flights. It was okay for him, because he didn't have to do it. He was a real Uncle Tom—a flunkey—and no one paid any attention to him at all.

WE WON

It kept up until after 1 o'clock. Then they couldn't take it any more. The sinks were stacked up a mile and the white girls were going crazy. Finally the head white woman came out and told us to go to work, we could use the washroom.

She was so mad she didn't know what to do. But we did.

We just put on our uniforms and went to work. We had won our point. They even had to pay us for the time we had spent standing there to win it.

What Kind of People Are These?

DETROIT—After seeing Mrs. Watkins on a TV news program, I wished to see what kind of people would object to being her neighbors. With a friend, I drove to Temple Baptist where they were rumored to be meeting.

Temple Baptist is an immense modern building occupying about half a city block and soaring above the other buildings on Grand River Avenue. It is totally white in appearance and membership. At night, powerful spotlights transform it into a dramatic symbol of white supremacy.

NO INFORMATION

In the spacious lobby, behind the plate glass doors, dozens of kids, just leaving a meeting, gave the place a surprising air of innocence. Finding no information here, we walked around to the side entrance. Here, we saw one of the several auditoriums, the size of a small theater, unused; a huge playroom for younger children; and ramp leading up and down. Here, a janitor would tell us nothing of a meeting.

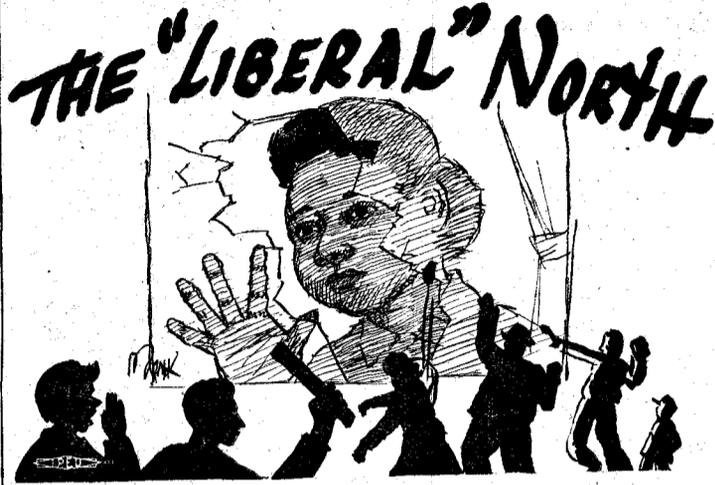
STREET CORNER CLUSTERS

We drove then to Mrs. Watkins' house. Three blocks from it about a dozen white teen-agers were grouped in the street. Then we passed a police-car; then half-a-dozen men on a corner; then other police cars, and more men clustered on corners and in the yards. And on the porches, men, women and children—all white—were talking quietly, waiting for something to happen.

Mrs. Watkins' house was like the others in outward appearance, but for three blocks all around it, white men were ganged up on the corners.

Were they waiting for a general invasion into their almost all-white neighborhood, which had been almost protected by a white God worshipped in the biggest Baptist church in the world?

—Indignant White Man



Police Whitewash Brutality

DETROIT—It has happened again here in Detroit, Mich. Many Negroes hold a firm belief that this city is one of the most prejudiced cities north of the Mason-Dixon line.

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 Commissioner Piggins said that the men were following correct procedure to protect life and property. 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 pretend, but not Detroit, when it involves a Negro.

WHERE'S THE NAACP?

The NAACP was disappointed by the findings but they promise further cooperation with the Com-

missioner to improve community relations.

The NAACP is not outlawed in this State, but they have not moved. They did not mention the last such incident nor the one before.

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 prejudice and discriminatory practices anywhere, when everyone can see it here?

'WHY AFRICA?'

Now that Congressman Diggs, a Negro, and Vice-President Nixon are touring Africa, workers are saying,

"They should start here in Michigan and end it in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida. But they cannot speak from the same platform in those States. Why Africa?"

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

Picnics and Free Beer

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The colored guys got pretty hot about a Union meeting they had a little while ago. The Union brought up a big discussion about spending \$15,000 for a picnic out at Kennywood Park for the whole mill.

That did it! With all the business going on about discrimination out there at Homestead, the Union could discuss a picnic instead.

That was one meeting where the Negroes outnumbered the whites and they voted it down. Usually they're more careful about picking the night for a meeting of that nature. They generally pick a meeting where there's not too many members present—just their clique—and then they can swing whatever they want.

Since the Negroes have started coming to the meetings more, they've also cut out the free beer tickets they used to give away to get you to come to meetings.

I guess if they gave out free tickets, the way things are now, they'd have a little war right out in Homestead. There's a lot more Union discussed in the beer halls than in the Union hall. That's why a lot of guys don't go to the meetings. They get too mad.

—Steelworker.

People Win Their Own Freedom

Taking matters to the Courts is all well and good, but the Courts are pretty slow. A lot of people seem to take a dim view of unorthodox methods of handling situations, like the way the Negroes in the South are handling things. They seem to think every little thing should be taken into the courtroom and left there. Myself, I can't see any sense in making millionaires out of a bunch of lawyers by hiring them to argue every case. I think the kind of force the Negroes down South are using has proven itself a lot more effective.

How effective is a court decision even if something is finally handed down as a decision? One or two cases may be won, and the rest of the situation can remain just the same as it was. But a boycott accomplishes a lot more than settling one or two "cases." The Negroes down South are settling accounts for all of them, once and for all.

—White Student, West Virginia.

"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 that Negro-baiting 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. Negro Reutherites have started to come whispering around Negro workers saying, "There's still some lily-white departments here. Don't work with the 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's been in control for 10 years and a Negro hasn't even been recording secretary of the Local. Now these guys worry about us getting president or vice president from the Rank & File.

It's true what they say about lily-white departments. Why didn't 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, amounts of coal. 1950 through 1955 sees the miners reduced in number from 450,000 to 225,000 men.

UMW VS. WILDCATS

This same period is marked by wildcat strikes on the part of 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 International representatives to break these strikes.

The pattern becomes monotonous. When the men have grievances, they are met with contempt by the operators. Before, the operators feared to have District representatives down on cases. Now, they are the first to call for them. The miners can take but so much abuse. Then they strike to maintain their sense of human integrity 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 continue. 170 during the first six months of 1956. How does Lewis meet this new challenge? Let us look at some facts. Lewis considers the Welfare Fund as his greatest monument, yet the Fund is supplied with money realized 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 pro-

duction, 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 Coal Shipping, Inc. This company was organized in May, 1956. Lewis was its prime mover. It includes such companies as C. H. Sprague & Co.; General Coal Co.; Pittston Co.; Pittsburgh Consol; Island Creek Coal Co.; Norfolk & Western Railroad; Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad; Virginia 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 wheel has made its turn. Lewis is now the labor capitalist.

1955 and 1956 saw the rank and file erupt in wildcats against their union leaders, first in auto and then in coal.

Already these first months of 1957 have seen the rank and file erupt, apparently out of nowhere, in organized opposition, first to challenge the machine of president McDonald of the Steelworkers Union, and right now, sweepingly to challenge the Reuther machine of the United Auto Workers.

With the automation that is increasingly being 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 display toward 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" you can "expect" to have one fatality for each million tons produced. This, they say, is "normal".

Now, what kind of a being, it certainly cannot be human, can say that it is "normal" for a human being to be crushed to death as a "normal" part of the mining industry?

This partnership that the operators have with death may suit them in their drive for higher profits. They don't have to face the conditions the miners does. The operator lives in a world of production figures and profits. The miner lives in a world of human beings.

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EVERYBODY WELCOME

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

The West Indies

The 11 British-controlled islands in the Caribbean Sea, inhabited by 3 million people, have united into a single political unit. It will be known as The West Indies with Trinidad as its capital.

The united bargaining power of political groups in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and the lesser Islands has resulted in a negotiated agreement to establish these Islands as an independent nation, once they have complied with the British-imposed conditions of nationhood.

The leadership of the federation of The West Indies is composed largely of ex-socialist intellectuals. The elder statesman of the group is the tired, ex-socialist, Chief Minister Norman Washington Manley, who has been known in the past for his struggles in Jamaica.

The leader of the Barbados group is Prime Minister Grantley Adams, a man who was a socialist, but who has grown soft through his years in public office.

Dr. Eric Eustice Williams, a relative newcomer in public office, is the leader of the largest political group in Trinidad. He is the most likely candidate for the post of Prime Minister of the new nation.

Williams and the others, who are now busy negotiating with the British, have one thing in common: a distrust of the ability of the masses to determine their own destiny. On the other hand, they have a great confidence in the ability of intellectuals like themselves to establish the new nation "FOR" the masses.

Collectively, these leaders are willing to accept any conditions laid down by the British in exchange for the promise of future nationhood under the Commonwealth.

Soon Her Royal Majesty, Queen Elizabeth will appoint a Governor-General, with full power to veto any measures adopted by the new government, a proposal rejected by the people of Cyprus. In return for this "guarantee" of peace over the next 10 years, the British government promises to spend \$5 million per year

in improvements.

This not only is no more than they are spending now, it is a cheap price, indeed, to pay for the loyalty of the former opposition.

In the long run it will be the wishes and desires of the people of the West Indies which will determine their own destinies.

South Africa

A ZIKWEHLAH ("We Shall Not Ride") is the cry behind the South African bus boycott. Despite the mass arrests of over 8,000 people, the boycott is continuing.

It all started when the bus company of Johannesburg, on New Year's Day, raised the fare one penny. Ever since, the long green buses marked "for colored only" have been going empty while 10,000 Africans walk back and forth to their work.

The police have done everything to harass the Africans. When white car owners stop to give them a lift, the police stop them, check their papers and make life miserable for them, arresting the African riders.

A penny may not seem like much to us, but to Africans, whose wage is £2 10s a week (\$7), it was the straw that broke the camel's back. The white man's law (Apartheid) forces the Africans to live outside of the cities in government regulated compounds. Yet these white cities cannot operate without a big supply of African labor. After he pays his rent and his transportation, the African has about \$14 a month left for food, clothing and the necessities of life for his family.

The British white population is also opposed

to the regime which is composed of die-hard Afrikaners, descendants of the Boers of Dutch ancestry. This British white opposition has reached the end of its power to oppose the oppression.

The laws which have been adopted, beginning with the "Suppression of Communism Acts," laid the basis for accusing any whites sympathetic to Africans of "communism." Subsequent packing of the Supreme Court and the adoption of wide "Treason" acts have also stripped the British whites of their civil rights.

The African is being constantly harassed, persecuted and imprisoned by the vindictive government of the white minority. The new Police Powers Bill permits the police to withhold documents, even when required by the courts to establish the innocence of the accused. It is now a crime for press photographers to photograph the police in the act of committing their brutal attacks.

Boycotts, like this bus boycott, are almost the only method left to the Africans for expressing their opposition. The naked tyranny of the Strijdom regime has taken all civil rights and means of redress away from the majority of the people, driving them closer and closer to the verge of open violent revolt.

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.

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