# UAW's 77% Score Tops U.S. Average by 19%

Despite the supposed anti-labor atmosphere created by exposure of corruption in some unions, and despite the obstructive tactics of the Eisenhower-packed National Labor Relations Board, the UAW last year won 77% of its organizing campaigns in the United States and Canada, Vice President Richard T. Gosser reported today.

This compares to a 58% average for all U.S. unions, according to NLRB figures. And this figure includes UAW results.

Gosser, who heads the UAW competitive shop

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(organizing) department, said the union's victory average was slightly higher than in 1956 and was in line with the results of other recent years.

Offset Shrinkage

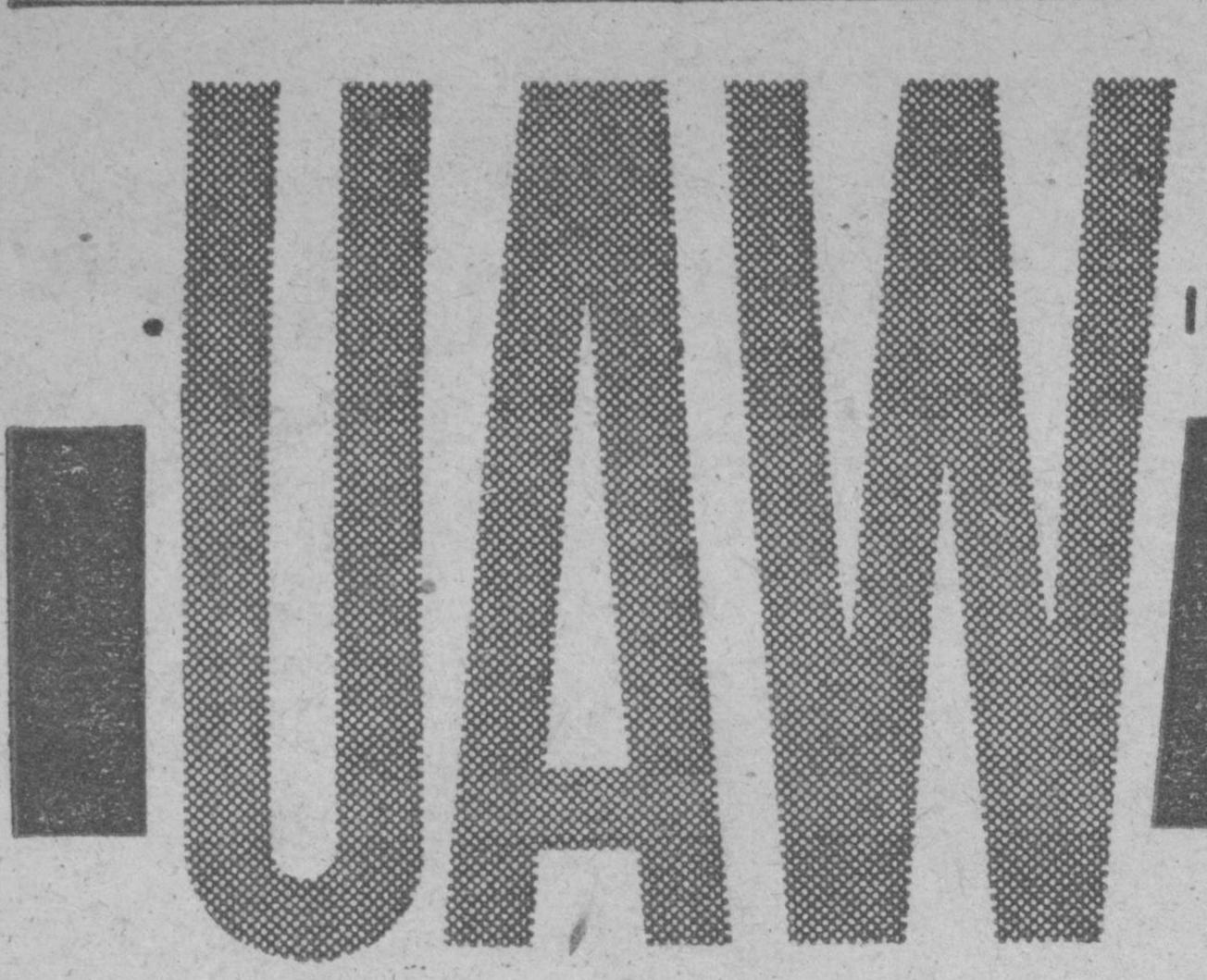
All told, he said, the union took part in 365 elections, winning 273 and losing 82. Some 25,500 workers were involved in the victorious drives at the time they were conducted, but a conservative estimate of the membership increase, due to subsequent expansion, is 45,000, he reported. This is

enough to offset the loss caused by the shrinkas or liquidation of older units.

Gosser said all UAW regions and departmen were involved in the election victories.

"The results are a tribute to the cooperation among the regional, department and organizing staffs," he said. "Also, they represent a vote of confidence in the UAW and its continuing good name among workers in our jurisdiction—a fact in which all UAW members can justly take

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INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

March 10, 1958

market-place. -UAW resolution

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The labor movement

must be eternally

vigilant to guard

against having its

ideals corrupted by

the unethical

standards of the



HANDS UP at skilled trades conference demonstrate how many delegates got into discussions of bargaining policy.

# Six Hours on Summit, All Settled at Chrysler

A six-hour bargaining session in Detroit last week won as session. much as 100% more take-home pay for thousands of Chrysler workers and set the pattern for like treatment of auto workers elsewhere. It established the "40 hours or layoff" program the UAW sought.

Not S Alone, Ford Warned

Picture on Page 8

Non-economic demands for 1958 are a vital part of the UAW's bargaining program even though they have been ignored by Ford Motor Co.'s public statements to date, delegates to the UAW's national Ford council emphasized last

The 160 delegates from 57 Ford locals, representing 145,-000 members, acknowledged that "great progress" has been made since the first agreement in 1941, "but we have a long way to go before attaining full citizenship for our members inside the plants."

The conference also placed heavy stress on the protection of the anti-social, unAmerican, Goldwater and Curtis were workers when plants are closed callous and brutal attitude of trying hard to fill their roles as or production is shifted from this company which has defense attorneys for the comone area to another. It urged fought tooth and nail against special attention to the five- equity for its workers these | Whole Tale Inside point program on this issue last 47 months. which is part of the UAW's 1958 package.

As in previous Big Three conferences the two-part bargaining program was fully endorsed.

UAW President Walter P. Reuther led the union's bargaining team into what was billed as a "summit conference" to resolve the mounting problems of some 70,000 active Chrysler workers.

Heading the corporation's negotiators was L. L. Colbert, Chrysler president—a man obviously able to end what UAW's

Continued on Page 8

CHICAGO — Skilled trades workers will present a united front with production workers at the bargaining-table in 1958, just as in previous years, the UAW's sixth annual skilled trades conference has made clear.

Delegates defeated by more than four to one an attempt to set a fixed sum as a minimum wage demand for skilled workers. Instead, they overwhelmingly endorsed the two - part collective bargaining program adopted

by the union's special convention in January (Solidarity, Jan. 21).

merit spreads, with the current view and revision of apprenticeship programs and elimination categories.

Up to Them

The three-day conference in the Ohio unemployment comthe Morrison Hotel drew more than 1,100 delegates, the biggest pensation bureau from apturnout for any skilled trades posling the puling turnout for any skilled trades pealing the ruling.

In a resolution, the conference pointed out "that the amount procurable under a 'very substantial wage intermination and strength skilled workers are willing to put into another constitutional provision . . . whereby skilled workers have the right to meet separately and to vote democratically on whether or not to accept the company's offer... with the right to strike if dissatisfied."

Vice President Richard T. Continued on Page 8

ion in January (Solidarity, Judge OK's Onio SUB, This includes elimination of Judge OK's Onio SUB, maximum becoming the starting-point for negotiations; a
substantial wage increase; re-

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—The UAW last week hailed a deciof inequities in various skilled sion by an Ohio judge permitting supplementary employment benefits to be paid to jobless workers in that state, and called upon Gov. C. William O'Neill to prevent the administrator of

County Judge Erskine Maiden Indiana SUB

Jr. upheld the contention of UAW and major employers un- CHICAGO — Despite polider UAW contract that SUB tical roadblocks balking SUB could legally be paid along with in Indiana, one small group of unemployment compensation. A UAW members at the Walker contrary view by state officials | Manufacturing Co. plant in has blocked payments since LaPorte, Ind. will receive such June 1956.

are covered by SUB plans; some SUB contract clause negotiated 40,000 of them are now jobless. here last Monday with the auto

"If Judge Maiden's decision is not appealed, an estimated \$5 million in retroactive benefits can be released immediately," the UAW pointed out.

benefits this year — thanks to An estimated 300,000 workers an amendment to an existing parts firm.

The amendment will permit laid-off workers at the La-Porte plant to draw 65% -60% after four weeks — of their take-home pay entirely in SUB payments, according to UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse, director of the union's Walker intra - corporation council. This makes up for the unemployment compensation benefits denied by law to Indiana workers who get SUB.

After a laid-off worker's SUB UC benefits.

"This agreement achieves a states where reactionary politicians have prevented the integration of SUB and UC payments," Greathouse said.

# Kohler Case: Dull, Devastating

WASHINGTON - The Kohler hearings before the McClellan Senate committee droned on monotonously for the most part in their first been building up a record of fit to print.

More and more, company officials and their committee advocates—Senators Goldwater, Curtis and Mundting they could drop the whole subject.

hearings, who were promised Mundt has been hard to find fireworks by the three Senators, ever since Joseph L. Rauh Jr., credit units are exhausted or week but nevertheless have are having to scratch for news UAW counsel challenged him to the SUB fund is depleted \_

UAW President Walter P. Reuther's prepared testimony on the Kohler case will be found on Pages 4-7.

give the appearance of wish- | pany (they had intended to be prosecutors of the union) instead of sitting as impartial and And newsmen covering the objective investigators, but waive his Senatorial immunity whichever occurs first — he so the UAW could sue him for becomes eligible for state-paid

> The committee, press and spectators have heard a series good part of what we are seekof witnesses, both strikers and ing from the Big Three during non-strikers, testify as to acts the coming contract talks to of vandalism against their cars, help UAW members in those homes and other property.

But only one case is in the

Continued on Page 8

# Key Meetings Held By Aircraft Unions

Two major aircraft indus-try chains have been served You're Wright notice UAW members are We're Rong "completely serious" in their demands for security for themselves and their families, it was announced by Leonard Woodcock, UAW vice president and director of the aircraft department.

The stories follow:

LOS ANGELES - UAW and North American Aviation Corp. agreed last week to extend contract talks on a day-to-day basis following expiration of the contract March 5.

The contract extension came after mass meetings held March 2 by Local 887 here and Local 927, Columbus, O., in which solid support was voted by NAA workers to the negotiating team. More than 2,500 attended the Los Angeles gathering, and upwards of 1,000 the Columbus meeting.

Both meetings were held to make complete reports on contract negotiations to the memto take a strike vote "if such action becomes necessary" was adopted by Local 887.

they felt.

Honest, we don't spell 'em "wright" and "rong".

In the 3-5-8 edition's legislative record (Solidarity, Feb. 17) we left out the explanation of what "R" and "W" stand for. We left it out because we were cramped for space—and we thought these few lines could be spared.

Apparently we were — well, "rong". So: Capital "R" means a right vote, "r" a right pair; "W" and "w" mean the opposite; "O" means no record on the issue.

Cost items are the main issues still in dispute, Hurst said. These include a substantial wage increase, continuation of the cost - of - living clause, severance pay, vacation and holiday pay and leadmen's bonus. Most non-eco-

workers in the west coast plant.

NAA negotiations are being held in Los Angeles with the Jack Hurst, Local 887 presi- negotiating committees being dent and president of the NAA assisted by representatives from intra-corporation council stress- the staffs of Leonard Woodcock, ed, "North American manage- UAW vice president and director ment is negotiating," but added of the aircraft department, and it was important for the workers UAW Region 2A Director Ray to let management know how Ross and Region 6. Director Charles Bioletti.

# At Douglas Aircraft

In four separate meetings in widely - separated cities, UAW members voted by overwhelming majority to grant strike authorization "if necessary" to negotiating committees meeting now with Douglas Aircraft Co.

In mass gatherings held March-2, Douglas workers approved strike action by an 87% margin in Long Beach, Calif.; 91% in Tucson, Ariz.; 94% in Tulsa, Okla., and 98% in Charlotte, N. C.

Dale Smith, president of the 1 10,000 member Long Beach local and of the Douglas intra-corporation council, said, "We do not want to negotiate a strike. We want rather to negotiate a peaceful settlement to our problems. The union bargaining committee will continue to approach the negotiating sessions with this in mind."

### They Served Notice

vice president and director of the aircraft department, made the principal speech at the Tulsa, Okla, meeting. With Douglas facing a March 15 contract termination date, the company has yet to make any proposals on major issues in dispute, Woodcock said.

Locals involved include 148. Long Beach, Smith, president; the aircraft department. 1291, Tucson, D. Pacheco, president; 1093. Tulsa, J. F. Randolph, president, and 243, Charlotte, Charles Rogers, president.

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—A Portage township trustee said last week he will push for quick state approval of a request for, from the United States for dis- 300 tons of food was issued in \$80,380 in additional relief funds.

The fund request is needed to bolster the sagging township retions because of the large number of unemployed here.

taking by the South Bend Trib- observers said. Several persons ler has bowed out of the Senareported the program enabled torial campaign in his home When problems of inadequate them to feed their families ade-state. Indiana, to retain his post staff and space cropped up, la- quately for the first time in as Democratic national committee chairman.

solved, it was reported.

Bob Bateman, Local 927 president, reported NAA workers in Columbus took the company that workers are determined to back bership. A motion offered from the floor to give the negotiators authorization to call a meeting bership. A motion offered from the floor to give the negotiators as displayed by their fellow Leonard Woodcock, UAW

Leonard Woodcock, UAW

Leonard Woodcock, UAW

NUCLEAR ROCKET ENGINE studies and research activities are

being conducted under Air Force contract by Rocketdyne, a

division of North American Aviation Corp. Above is an artist's

concept of a nuclear rocket missile theoretically capable of

hundred-fold increases over the payloads of today's missiles.

month campaign which be- aircraft department, from the gan with the opening of the Rocketdyne plant of North American Aviation Co. here has culminated in a smashing victory for UAW, it was announced by Leonard Woodcock, vice president and director of

UAW scored 282 with 139 voting no union in an NLRB electicm held March 4. A total of 451 were eligible to vote. In a separate election on a petition filed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in which UAW intervened, the balloting was seven for UAW, five for IBEW.

Victory in this key election will enable Rocketdyne workers here to join hands with UAW ily growing stream of relief locals in Los Angeles, Calif., and Army and when the company in view of fact negotiations are miles away, to pass out leaflets. now in process with NAA.

> UAW opened its organizing campaign October 1956 and filed an election petition May 1957. The final NLRB hearing was September 1957 with the election following almost six months later.

Participating in the campaign in this rural area.

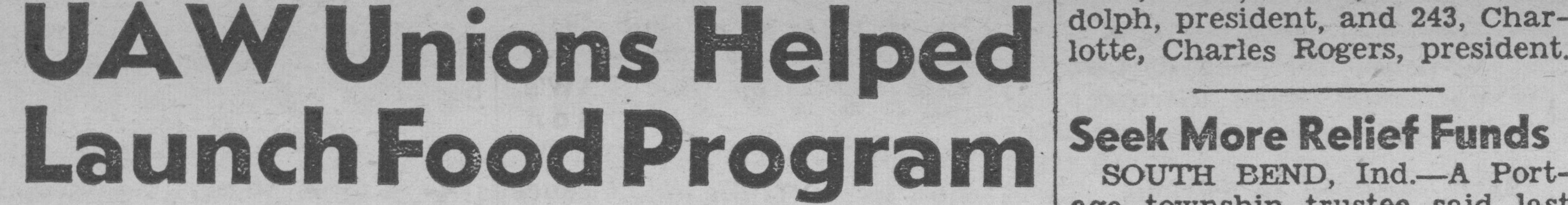
NEOSHO, Mo. — An 18- were representatives from the staff of UAW Region 5 Director Russell Letner, and an AFL-CIO field representative.

The Rocketdyne plant here manufacturers engines for the Thor and Jupiter guided missiles—the same work as at the NAA plant in Canoga, Park. Calif., where workers belong to UAW Local 887.

UAW spokesmen described the drive as a "clean campaign throughout." The company held a few captive audience meetings, wrote some "Dear John" letters and made use of its plant publication but refrained from name-calling and irresponsible anti-union attacks, they said.

The plant is located on the Camp Crowder military reservation formerly occupied by the

Despite the difficulties, reception from the workers was "very good," UAW spokesmen said. Meetings called by the union were attended by more than 200 im spite of bad weather and the long distances over country roads workers were forced to travel



program to obtain surplus food halls. As a result, more than tribution to the state's needy one day at Studebaker union was started by CIO unions in hall to about 900 applicants. St. Joseph county, including

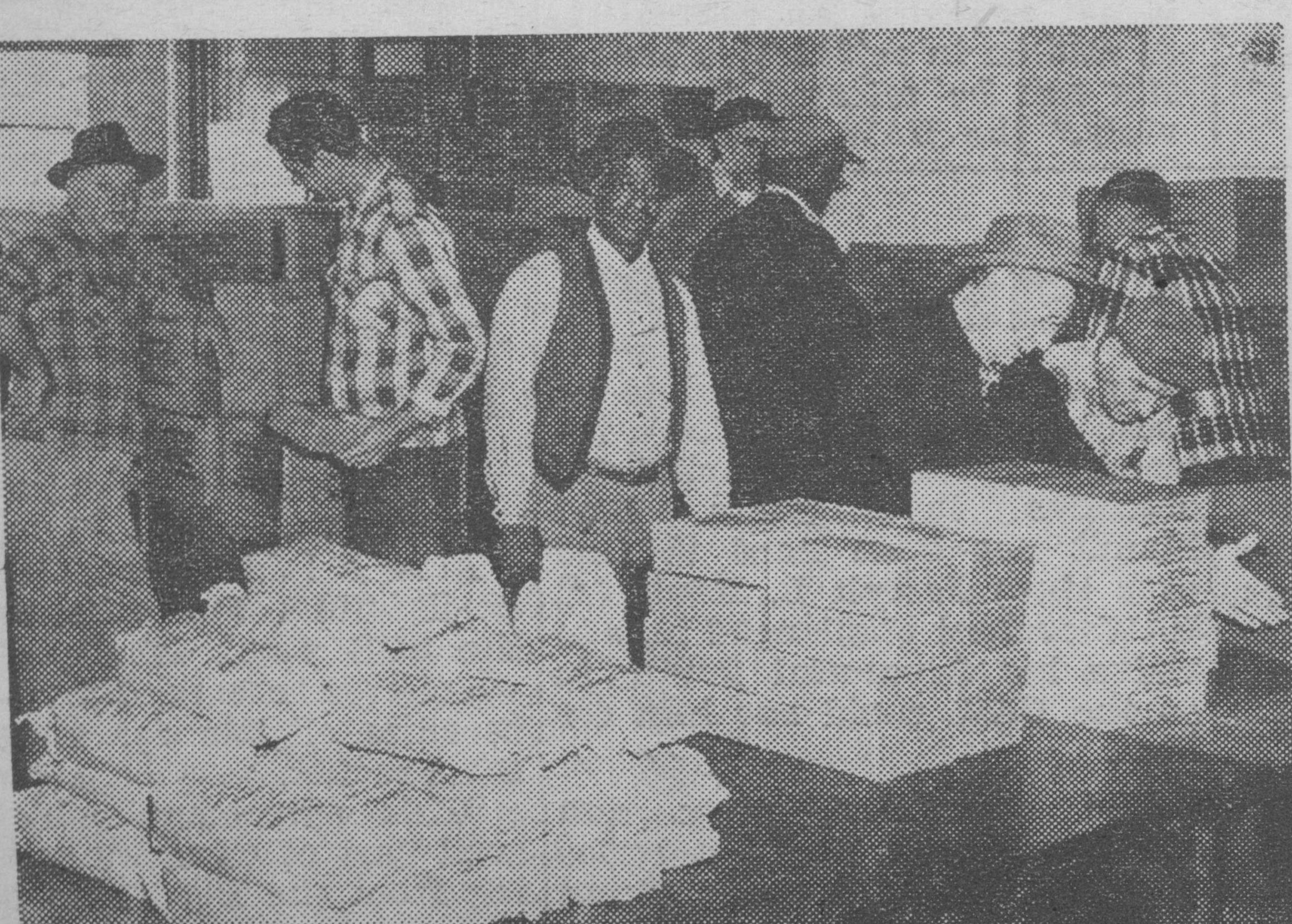
county because of mounting unemployment prompted organized and frozen hamburger. labor to recommend the U.S. The program is being handled

bor unions volunteered addi- many months.

SOUTH BEND, Ind. — The | tional help and the use of local |

The food being distributed several UAW locals, UAW Region 3 Director Ray Berndt said.
Rapid growth of the relief
Rapid growth of the relief load in the 13 townships in the other items are being made to add (South Bend) has the heaviest its principle plants. Election reother items, including butter concentration of relief applica-

surplus commodity agency be with efficiency and fairness, asked to help out, Berndt said. with a card system to avoid de- Butler Won't Run Labor was backed in the under- lays operating smoothly, labor | WASHINGTON-Paul M. But-



BREADLINE for 900 at Studebaker-Packard Local 5's hall in South Bend, Ind. brings back bitter recollections of another national Republican administration in another era. Four truck loads of surplus beans, dried milk, flour, rice and corn meal



were handed out (left) after worried applicants registered (center). Family (right) heads for home trying to smile despite fact some 4,000 in St. Joseph county are out of work and on relief of some sort. The majority, according to Region 5 Director Ray



Berndt, have been idle since December although some have been struggling along without a pay check for more than a year. Indiana's Gov. Harold W. Handley reported there are 143,000 jobless Hoosiers, over 8% of the state workforce.

DELEGATES TO THE Oliver Unions Joint Coordinating Conference in Chicago listen to a talk by UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse, director of the union's agricultural implement department. Conference is made up of UAW, IAM and AIW locals. Only a few of the 25 delegates are shown here.

Give Buck in March

buck for March 30.

INDIANAPOLIS - Save a

UAW Region 3 Director Ray

1958 political action dollar

drive. The campaign will run

DENVER-Colorado's governor

conservative newspapers of the

"I've never been for it and I'm

An editorial in the Rocky

lations have, in the main, re-

so — without the controversies

which this sort of proposal al-

required on a petition before the

issue can be put to a vote at

November's general election.

Some 48,000 signatures will be

INDIANAPOLIS — Reports on

recent developments in the field

for the state.

not for it now."

ways stirs up . . .

through April 26, he said.

# May Strike

CHICAGO—The possibility of strike action against the J. plant, has been reversed by the I. Case Co. loomed large as delegates to the UAW's Case National Labor Relations Board council met here over the weekend.

Strike votes are now being conductd on a plant-by-plant senhower appointees. basis throughout the bitterly anti-union farm implement firm

which is conducting separate \* "negotiations"—so-called—on a local level with six UAW | locals in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Indiana.

"Let's get on with the taking | of these strike votes," Pat Greathouse, UAW Vice President, told | Berndt has announced that | pany in fighting a UAW organ- rector Ray Ross and interna- workers out on the streets while the 25 council delegates, "and | then let's count the votes and call another council meeting to make a final decision to consider possible strike action against this company."

### Lack of Progress

Greathouse is director of the Colo. Governor union's Case department.

Earlier, Leo La Motte, assistant Socks Scab Law director of the department, reviewed the progress—or lack of progress—which the UAW had and one of the more powerful, made in negotiations for a new contract with Case.

for central negotiations for all locals was turned down cold, and the local-by-local talks now going on "are getting us nowhere fast," Lations."

Delegate after delegate re- headed by a professional press ported feeling was running high in the plants because of the agent and three relatively unlack of progress reported from known persons. these "local negotiations." The "I voted against the compulcompany was also denounced sory open shop every time it for attempts to cut work stand- came up in the legislature," Mcards and for its practice of Nichols said. sending openly anti-union letters to individual workers.

## Treading Water

"We agreed to the local talks | Mountain News said the proonly in an effort to get some posal could "equally well be sort of negotiations under way." termed an 'invitation to contro-LaMotte reminded the council, versy' amendment . . . Labor re-"but this compromise didn't mained on a high level in Colomake any difference to the company. They're still treading rado and there is every reason water instead of bargaining in to hope they will continue to do good faith."

The council, which was Harold Ogden, chaired by president of Local 378, Rockford, Ill., voted to meet again March 24 to consider possible strike action.

All six Case locals were represented at the session including Region 3 Meets on FEP 1236, Churubusco, Ind.

# Legislative Conference of fair practices and outlining

FRANKFORT, Ky. - Delegates of a "stepped up" anti-discrimifrom UAW locals throughout nation program for Region 3 Kentucky met here for the bien- | highlighted the bi-monthly | nial UAW legislative conference meeting of the auto council held which included meetings with here in the Severin hotel, it was key state officials and a visit to reported by Region 3 Director Raymond H. Berndt. the legislative chambers.

Among the public officials | Recent progress in civil rights, who met with the group group housing and fair employment was Ed Ralls, director of the was told by William Oliver, co-Kentucky budget department. | director of UAW fair practices |

The project was under the di- committee. The program was the rection of the Region 3 citizen- educational activity of the Febship department representative. ruary meeting of the council.

# Turned Sour

aminer's report accusing the Howard Aero Company of unfair labor practices against members of the United Automobile Workers at its San Antonio, Texas, now completely controlled by Ei-

found the workers at fault, and for 1958 negotiations in the dismissed the complaint against agricultural implement industry the company. The panel consist- and detailed the union's efforts ed of Philip Ray Rodgers, Steph- toward cooperation with various len S. Bean and Joseph A. Jen-| grass-roots farm groups in the kins.

The trial examiner, Arthur E. firing of men for failure to ob- tative for the Illinois area. serve "no smoking" rules actual- Local union officers from ly took place to discourage union | the IAM, two AIW locals from

these contentions and justified the company's actions both in its interrogations of workers and The UAW's original demand | area have come out flat-footed in discharging men for violation against a "right to work" law of the "no-smoking" rule.

president of this Ford local.

# Good Report

WASHINGTON — A trial ex-

activities.

The NLRB panel threw out all

# Gov. Steve McNichols was New Labor Paper

# UAW, IAM, AIWAgree On Demands to Oliver

CHICAGO—The UAW and two other AFL-CIO unions, after an exchange of contract information, have established a minimum set of contract demands with which they will o confront the Oliver Corp. at each of its plants during forthcoming negotiations.

the Oliver Unions Joint Co-ordinating Conference, which Oliver Locals met here over the weekend. sociation of Machinists and the Allied Industrial Workers. The workers.

This coordination of basic demands is similar to the arrangement which has existed IAM in the aircraft industry.

to meet again just prior to the to finalize the demands. This actual opening of contract talks committee is made up of one in the Oliver chain.

gave delegates a complete re- ment department. A three-man panel instead port on the UAW's preparations legislative and economic field.

Among those who partici-Reyman, found that the com- pated were UAW Region 2A Di- problem, with high-seniority as the beginning date for the | ization drive discriminated | tional representatives from Re- | lower-seniority workers in other against certain employees be- gions 3 and 4; Carl Butrner, parts of the plant are working, cause they were members of the York, Pa., IAM district 98 rep- Arnold said. The local is taking union, that its interrogations resentative; Virley E. O'Neal, a strike vote because of manand surveillance of employees Cleveland, IAM district 54 rep- agement's refusal to make adinterfered with their rights of resentative, and John Morgan- justments. self-organization and that the do, IAM grand lodge represen- One Man Killed

> Battle Creek, Mich. and the following UAW locals were also represented; 296, 1095 and 1096. South Bend, Ind.; 884, Springfield, O. and 1315, locals make up the UAW's ber of hazards. Oliver intra-corporation council.

The coordinating conference blunt in his condemnation of INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — A new was formed last year and held Motte said. "Management is the legislation being pushed by labor paper made its appearance its first meeting in Chicago just going through the mo- a shadowy group calling itself, here with the first edition of a last October. Ralph E. Davidson, the Right to Work Committee, four-page, slick-paper publica- UAW Local 296, is president; tion by Local 1111. Editor is Richard Evans, AIW Local 444, Ronald Rogers. Clem Lesinski is vice president and Doug Shoaff various delegates showed that

# The demands were drawn up at the second meeting of Layoffs Beset?

CHICAGO-Contract demands, The conference is made up of layoffs and safety problems occupied the members of the UAW's Oliver council which met three unions represent all Oliver at the Hamilton hotel here immediately following the session co of the Oliver Unions Joint Coordinating Conference (see related story above).

between the UAW and the Delegates voted to have the council's contracts committee The 25 delegates also agreed meet in South Bend on April 12 representative from each of the Vice President Pat Great- five locals, their regional service house, director of the UAW's representatives and staff mem-Oliver intra-corporation council, bers of the agricultural imple-

> Jesse Arnold, president of South Bend Local 1095, which represents workers in Oliver plant no. 1. reported management had permanently closed the plant foundry, resulting in the layoff of 300 workers.

This has created a seniority

Bill Nichols, a council delegate from the same local, reported on a safety problem in the plant.

He said the company has been careless about safety measures despite the local bargaining committee's efforts to call man-Charles City, Ia. These five agement's attention to a num-

One such hazard involved a big crane. Management ignored the union complaint, Nichols said, and later a crane operator was killed in an accident involving the crane the union had complained of.

Reports on unemployment by | Jr., IAM Lodge 1633, secretary. | work at the Springfield plant and at one of the two South Bend plants was fairly steady. that "a little hiring" was being done at the Charles City plant. but that employment was down at plant no. 1 in South Bend.

### Wins Back Pay

Erich Zeeb, Region 2A representative, reported on an arbitration victory at the Springfield plant where a discharged worker was reinstated with a back pay award of more than \$450.

Don Harris, Region 4 representative, acquainted delegates with the successful efforts of the UAW and other unions in Iowa to set up farmer-labor groups to coordinate political action and legislative activities with grass-roots dirt farmers in the state (Solidarity, Feb. 24).

Charles Rutherford, Local 884. Springfield, O., council chairman, presided.

# Migratory Workers Hit By Florida Cold Snap

MIAMI BEACH, Fla. — AFL-CIO President George Meany has expressed sharp criticism of the treatment accorded thousands of migratory farm workers who came to Florida for the harvests and found themselves jobless because of the cold spell.

"I think it would be wise if the business and agricultural interests in Florida would set aside funds during the good years to at least buy bread for these people who are hungry." he told a press conference.



TALKING THINGS OVER at the skilled trades conference held in Chicago were UAW Region 3 Director Ray Berndt (left) and Richard T. Gosser, UAW vice president and director of the skilled trades department.

# What the GOP Senators Didn't Want to Hear

I appreciate very much this opportunity to appear before your committee on the matter of the 2 Kohler strike and boycott.

I, and the other witnesses representing the UAW who are here with me, appear here voluntarily. We have not been subpenaed. We have not been compelled to attend or to testify. In fact, we have, on a number of occasions, requested this opportunity. We shall testify fully and freely without resort to the Fifth Amendment or any other constitutional privilege because we have nothing to hide.

Not only has the UAW cooperated with every request of this committee to the utmost of our ability, but the UAW in advance of the creation of this select committee of the United States Senate urged by executive board action on Jan. 18, 1957 that such a committee be established for the purpose of investigating into corrupt and improper practices in the fields of labor or management. Officers and members of the UAW have been available to your investigators and documents or records have been opened or made available, all in an effort to give your committee the full facts concerning the activities of the UAW.

# The UAW Is a Clean Union

Before I discuss the matters specifically before your committee today, however, I should like to make clear at the outset that the UAW is a clean, democratic, honest and effective trade union.

We do not claim that our union is perfect, for no human institution made up of imperfect human beings can be perfect. We do claim, however, that we learn from our mistakes, that we attempt to correct any errors and that we constantly try to achieve a more perfect union.

Our union, made up of approximately 1,500,000 members in the United States and Canada, consists of more than 1,200 local unions, which are governed by their members and more than 40,000 local union officers ranging from shop stewards and committeemen to local union presidents, all of whom are democratically elected by the membership.

The members of each local union also democratically elect the delegates to the UAW international union conventions, which are held every two years. The more than 3,000 duly elected delegates from the local unions determine the major policies and programs as well as elect the international officers and regional directors who comprise our executive board. Between conventions, the policies of our union are implemented by the UAW international executive board. This international executive board consists of the president, secretarytreasurer and four vice presidents elected from the union as a whole, and 19 members elected as regional directors by the respective geographical regions of the UAW throughout the United States and Canada.

The leadership of the UAW with the full support of the rank and file membership has actively supported the efforts of the AFL-CIO to cleanse from its ranks the corrupt leadership of those who betray the trust of the membership and who would use the labor movement as a source for improper activities and personal gain. Specifically, the leadership of the UAW with the support of the rank and file members gave active leadership and support

# Reuther Statement Stresses Guilt Of Kohler Co. in 45-Month Strike

to the efforts of the executive council of the AFL-CIO to formulate and implement the ethical practices codes which now form the basis of the AFL-CIO's activities in this

### No Graft, No Secrets

The UAW not only gave wholehearted support to the formulation of these ethical codes but what is more important, the UAW has lived by these codes, and we have during the past years rigorously applied them to our own conduct. Every officer of the UAW — from the local level to the international is democratically elected.

Every penny in dues or initiation fees that has ever been collected by the UAW has been spent to advance the interests and welfare of the rank and file membership and has been fully and carefully accounted for in detailed reports made public and mailed to the full membership.

The UAW has never had "paper locals" nor has it ever issued "hunting licenses" to any individual or group.

The UAW has always sought to use every penny negotiated in collective bargaining for welfare fund purposes to purchase the maximum insurance, hospitalization, medical and similar benefits for workers and their families and has never permitted brokers or anyone inside or outside of the union to misuse these funds which belong solely to the workers and their families.

The UAW's constitution bars from local union or international office communists, fascists, crooks or racketeers who would corrupt or subvert the true purposes of a free labor movement.

# No Gifts, No Parties

No UAW officer has conflicting investments in any firm with which our union bargains collectively or purchases materials, supplies or services.

No officer of the UAW has grown rich at the expense of the union or the membership. No officer of the UAW has charged his personal or private purchases or

gifts or entertainment to the union treasury. No officer of the UAW has ever received or accepted expensive or lavish gifts from the international union, its locals or any management source.

The UAW's financial records and books are audited at least twice a year by certified accountants. These detailed outside audits are made public and are available to every UAW member. Three trustees elected by the delegates to the UAW convention also supervise and check the international's financial procedures.

### All First-Class Citizens

Upon learning that the Senate select committee had made a definite decision to hold these hearings, I made a private individual decision to request the staff of your committee to look into my personal financial affairs. On Jan. 27, 1958, wrote Mr. Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel for the Select Senate Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management, requesting that he assign investigators to check into my personal financial affairs, even though at that time, to my knowledge, no one from your committee had made an effort to inquire into my personal financial affairs.

There are no second-class members in the UAW. Every member, regardless of race, color, religion, nationality, sex, ancestry, age, financial status or any other factor, has the right to speak freely at UAW meetings, to seek office (unless barred by our prohibition against communists, crooks and racketeers), to criticize his officers and delegates to international conventions.

Nor does the UAW have any "sweetheart contracts" with employers, nor have we neglected the essential economic interests of its membership.

In short, the UAW not only is in full compliance with the letter of the AFL-CIO's ethical codes, which have been praised by this committee, but its constitutional provisions and actual day-to-day practice are in the best spirit of those codes.

Although the UAW did not need the ethical practices codes—or this committee—to teach us how to be democratic, clean, honest and effective, we were, however, in the forefront of the efforts to bring about the creation of the ethical practices codes in the AFL-CIO and to insure their effective implementation.

Our union has had a long history of vigorous participation by an alert membership in all activities of the union. This is the source of our strength. In hundreds of UAW local unions throughout the nation, hundreds of thousands of rank and file UAW members met the challenge of both corruption and communism in our union. These rank and file members demonstrated their loyalty and devotion to a clean, democratic and dedicated union by standing up to the communists and the racketeers — they out-worked, they outfought, they out-voted the forces of communism and corruption to keep their union clean. It is no easy task to keep a large union free of corruption and free of communist penetration, for the stakes are high and only through eternal vigilance of the rank and file can a union be kept free of these unsavory elements. They are even today maintaining this constant vigilance against the encroachment of these evil forces.

Based upon the recommendation of the UAW leadership, the UAW convention in April 1957, established a public review board.

The public review board, which has constitutional status, is empowered to review, to concur in, to modify or to set aside any decisions of the international executive board or the local unions related to any aggrieved member or subordinate body of the UAW. In addition, the public review board has the obligation to deal with any alleged violations of any AFL-CIO ethical practices codes or any ethical practices codes adopted by the international union. In such cases, the public review board has the right to initiate investigations of its own on any allegations that any officer of the UAW is in violation of any one of the AFL-CIO ethical practices codes or of the constitution of the UAW.

This hearing, we understand, has been called not to discuss the question of corruption or unethical practices engaged in by the UAW or any of its leadership but to review the events and activities as they relate to a legitimate strike which has been in progress in Sheboygan, Wis. for the past 47 months between the UAW and the Kohler Co. This strike of more than 2,000 workers at Kohler is a struggle of American breadwinners to win for themselves and their families both a measure of economic and social justice and a measure of industrial democracy on the job through a voice in establishing wages and working conditions. Kohler workers, by democratic decision, are on strike because their employer has denied them both their economic equity and a voice in determining their conditions of labor.

The UAW, its officers and members are prepared to develop before your committee the full facts in the 47-month Kohler strike. It should be clearly understood, however, that the full story of the Kohler strike, with all of its many ramifications, has been fully explored and reviewed by the National Labor Relations Board. That agency has before it for adjudication the union's charges that the company has violated the National Labor Relations

# 5 Legislative Proposals Offered

Part of UAW President Walter P. Reuther's testimony (presented in these pages in about half its original length) included five specific legislative proposals. They were:

- 1. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley provision which, in the event of a decertification election during a strike, lets scabs vote instead of the strikers they have "replaced". Such action has been urged for years by President Eisenhower and Secretary of Labor Mitchell but has been blocked in Congress by Republicans and southern Democrats.
- 2. A stronger federal law against intimidation and coercion of workers by employers. "Inconceivable as it may be, Kohler's preparation of an arsenal and training a small army in preparation for what was supposed to be peaceful, reasonable, good-faith bargaining was no violation of any federal law."
- 3. Faster handling of NLRB cases, by broadening the injunctive action of the board's general counsel. The law now instructs the general counsel to seek an injunction whenever a union is charged with certain unfair labor practices; it simply permits him to do so when an employer is charged. The "permission" has seldom been used.
- 4. An act forbidding the federal government to contract business with strike-bound companies, especially those which are flouting federal law.
- 5. Stronger measures against the importation strikebreakers. "It is one thing for a strike-bound company to urge its own employes to continue working or to return to work. It is quite another — and more reprehensible — thing for a company to recruit strangers and strikebreakers in an attempt to bust a legal, legitimate strike voted in a democratic manner by the overwhelming majority of its employes."

Act by refusing to bargain, causing and prolonging the strike, and coercing and discriminating against its employes. It also has before it the company's defense that the union and its members have engaged in conduct justifying the company's action. In the course of a hearing lasting more than two years, hundreds of witnesses subject to crossexamination gave testimony making up a record of more than 20,000 pages, with another 13,000 pages of exhibits. Thus a full and public record of the conduct of the parties in the Kohler strike has already been made before a properly constituted governmental tribunal.

### NLRB Report

NLRB Trial Examiner George A. Downing, who conducted the extensive hearings in this case, issued his findings and "interim decision" on Oct. 10, 1957. This report was a vindication of the union's position and, most importantly, established that the union began its strike in support of legitimate economic demands and that the Kohler Co., in violation of its legal obligations, prolonged the strike from June 1, 1954 through the present by its continuing refusal to bargain in good faith.

The NLRB examiner's report declared:

"... what the evidence showed was that the futility was due to respondent's (the Kohler Co.) deliberate contriving; that respondent was bargaining not to reach but to avoid agreement; that it was seeking the union's complete capitulation, not simply for a normal contract term, but that pursuant to its announced intention 'to teach the union a lesson' (for having called the strike), it envisioned a settlement which would bring the company 20 years of labor peace, as had the 1934 strike. Thus, as charged by the union at one point during the September meetings, respondent was seeking to bargain for posterity, not for the terms of a contract. Instead of bargaining in good faith with intent to reach an agreement, respondent was intent on penalizing the union for having started the strike; and the penalty was not to be simple capitulation on contract terms but the reduction of the union to impotency as an effective bargaining representative of their employes."

This finding of the trial examiner, which constitutes under NLRB procedures a recommendation to the full board, is presently before that full board for its decision. The decision of the full NLRB should be forthcoming within the next several months and, of course, it in turn will be subject to review by the federal courts.



Herbert V. Kohler . . . 'He just tromps on us out of habit."

# NLRB Report, Magazine Article Confirm Charges Against Kohler

We believe that the greatest care should be exercised by this committee so that whatever investigation it undertakes in this area will not in any way interfere with or jeopardize a fair and impartial review by the properly constituted governmental agency of the rights of all parties to the Kohler dispute. These rights at present rest in the hands of the quasi-judicial tribunal designated by law as most properly qualified to judge them. We think it vital to a fair and just administration of the law that this tribunal be permited to discharge its duty in a wholly impartial atmosphere. Thus, without questioning this committee's power to investigate improper activities in labor-management relations, we strongly urge that this commitee respect a proper allocation of governmental functions and not interfere with the process of the law by seeking to prejudge the pending Kohler case or otherwise to invade, under the cloak of investigation, the area of adjudication.

The UAW has been for more than two decades the successful partner with thousands of employers in the consummation of legal, voluntarily and democratically arrived-at agreements that cover wages and working conditions. Yet never in our long experience have we encountered an employer so possessed of fear and prejudice against human beings who seek to assert their inherent rights and the enjoyment of human dignity as the Kohler Co.

As was noted in Life magazine just a few months ago:

"For many years the Kohlers, in running their family business, have been sedulous practitioners of old fashioned paternalism or father-knows-bestism.

"When the grandfathers of Sheboygan came to America, they brought with them the memory of the landlord-peasant relationship they had known in Germany. They had rebelled against this relationship in its harshest forms, but they were not unwilling to accept it in a watered-down version. At the Kohler Co., they slipped into it easily and a long time passed before they began to think there was anything uncomfortable or undignified about it."

The Kohler strike is about people. It is about the more than 2,000 Kohler workers who resolved democratically to throw off the yoke of industrial feudalism so that they too could enjoy the rights, the freedom and the dignity at their work-place enjoyed by millions of other work-

The men and women of Local 833 have served notice on the Kohler Co. that it is not living in the Middle Ages, in some remote corner of the world far from the mainstream of life.

The striking members of Local 833 are free men and women with God-given dignity, with rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of Amer-

And no man, even if burdened with the kindliest of intention, as is transparently not the case here, has a legal or moral right to set himself above the laws of society, the laws of elemental human decency, in his attempt to dictate to workers what he thinks is best for them. As one striking Kohler worker was reported by Life magazine as saying: "Nobody says Herb is a bad-hearted man. He's not mean. He just tromps on us out of habit."

To outline all the pertinent information before this committee would require many weeks and even

months of testimony by hundreds of persons who are familiar with the details of the dispute. This is evident from the fact that the hearings before the labor board on this very case consumed over two years, filling more than 20,000 pages of testi-

It may be difficult to understand the real basis of the dispute and all the events that have occurred since the UAW became the democratically-chosen and legally-certified bargaining agent for Kohler workers, because it is extraordinarily com-

In reviewing the facts in this dispute, it is of utmost importance that your committee does not get lost in a forest of detail and lose sight of the basic issues involved in the strike. It is absolutely essential to fully understand the Kohler strike to keep in mind one central uncomplicated fact — that the Kohler Co. forced this strike, has prolonged it and has no genuine desire to settle it. The company's purpose during the 47 months of the Kohler strike has been to break the strike and to destroy the local union at the Kohler plant.

As we have stated earlier, the UAW does not claim perfection. We do insist, however, that in the Kohler situation the UAW made every possible effort to avoid the strike before it started and we have made every effort to settle the strike short of total capitulation.

This has been a long, bitter and costly strike, and it is important that your committee not only review isolated incidents which may have taken place during the 45 months, but of greater importance to attempt to understand where the prime moral responsibility rests for the strike having started and for its continuation. Your committee and the public should attempt to consider whether it was the Kohler Co. or the Kohler workers and their union who failed to conduct themselves in accordance with accepted standards of morality and who failed to carry out their economic and social obligations associated with free collective bargaining.

### Record Proves Case

We believe that an objective and impartial review of the facts will demonstrate beyond challenge that the Kohler management was responsible for the strike taking place and for its continuation.

Again we wish to emphasize that there has been such an objective and impartial review of the facts by the NLRB trial examiner and that he came to this same conclusion.

The facts will show that the Kohler management refused to negotiate in good faith, refused to mediate and refused every offer of arbitration. If, as charged by Mr. Kohler in his speeches and by the propaganda of the Kohler Co., the union had made unreasonable and unsound demands upon the company of a character that justified the kind of resistance reflected in a 45-month strike, then why was the corporation unwilling at any time to submit the merits of its contention to an impartial board of arbitration as the union was prepared to do?

The tragedy of this situation in a real sense lies in the fact, as Life magazine so well pointed out in its article, that one man, Mr. Herbert V. Kohler, who exercises absolute control over this company, seems to be completely obsessed with the belief that he, almost single-handedly, is defending what he considers to be the vanishing frontier of individual freedom. He is so completely obsessed that he has rejected every reasonable offer to terminate the strike as he fanatically defends a system of industrial feudalism completely out of touch with the realities of modern labor-management

policies and relations.

No one challenges Mr. Kohler's right to this kind of personal philosophy, but when this antiquated point of view is translated into labor-management policies, it spells trouble at the bargaining table. Working in the framework of this policy, the Kohler Co. has never sought a settlement of the strike. From the very beginning, the Kohler Co. has wanted to break the strike as a first step in destroying the local union of Kohler workers. The trial examiner of the NLRB has found that the Kohler Co. has not accepted either the letter or the spirit of the law of our land which requires good faith in collective bargaining with the union democratically chosen by the workers.

### First Strike Vote

Following the certification of the UAW as the democratically-chosen, legally-certified bargaining agency for the Kohler workers, the UAW negotiated its first contract with the Kohler Co. This contract, while it reflected improvements for Kohler workers, nevertheless was substandard both as to wages and other economic matters and especially with respect to grievance machinery, pensions, and matters relating to working conditions, when com-

(Continued on page 6)



'The UAW has carried on a legal consumer boycott against Kohler . . .

pared to the standards enjoyed by other workers in the same industry. The UAW recommended that the Kohler workers accept this agreement despite its deficiencies because we hoped that during the life of this first agreement we could begin to build a new and constructive relationship between the company and the union, so that when the next contract was up for negotiations we could bargain in a more constructive

atmosphere. Unfortunately, while the union was striving for this needed improvement in labor-management relations, the company was preparing for war. The initial contract did not provide for a cost-of-living escalator clause or an annual wage adjustment, but it did provide for a quarterly wage-reopener with the right to strike. The Kohler workers' request for wage adjustments that would provide them comparable equity with what other industries were doing in that period was refused by the company. The Kohler workers, by democratic decision and secret ballot, voted on July 25, 1953 by more than 90% to request the international union to authorize a strike in order to secure equity under the wage-reopener.

The international union, with great difficulty and, as the public record will show, in the face of sharp criticism on the part of many Kohler workers, refused to authorize a strike and made the plea to the Kohler workers to exercise continued patience in furthering the effort of the union to improve the relationship with the company in the hope that in the coming bargaining session for a new contract, justice could be secured without the need for strike

action. An objective and impartial review of the facts will lead any fair-minded person to the conclusion, as it did the trial examiner for the NLRB, that the Kohler Co. must of necessity assume the moral responsibility for this long, bitter and costly strike.

# The Kohler Co. Has Rejected Any Settlement

1. The facts are that during the period of the first contract, while the union was striving to help build a new, constructive and peaceful labor-management relationship, the company was in fact preparing for war and had secretly purchased and illegally placed in the plant a sizeable arsenal of weapons, including 12-gauge shotguns, hundreds of rounds of ammunition, gas guns with both short and long range tear gas shells. In addition they had acquired 300 cots, blankets, food and provisions and had cut down to "billy" size, a quantity of clubs left over from the 1934 strike. The company also had ready for installation gun emplacement towers with intricate lighting equipment.

The earliest possible date under the contract for the company to serve notice of contract termination would normally have been Dec. 31, 1953. The Kohler Co., however, jumped the gun and on Dec. 12, 1953, served notice, terminating the contract effective March 1, 1954, which subsequent events showed was the company's declaration of war, for which it had been prepar-

2. The facts are that the union, in an effort to avoid a strike, proposed the extension of the contract beyond the terminal date which the company had imposed, sc that negotiations could continue, but the company refused to extend the contract even for one day.

3. The facts are that in a further effort to avoid a strike the union, upon the contract's termination, requested the Kohler workers to continue to work without a contract,

# 15 Basic Facts Tell Whole Tale Of Kohler's Insistence on Strike

hoping that through continued negotiations we could reach a settlement

and avoid a strike. 4. The facts are that during the five-week period when the Kohler resolve the issues in this strike. workers worked without a contract and the union was making every effort to avoid a strike, the company stepped up and made more obvious its preparations for war, and under the guise of a civilian defense program actually armed and mobilized a private army, trained with the use of modern weapons, including machine guns, as revealed in sworn testimony before the National Labor Relations Board irial exam-

5. The facts are that the company refused to negotiate in good faith and that the company went through the bargaining motions not to bargain an agreement but "to avoid an agreement," knowing that ultimately, refusal to agree would force a strike.

6. The facts are that a strike was called on April 5, 1954 after months of fruitless negotiations and extreme provocation, and only after Mr. Herbert V. Kohler had refused to bargain further, stating in a letter to Local 833: "There is no point in further negotiations."

7. The facts are that the strike was called only after a membership meeting attended by more than 2,-000 Kohler workers on March 14, 1954 voted to reject the company's final offer, in a democratic secret ballot vote in accordance with the constitution of the UAW, and by a vote of 88.1% requested strike authorization from the international

8. The facts are that in advance of the strike the union notified the company by letter, setting a strike deadline and at the same time offering to sit down with the company and work out an orderly procedure by which necessary maintenance personnel and other personnel essential to the protection of the safety of the plant could be made available during the period of the strike. This sensible arrangement, which has been followed in hundreds of other disputes throughout American industry, was rejected by the Kohler management, who continued its program of provocation and the mobilizing of its private army, including the actual erection of gun emplacement watchtowers with newly-installed, intricate telephone systems, high-powered searchlights and numerous barricades at strategic points.

It was in this climate that the strike began and the Kohler workers took their place on the picket line, feeling that there was some safety in numbers, because they remembered that in 1934 the company broke the strike by the use of armored trucks, tear gas and guns, which took the lives of two workers and injured 47.

9. The facts are that after the strike began the company continued to refuse to bargain in good faith; as the National Labor Relations Board examiner found, the company "was bargaining not to reach but to avoid agreement."

10. The facts are that the company rejected every effort at arbi- strike. tration, including the proposal made by the then governor of Wisconsin, Mr. Walter Kohler, a nephew of Herbert V. Kohler, company presi-

11. The facts are that the union on several occasions proposed arbitration, including that the arbitrator be selected by President Eisenhower or Secretary of Labor James Mitchell and that the union was willing to be bound by the arbitration award.

12. The facts are that Mr. Her-

bert V. Kohler has repeatedly refused and continues to refuse to meet his moral obligations to sit at the bargaining table in an effort to

13. The facts are that Mr. Herbert V. Kohler, while refusing to spend one minute at the bargaining table, has, during the 47 months of this strike, been engaged in a campaign of vilification and misrepresentation against the UAW, the democratically-chosen and legally-certified bargaining agent of Kohler workers.

14 The facts are that when the union had compromised its wage demand by a successive scaling down of its proposals, the company, fearful that further compromise on the part of the union might make a settlement unavoidable, in pursuance of its policy of "bargaining not to reach but to avoid agreement" summarily and arbitrarily discharged 90 strikers on March 1, 1955, who comprised almost the total leadership of Local Union 833, including the officers, all members of the union's executive board, all members of the bargaining committee, all members but one of the local strike committee and five of the six chief stewards. This mass discharge of the total leadership of the local union was to guarantee that a settlement would be impossible and that the strike would continue.

15. The facts are that every time it appeared that the issues in dispute were being narrowed and that a settlement might be possible, the company always took drastic action to widen the breach and to further complicate the possibilities of settlement. A good example of this, in addition to the discharge of the 90 leaders of the local union, is the company's refusal to this date to re-employ strikers upon the settlement of the strike, including workers with from 25 to 38 years of service with the Kohler Co., as recommended in the findings of the National Labor Relations Board trial examiner.

### Wide Public Support

Both as president of the UAW and as a person, I have weighed the matters and the issues involved in the Kohler strike with great care; I have searched my own conscience and I have consulted with many people in the labor movement, in the religious world and in public life, and I have asked them what they would do if they were in my posi-

I have found no person who, knowing the facts, felt that our union ought to surrender in the face of the immorality of this company, which is in desiance of the law and which is responsible for the hardship resulting from this strike.

These many people in labor, religion and public life with whom l have shared this problem have all fortified our determination to carry on this strike despite its difficulties, because to do otherwise would be an act of surrender in the face of our moral obligations to the men, women and children of Kohler families who have been forced to suffer the hardships of this prolonged

To surrender would be to appease immorality and irresponsibility which would further encourage these tendencies in the field of labormanagement relations.

As stated earlier, and which I now wish to emphasize, it is absolutely essential to a full understanding of the Kohler strike to understand one central, uncomplicated fact: The Kohler Co. forced this strike, has prolonged it, and has no genuine desire to settle it.

In any discussion of the details

related to the Kohler strike, it is imperative to keep constantly in mind the findings of the National Labor Relations Board trial examiner that the company was bargaining "not to reach but to avoid agreement, that it was seeking the union's complete capitulation."

Once this central theme is accepted—and it is a fact—the whole pattern of this dispute becomes obvious. There is visible a transparent design on the part of the Kohler Co. management to destroy Local 833 of the UAW. It is apparent in every act, every public statement, every expressed attitude on the part of the few persons responsible for what passes as a "labor relations policy" at the Kohler Co.

# Violence And Vandalism

I shall not attempt at this point but shall leave to other witnesses the documentation of the Kohler Co.'s 60-year record of utter contempt for the human and property rights of its employes, its complete and reckless disregard for simple human decency and the public welfare, its unlawful conduct of its labor relations and its cold and deliberate provocation and incitement of its employes to bitter resentment and, in a few instances, emotional reactions.

I cannot let pass, however, the company's allegations that violence, vandalism and illegal activity have been encouraged or condoned by the UAW.

It would be foolish to deny that there has been violence and vandalism in this dispute. The facts show there have been some unfortunate incidents committed by individuals on both sides.

In view of the long history of violence and provocations by this arrogant company, both at the bargaining table and outside the plant, it is a tribute to the self-control of the Kohler workers and their families, as well as a minor miracle, that the number of serious incidents in this bitter and emotional dispute have been so few.

# UAW Firmly Committed To Policy Of Non-Violence

The UAW has been firmly committed to a policy of non-violence. The UAW, its leadership and its membership have been the victims of extreme violence in the early days of organization when we first sought recognition and the exercise of our legal right to bargain with employers in the industries organized by our union. Almost every major corporation, as the LaFollette committee report so vividly reflects, employed labor spies and many hired underworld strong-armed squads to intimidate, coerce and victimize by physical violence their employes and people actively engaged in trying to encourage workers to self-organiza-

No one is more conscious of the futility of violence than I, because I and members of my family, and other leaders of the UAW, have on numerous occasions been the victims of brutal and unprovoked violence.

In 1937 I was among a group of union people brutally beaten by Harry Bennett's strong-arm service men on the overpass on Gate No. 4 at the River Rouge Ford plant. Later that year, my office was bombed and, still later that same year, a sound truck of Local Union 174, of which I was president, was blown up.

### Assassination Attempts

In 1938 armed thugs hired by the

Ford Motor Co. invaded my home, violently assaulted me, threatened my life and attempted to kidnap me. Only the fact that a large number of friends had come to visit me a short time earlier, unknown to the thugs, prevented them from carrying out their attempted kidnapping and their boast, as they put it, to take me for my last ride and dump me at the bottom of the Detroit River encased in cement.

In 1948 I was the victim of an attempted assassination — shot through the window of my home. In 1949 my youngest brother, Victor, also was the victim of an attempted assassination. He, too, was shot through the window of his home and was seriously injured, causing the complete loss of his right eye.

These acts of violence are sad and tragic chapters in the life of my family, and similar acts of violence against other leaders of our union serve as a constant reminder of the futility of violence and have strengthened our firm belief in the UAW's policy of non-violence.

The UAW, as we have stated, is not perfect, for no organization made up of imperfect human beings can hope to achieve perfection. UAW members are subject to the same human frailities as are other people and, in a few isolated situations, have been swayed into ill-considered action under circumstances of extreme provocation and emotional tension.

While UAW members in a few situations have acted contrary to the official non-violence policy of the UAW, in the overwhelming majority of situations, UAW members have been the victims, not the perpetrators, of violence.

This has been the case in the Kohler strike.

In the Kohler strike, as in other strikes, the UAW has made a consistent and sincere effort to discourage any acts of violence or vandalism. We have repeatedly warned strikers that such acts would only hurt their cause, since violence and vandalism settle none of the problems in a strike; they only create additional problems.

To implement this policy, the union has taken the following steps during this long dispute with the Kohler Co.:

- 1. Statements by international officers condemning and disavowing violence and vandalism.
- 2. Statements by local union officers condemning and disavowing violence and vandalism.
- 3. Posting of rewards for the apprehension and conviction of those guilty of violence and vandalism.
- 4. Issuance of mimeographed instructions to all strikers on peaceful conduct and full compliance with the law.
- 5. Official statements made by responsible union officials over radio and in the newspapers urging full compliance with the law.
- 6. Compliance and cooperation with all law enforcement agencies at all times.

The union is submitting a fully-documented exhibit which sets forth the specific efforts of the union to implement its policy of non-violence.

Any impartial and objective study of all the incidents of violence in the Kohler strike will lead to the conclusion that most of these incidents were the inevitable by-product of the company's acts of extreme provocation, the intense hatred generated by the company's continuous and vicious campaign of anti-union propaganda and its historic pattern of using armed force as an instrument of labor policy to crush past strikes.

# Legal Consumer Boycott

When it became clear that the Kohler Co. was bent on breaking the strike in its efforts to destroy UAW Local 833 as the bargaining agent for Kohler workers, there was no alternative for the union but to take its case to the public.

From the start the UAW's consumer boycott was public and open. We made no attempt to conceal our boycott of Kohler products. In fact, we gave it maximum publicity.

In short, the UAW has carried on a legal consumer boycott against the Kohler Co. If the boycott had been an illegal secondary boycott, Kohler could have so charged the union before the National Labor Relations Board and filed a civil suit for damages, since an illegal secondary boycott would have been a violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. To this date, the company has made no such charge because they recognize that the union is acting in full compliance with the law and, in fact, merely exercising its constitutional right of free speech.

Attempts to Settle Strike Rejected

The union has tried in every way it could to settle this dispute honorably for both sides. Outside interests have attempted to help end the strike through the democratic processes of mediation and arbitration. In each of these instances the union has agreed to cooperate with outside arbitrators, and in each case the company has refused.

The mayor of Sheboygan tried to settle the dispute. The union agreed.

The company refused.

The common council of Sheboy-

gan attempted to mediate the dispute. The union agreed. The company refused.

The governor of Wisconsin, the nephew of Herbert V. Kohler, offered his good offices in an attempt to settle the strike. The union agreed. The company refused.

State and federal judges in Wisconsin have tried to mediate the dispute. The union agreed. The company refused.

The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board has tried to mediate the dispute. The union agreed. The company refused.

A subcommittee of the United States Senate has tried. The union agreed. The company refused.

Prominent clergymen of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths have offered to help mediate the dispute. The union in each case agreed. The company in each case refused.

The union suggested that the Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, appoint an impartial arbitrator. The company refused.

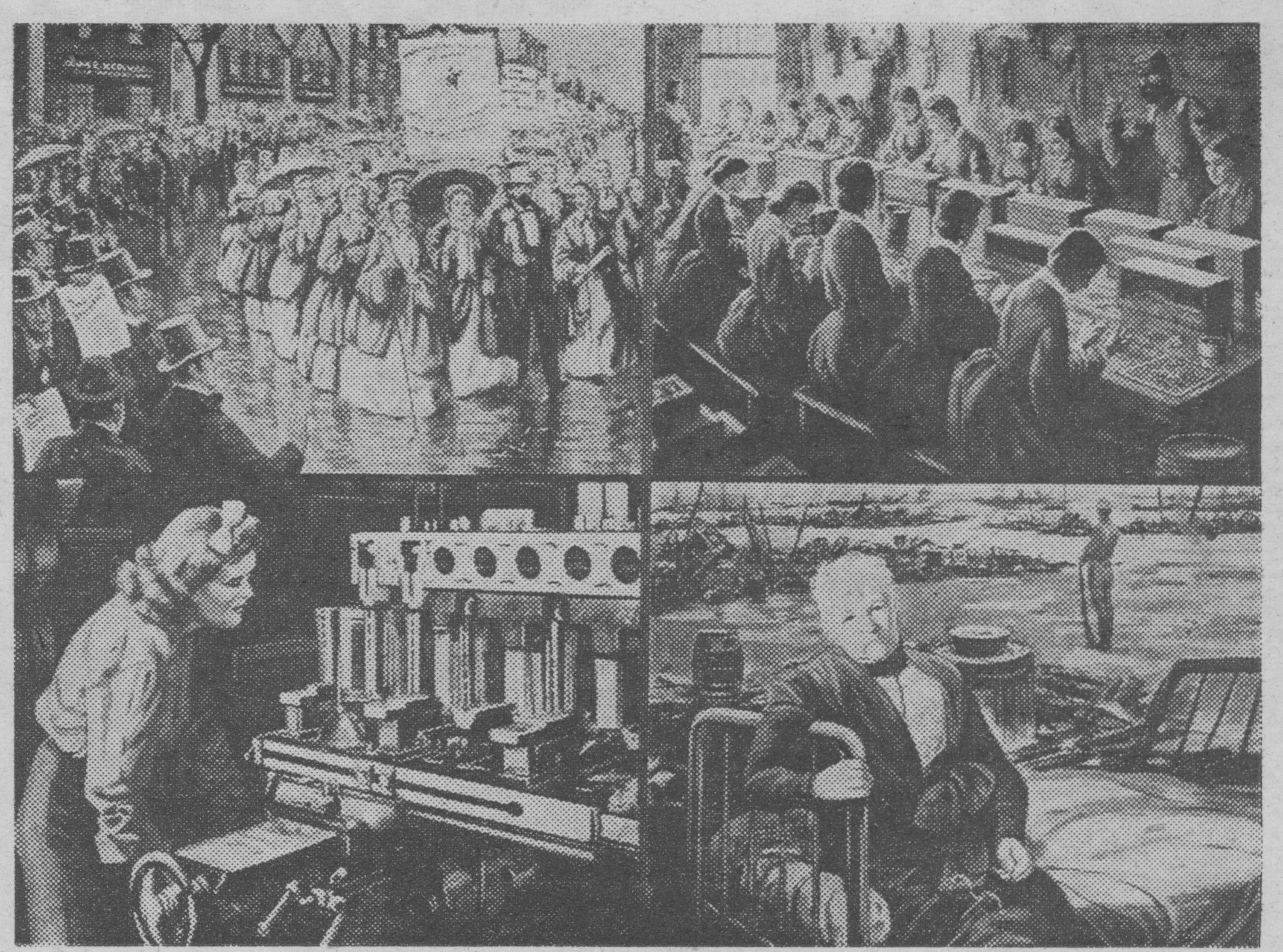
The union suggested that President Eisenhower appoint an impartial arbitrator to settle the strike. The company refused.

The union has proposed acceptance of the recommendation of the National Labor Relations Board examiner as the basis for settling this strike. The company has refused.

Representatives of every segment of American society have tried to settle the dispute. Each and all of these attempts, made by these public-spirited citizens, have been welcomed by the union. And each and all of these attempts have been flatly rejected by this arrogant company.

# Conclusion

The Kohler Co. does not want to settle this strike. It does not want to deal with a union chosen-democratically and legally-certified as the collective bargaining agent of



# Labor History in Pictures—13

WOMEN have been active in labor's fight for fair play and justice on the job almost from the time the factory system started in the U.S.

In 1840, about 800 women operators and shoe binders took part in the shoemakers' strike at Lynn, Mass., for better wages and working conditions (upper left).

The women shoe workers were among the most poorly paid. Some got as little as 8c or 9c a day. A few earned as much as 50c.

They had organized their own union in 1833—calling it a "Female Society" for protection and promotion of women workers—when Lynn employers tried cutting their wages in 1833. They kept the bosses from slashing the rates.

When the Civil War began, women quickly went to work in the war plants. Among their jobs was filling cartridges at the U.S. Arsenal at Watertown, Mass. (upper right).

By World War II, women bore a heavy brunt of war plant work. They handled jobs in aircraft, shipbuilding, machine tool, chemical, ammunition and other industries. Rosie the Riveter had her counterpart on jobs from assembly to inspection in factory after factory (lower left).

Because women work out of sheer necessity to earn income, they now are a vital part of most industries. More than 150,000 women are UAW members alone. Many are active in their unions, both as members and in leadership.

One who took an active part in the noted miners' strike at Ludlow, Colo., in 1914 was the woman known as Mother Jones (lower right). There, workers on strike faced the owner's determination to have an open shop. The owner was John D. Rockefeller, once called "the richest man in the world."

Rockefeller brought in scabs to do the work of the strikers. They were protected by the militia. Most of these troops were company men sworn in as soldiers.

They opened fire when they were unable to arrest two strikers. The machine guns sprayed a steady hail of bullets through the colony of tents A boy died, shot in the head trying to save his kitten. Another was killed carrying water to his dying mother.

The strike leader was machine-gunned as he attempted to lead women and children to safety. The women and children died with him.

At night the militia set fire to the tents with oil-soaked torches. They stuffed barbed wire down the well furnishing the strikers' only water. In the morning the dead were counted—two men and 11 boys machinegunned, 13 women and children suffocated beneath the burning tents.

Of the open shop, John D. Rockefeller said after Ludlow that he preferred to spend every penny he had rather than deny workers their right to not belong to a union. It was a philosophy still voiced by "right to work" advocates today.

Kohler workers. It wants only to destroy Local 833 as the Kohler workers' bargaining agency. It has been found guilty, through due process, of repeated violations of the laws of the land. It has clearly indicated its total indifference to the orderly processes of industrial democracy. It has further shown its utter contempt for the rules of decent behavior. It has been unconcerned with the harm this dispute has visited, not just on the Kohler workers and their families, but on the communities involved. It has been contemptuous of those from whatever area of America who have tried to bring about an honorable settlement. The Kohler Co. has, in short, operated outside the realm of decent behavior, and must, therefore, accept the moral responsibility for this strike — for its beginning and for its continuation.

Kohler strikers, the men and women who make up the member-ship of UAW Local 833, began their strike against the Kohler Co. in an effort to win a measure of economic security and improved working con-

ditions which other employers have extended to their employes through the process of free collective bargaining.

The illegal and immoral actions of the Kohler Co. have compelled the Kohler workers to continue the strike for 47 long months. They are no longer striking to win higher wages and better working conditions. Kohler workers are striking to preserve their most sacred property rights — their job rights through re-employment, which to date the company has refused, despite the findings of the trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board. The overwhelming evidence in this strike clearly puts the strikers on the side of justice, morality and human decency, and they are resolved to continue this struggle until the Kohler Co. accepts the letter and the spirit of the law of our land.

To this end, the UAW is pledged to continue to give Kohler workers every possible support within our means.



BIG SIGN is backdrop for (standing) George Campbell, assistant director of UAW skilled trades department: Harry Knapp, Local 923, Los Angeles; Robert Brown, Local 10, Atlanta; Region 1A Co-director Joseph McCusker: (seated) Paul Selvidge, Local 599, Flint, Mich.; Howard Milton, Local 1064, Toledo, O.; Nick Macunovich, Local 600, Detroit: Dick Dombrowski, Local 501, Buffalo, N.Y. and, at right, Vice President Richard T. Gosser. In photo at right, Vice President Leonard Woodcock, Gosser and Walter Madrzykowski, the latter's administrative assistant, give the hot news to Bob Lewin of the Chicago Daily News.

# Skilled Trades

Continued from Page 1

Gosser, director of the union's skilled trades department asked the delegates before they voted, "Did the skilled workers travel alone to get where they are today?" He pointed out that craft unions had never been able to organize in mass production industries until the UAW had united the production and skilled workers.

### UAW Sets Pace

ser, referring to the \$3.25 men- the hands of its people." tioned in the minimum proposal, "regardless of what it may be, ing aware of the "basic eco- ver co-director of the fair is not the answer.

framework of an industrial union, and all working together in the bonds of common brotherhood.

"I think here today we should prove ourselves with no reservaof accepting this resolution."

He urged the delegates to "go out of here fighting side-by-side negotiations."

Earlier, Vice President Leonard Woodcock told the conference there was a concerted campaign against the UAW being carried on before the Mc-Clellan committee, in the press, on the radio and on TV. It is no accident, he said, that this smear campaign is "going on in the weeks immediately preceding the beginning of our ne-

# The Soldier's Creed

tional Food Conference.

Heck no; if he's not "useful," let him die.



gotiations with the big auto

companies . . ." He lashed at the "prostitute press" for "keeping from the

American people the true economic facts of life."

Woodcock stressed the necessity of placing "a substantial economic demand" on the bargaining table because "this nation desperately needs today "This magic figure," said Gos- additional purchasing power in

nomics of the automotive in- practices department addressed "Our union was the first to dustry than have ever been the conference. Executive board set up a craft union within the aware of it before," he said, and members also spoke briefly. they know that its pricing policies have nothing to do with the so-called law of supply and demand.

"When demand drops, they don't drop the price; they just tion as real honest - to - God drop production," Woodcock skilled tradesmen on the basis said. "They throw people in the street and put them on short workweeks."

After flying in from a meeting with the production workers so with a farm group in Nebraska, that we can advance our eco- Vice President Pat Greathouse nomic conditions in the 1958 impressed on the delegates the necessity for unions to work closer with farm groups.

> He told of the enormous profits in the farm implement field, of which he is the union's director, and the current high rate of unemployment. One company made a profit of \$3.96 per share on stock with a \$10 par value.

Outlaw 'Moonlighting' One of the 20 resolutions

adopted by the conference and referred to the international executive board dealt with WASHINGTON-"Let's don't | "moonlighting." This is the be trapped into expenditures | practice of holding two jobs in that have no useful purpose | the industry — one at day and except that of helping a man | the other at night (It does not) exist for the moment," Presi- | apply to a second job in a redent Eisenhower told the Na- | tail store, gas station or other non-competing field.) The con-| ference asked that "moonlightlers" be declared automatic quits.

Other resolutions dealt with

journeyman status clause. skilled trades educational program, lowering the pension age to 60, farming out of dies to foreign countries. maintaining electrical standards, bastard classifications. splinter groups, equal job opportunity, political action, seven-day operations, job descriptions and plastics.

Ken Bannon, UAW Ford director; Brendan Sexton, educa-More people today are becom- tion director; and William Oli-

# ESTICES AND ACT Kohler Hearings Bare

Continued from Page 1

record so far of any person being arrested and convicted of vandalism. He was a strikebreaker.

Another strikebreaker testified bitterly that a Sheboygan bartender objected to serving him a beer because he (the bar-

It was brought out that one UAW representative assigned to the Kohler strike had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party for three or four years in the early Forties. He had repudiated this party and had not been a member for more than tions around the long conference seven years at the time he was table at Chrysler's McDougall assigned to the Kohler local. Mundt. Curtis and Goldwater tried to read something into this to the infinite boredom of the other members of the committee, the press and spectators. Phony Stuff

tablished that Kohler had hired the contract, were earning an a number of private detective average of \$25 a week—less than agencies to snoop into the pri- half what they'd take home vate lives of union representa- through unemployment comtives and members and to eaves- pensation and SUB if laid off. drop in taverns and other public Chrysler insisted its workers places to pick up information were on a "slowdown." The UAW they thought would be damag- insisted there was, on the coning to the characters and repu- trary, a speedup. tations of loyal union members.

It was established that at least one act of alleged vandalism was a pure hoax on the part of a strikebreaker. The company admitted it was a

# 'Pretty Rotten' Is Label for Kohler

Members of the McClellan committee have now seen at first hand the meanness and pettiness of the Kohler Co.

A Kohler press agent admitted he had hired a photographer with specific instructions to snap pictures of any committee member or staff member he found in conversation with Joseph L. Rauh Jr., UAW counsel.

from Senator McClellan:

"To hire a photographer to come up here especially to try to get a picture to lend some color of truth to what otherwise is intended to get somepretty rotten."

hoax but claimed the strikebreaker had dreamed it up all by himself. The strikebreaker's wife said he had been put up to it by Kohler Co. representatives.

# tender) didn't want to serve Chrysler Set

Continued from Page 1

Chrysler department had called a "cold war" against the work-

The situation was critical as the negotiators took their posioffices.

• Every day for five weeks, management at Chrysler's Dodge Main plant had sent its entire work force home within two to three hours of punch-in time.

• The vast majority, denied At the same time, it was es- the four-hour call-in pay despite

Reuther was flanked by Secretary - Treasurer Emil Mazey; Art Hughes, administrative assistant to Vice President Norman Matthews, director of the union's Chrysler department (absent through illness); Harold Julian. assistant to Matthews: Douglas Fraser, administrative assistant to Reuther; Region 1 Co-directors George Merrelli and Ken Morris, and C. Pat Quinn, president of Dodge Local 3.

The UAW was prepared to have the UAW-Chrysler umpire arbitrate the charges of "slowdown" or "speedup." Their highest hope was that Colbert would see the workers' plight in the same terms as the UAW Chrysler conference (Solidarity, Feb.

At that conference, delegates called on Chrysler to stop its The revelation drew this blast "guerrilla warfare," to lay off workers it didn't need for production so they could collect UC and SUB—and to work as many top seniority workers as possible a full 40-hour week.

These proposals had been thing to try to smear members | spurned by Chrysler labor relaof this committee, in my tions officials. But last week, in book, it is pretty low. It is a matter of hours, virtually the same terms were negotiated.



ROUND-TABLE (with square corners) at Ford conference includes Ken Bannon, UAW Ford director (standing); L. G. Hawkins Sr., Local 870, Dallas, Tex.; Lew Michener, Local 406, Long Beach, Calif.; Mareo Dellaca, Local 991, Des Moines, Ia.; James Gilmore, Local 228, Detroit, and John Derico, Local 930, Green Island, N.Y.