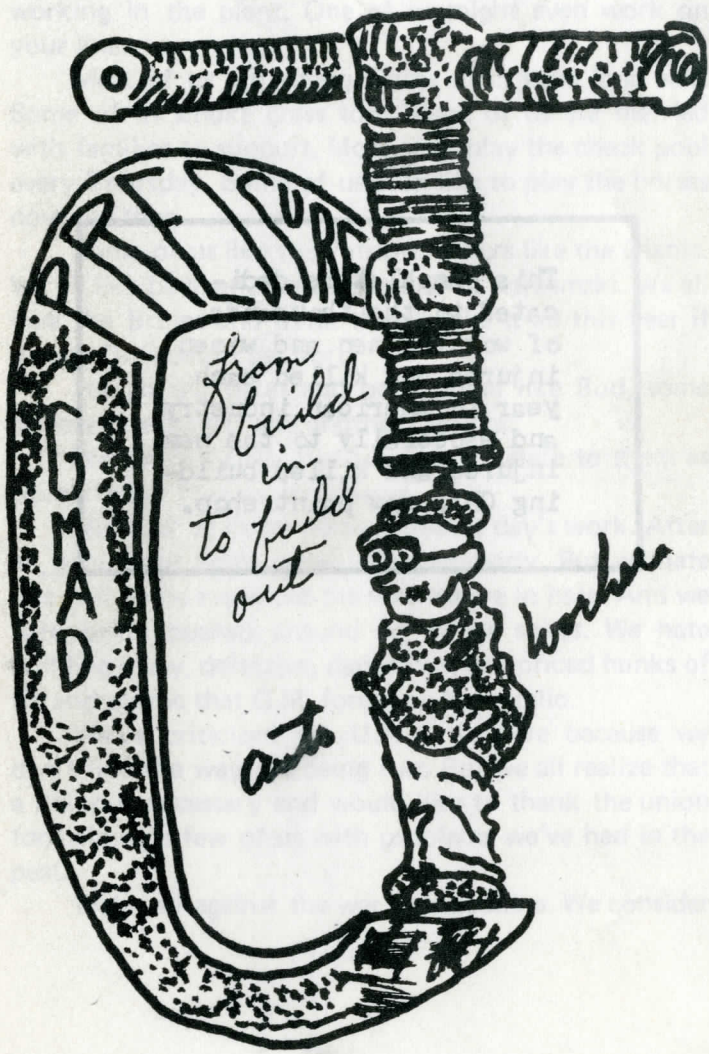


F, G, M Fun, Games, Money



This pamphlet is dedi-
cated to the thousands
of working men and women
injured and killed each
year in American industry,
and especially to the men
injured and killed build-
ing GM's new paint shop.

Introduction

O.K., let's get one thing straight before you read any further. This pamphlet wasn't put out by the S.D.S. or the Progressive Labor Party. We don't dig their politics or their style.

This piece of subversive literature you're holding in your right hand now was written and paid for by guys working in the plant. One of us might even work on your line.

Most of us are young. Some of us have long hair. Some of us smoke grass too. Some of us are married with families to support. Most of us play the check pool every Thursday. Some of us even like to play the horses now and then.

Some of us like the Patriots, others like the Giants. We all like baseball, but can't stand Yastrzemski. We all love the Bruins and think they'll take it all this year if Bobby Orr doesn't get hurt.

We all dig bikes and beer. Some like Bud, some Millers, one Schlitz and another Carlings.

We all like girls. But we like to relate to them as equals rather than as sex objects.

None of us mind doing a decent day's work. After all, good hard work never killed anybody. But we hate like hell to be exploited the way we are in here. And we hate being pushed around by white shirts. We hate building lousy, defective, dangerous, overpriced hunks of tin and plastic that G.M. forces on the public.

We've criticized the U.A.W. in here because we don't like the way it's being run. But we all realize that a union is necessary and would like to thank the union for helping a few of us with problems we've had in the past.

We're all against the war in Indochina. We consider

ourselves radical but we're not members of the Communist party.

We're a group of people who don't like the way things are being run in this plant and in this country and want to see some radical changes made.

This pamphlet is our first attempt to talk about things in our lives that we feel are important. If you dig what we say then maybe together we can make these changes.



Progress—Who For?

You know all that crap we're told about how working people are better off in America today than they ever were before? Well, I believed it myself for awhile until I took a look at my own family.

My grandfather worked back in the twenties as a chauffeur during the day and in a factory at night where he was able to sell some of the moonshine he made in his still. He got by in the twenties all right, but when the Depression hit, the older kids, including my father, had to go to work. In fact, my father worked two jobs in addition to going to school. This kept up until World War II when it was off to fight Hitler and fascism from spreading all over the world.

He and one of my uncles went to Europe and another uncle went to the Pacific. After the war, he, like thousands of other guys came home and got married. There was a housing shortage then, and a half-decent apartment cost more than a week's pay. So it was back to two jobs. He worked at Dennison nights and worked odd jobs during the day.

During the next fifteen years things got better and the second job disappeared. Even then, however, I don't remember him ever taking a day off unless he was too sick to walk. One uncle went to Korea but nobody got too excited about it since he got back all right.

During the fifties American business was expanding at a fantastic rate inside the country and all over the world, so they weren't reluctant to give their workers pretty good wages because working people weren't really getting a bigger piece of the pie—the pie was just getting bigger and bigger.

However, people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America started fighting back against American and European

businessmen. The American government found it necessary to have police actions all around the world in order to protect its business interests. These police actions stretched from Lebanon to the Congo to Bolivia, and to Vietnam. The one in Vietnam, however, met a lot more resistance than expected and within a few years it had developed into a full-scale war.

How is our company like the army?

When it came my turn to go I didn't like the idea of fighting in this crazy war but I figured it was my duty. It wasn't until I got back home and came to work here at General Motors that I really began to question things. I had read underground papers in the Army that talked about the Military-Industrial Complex but it wasn't until I started working in industry that I realized what they were talking about. Not only are the top ranks filled with former officers, but the factory floor is



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"FRANKLY, I CAN HARDLY WAIT TO RETIRE SO I CAN GET IN ON THE CUSHY END OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX"



run just like the Army. We're the GI's, the foremen are the lifer sergeants, and the supervisors are the officers. In the Army we're supposed to be protected by the Universal Code of Military Justice, and here at G.M. we have our contract.

We all know that the Army only enforces the parts of the U.C.M.J. that it wants to. The idea of justice in the Army is just a bad joke.

At G.M. the company enforces the contract when it wants to and breaks it when it wants to. Oh sure, the union is always screaming that we could stop them if only everybody would write up more grievances. But why should we stick our necks out to write them up when half the time they just get thrown away? We all know foremen who get written up everyday and couldn't care less. I wonder how many times Snapper's been written up?

Sure we're all going to file 78's after changeover and if we play our cards right and give them lousy quality, we'll get some work taken off, but somehow

every year the jobs get just a little bit harder. Take a walk around the plant and look at a job you used to do. More than likely the guy who's doing it now is doing one or two more seams or rivets than you did.

Our grievance procedure is no good and has to be changed! We think that everyone who writes up a grievance should:

- 1) Get a copy of the grievance.
- 2) Be present at any negotiations at which the grievance is discussed.
- 3) Sign the grievance before it is considered settled.

The idea of justice at G.M. is just as crazy as it is in the Army. If a foreman writes you up for something or sends you to the tank, you're automatically guilty. At G.M. you're guilty until proven innocent. If we challenge anything, they'll get any number of whiteshirts to say they witnessed whatever crime you may have committed.



HERMAN FOR UAW SOLIDARITY
 "What we're looking for is someone willing to start at the bottom—
 and stay there!"

How many times have you been written up for something and known that the foreman who signed as a witness wasn't even around?

We need a fair judicial system. A man is supposed to be tried by a jury of his peers. Yet when we get dragged down to the tank we get judged by Labor Relations. Using this logic then, the next time you write up a foreman for a 215 violation, we should drag him down to the Union hall, where he would be judged and punished by us.

You see, the whole thing comes down to a question of power. The reason we go to the tank and get D.L.O.'d for our contract violations and the company flunkies get away with theirs is **POWER**. They got it and we don't. Behind G.M. stands Nixon, the Congress, the courts and the Army. We only got ourselves and our brothers and sisters.

Damn it all, I'm tired of busting my ass and getting nothing in return. Am I going to have to keep working two jobs and then have my kids grow up, and have to do the same? That is, if they don't get killed in some other war. Maybe in ten years the black people of South Africa will get tired of being pushed around by General Motors and other American corporations and start fighting back.

I'm tired of working to make G.M. rich. I'm tired of doing work that dulls my mind. They say LSD causes brain damage. Well I think working on a line doing a job you hate causes brain damage! God, just look at some of the older guys in here who've been doing this crap for twenty years. They walk around like beer-bellied zombies.

I want to be a man. I want to have a country that I can be proud of. I'd love to be able to take my kids through the plant and show them the wonderful things I make. But I can't because we make pieces of junk here.

All this has got to change. And the only way it will change is if the power in this country is put back into the hands of the people!

The Trap

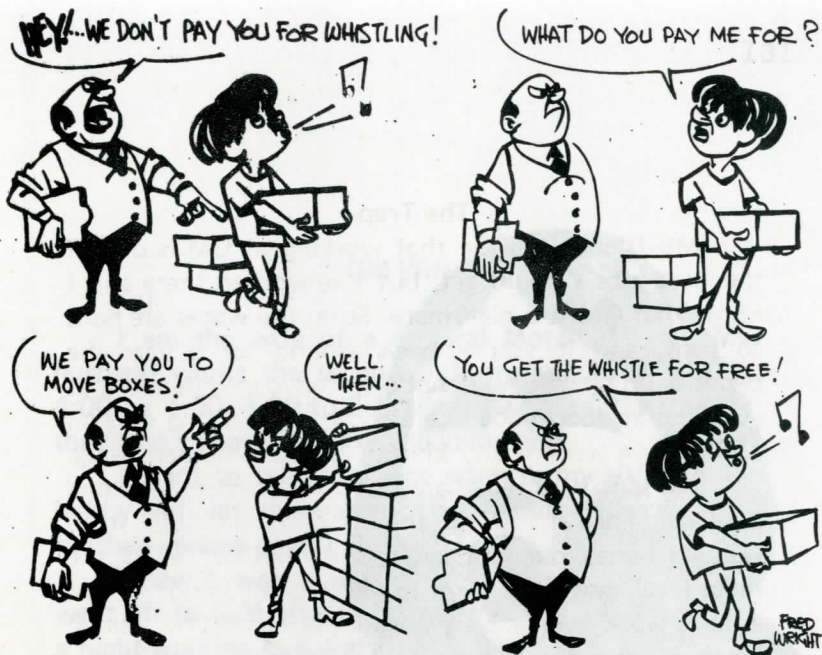
My friends tell me that working at GM is one of the best jobs I could get, but I've worked there and I know that GM is a nightmare. Sure, the wages are hard to beat, and if you've been around for a year the benefits aren't bad, but nobody can convince me that screwing in doorknobs like a robot or squirting glue on 1500 cars a week is any kind of life for a human being.

Working conditions aren't fit for animals, let alone humans. The air inside the plant is polluted from welding fumes, paint fumes, forklift exhaust fumes; the noise level inside the plant leaves your ears ringing after a day's work; workers are constantly hassled by asshole foremen who think they're drill sergeants; constantly made to feel like pieces of shit because that car, that hunk of steel, coming down the line means more to GM than a worker's life.

Working at GM makes a mess of your home life too. Guys like me who work nightshift have no opportunity for a normal social life. After work I'm too tired for anything but a couple of beers and then bed. Maybe I'll get out to a couple of parties on the weekend with college buddies. I don't have the freedom to develop healthy relationships with girls because of the screwy hours I keep.

Most of the workers I've met at GM agree that "there's gotta be a better way to make a living." But there isn't, or else we wouldn't be here. A lot of us are trapped by having families to support so that we can't afford to train for a better job. Or we have to keep working to meet installment payments on houses or GM cars that break down every two or three years. It's like being drafted.

It's not so bad for young guys like me—I'm still in



college and not married yet—I've still got a couple of years until I want to settle down and I can still afford to call in sick once a week or even quit for a while when I can't take it any more. But even if I get a degree I can't expect to find anything much better than GM unless I sell out and work for management, and I couldn't live with myself if I did that.

So what do we do? How do we protect our health and sanity? Can we count on the union? Remember the union leaders did nothing for the freezing body shop workers when the walls were down a few months ago. It's pretty clear that any changes will have to come from ourselves, working together in the shop to keep management from treating us like slaves. A fellow worker's grievance is our own. Our weapons are slowdowns, going to the hospital, calling in sick in groups. Everybody get on the foreman's tail when he hassles a buddy. Only by working together can we break our way out of GM's trap.

GM Wife

Hi!

I am the wife of a General Motors worker. My husband works the second shift from 3:30 to 12:00, 4:00 to 1:00, 4:30 to 2:00 or 5:30 to 2:00, whenever they (the bosses) feel like scheduling him.

I want to talk to all the wives in my situation (if hubby will let them see this pamphlet when they're finished—please guys?)

When I was two months pregnant my husband went off to G.M. nights. I think that any woman having a night-working husband has a hard time. I'm just about average (I hope) and my days went something like this.

I got up first thing in the morning with the kids raring to go before I even had my eyes open. Not only did I have to take care of the kids but the house was always a mess, no matter how much I had cleaned the day before. There were clothes to wash, clothes to hang out, clothes to iron, clothes to put away. There were dishes to wash, meals to cook, especially an elaborate lunch because my husband wouldn't be home for supper. And who can make a full course meal with kids, and clothes, and dishes, and dirty floors and hundreds of dirty diapers? Not me, I'm not Super-Woman. I tried to be, but trying to do everything when it's just not humanly possible turned me into the biggest grouch in the world. It goes so that my husband was glad when it came time to go to work and I can't really blame him. Has this happened to you? My husband told me time after time that I'm a grouch but he doesn't feel so bad because all the other guys say the same thing!

Somehow this helped me too, knowing that there were other women in the same boat as I. I cheered up quite a bit and for a time things weren't quite so bad.

Then, all of a sudden, he turns into a grouch. "What's the matter with you?" I asked him.

"I've got a headache," he says. "Those damned machines at work make so much noise and the smells make me sick."

So I told him to take a walk every night after work to get out in the fresh air. That worked out fairly well, but every once in a while the Excedrin bottle came out again.

One night he stormed into the house and woke me up. "I got laid off for a week!" My first thought was "hurray!" But all of a sudden the forty dollar gas bill, the twenty five dollar phone bill, the twenty dollar electricity bill, this month's rent, and a million others flashed in front of me. He hadn't been there a year so he received no compensation at all. Wednesday too. "Please pay your bill within five days" came and the car broke down.

We made it O.K. but it scared the hell out of both of us. My husband said it was going to happen again this month and that there were rumors of a longer lay-off later on in the winter.

"What are we going to do?" I asked him.

"Simple," he says. "I'll get another job during the day. A lot of guys have two jobs. Then there will be money coming in all the time."

"Fine," I said. "But I'll be ALONE all the time!"

"What else can I do?" he said underlining something in the "Male Wanted" column.

So off he went to a job that got out too late for him to be able to stop home at all before he went to G.M. Fifteen hours a day and here I was alone with my kids because I was new in the town, at home because I had no car, and feeling very, very pregnant. Actually I was only six months along but I kept imagining the labor pains and I kept waiting and waiting and waiting for a baby and a quick glance of my husband. I used to stay up until three in the morning just so I could say hi to him and kiss him good-night, even though the kids



would still be getting up at 7a.m.

One night I was waiting up as usual, looking out at the street when I realized that my husband and I didn't have a real marriage. Marriage to me is sharing your thoughts and feelings with the person you love. We didn't share things anymore, we were never together, so how could we even think of ourselves as marriage partners with a good relationship?

Now it's changeover time and my husband and I are close again. I feel as though we are really married, in every sense of the word.

Everything's just about perfect except for the one fact that fall is just around the corner . . .

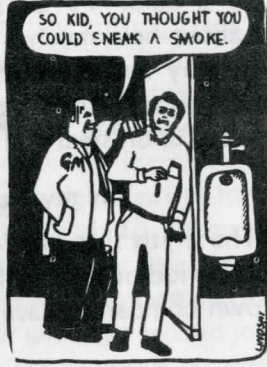
The Power and The Myth

We all know that factory work is dull and monotonous and has numerous disadvantages. But the most frustrating thing is that feeling of powerlessness that we all share. We have no power over working conditions, no power to have our grievances adequately taken care of, no power to say how long we want to work each night. And if we were to extend this to outside the factory, we know we have little power there either. What it comes down to, basically, is that we have no control over our lives.

Examine plant conditions more closely. Our jobs are boring—they're dull, they're inhuman. What do we have to look forward to? For one thing we could get a first shift job, then things might be a little better. But when we see the first shift leaving each day, we know they aren't too thrilled by that added advantage.

We might be able to grab a cleaner job, an easier job, even a job off the line. But after a week of this, then what do we have? Our job will still be dull, and still the only thing to look forward to is the weekend. Even the experience of trying to get a slightly better job is degrading. We have to compete with one another, stab someone's back in order to move up.

Sometimes we think that certain factory conditions make the job easier. Good relations with the formen may make it easier. A water fight or a firecracker or something wrong with a car is a funny happening, but all these things do is take our minds off our job because that isn't too funny. The management doesn't get that upset over water fights and firecrackers and other pranks. They're running a corporation, not a high school. They know that if we can laugh about something once a night, or think that we're getting away



with a water fight, that we become less frustrated and less angry with our job. It becomes easier for them to control our minds for the task of making 35.5 cars an hour.

GM can be compared to the Army, but also to a high school. Our little rebellions against management take on the same tone as when they were directed against a teacher or principal. Instead of being men angry at not being able to control our lives, we become boys doing little things that might irritate our foremen.

What did you learn in school today?

Opportunities unlimited: Think about all the myths we learned about adult life, and think about how real they are for us. We learned in school that immigrants came to America to participate in "unlimited opportunities". But in that same school we took computerized tests that separated college-bound people from GM-bound people. (These tests are given for the first time early in grammar

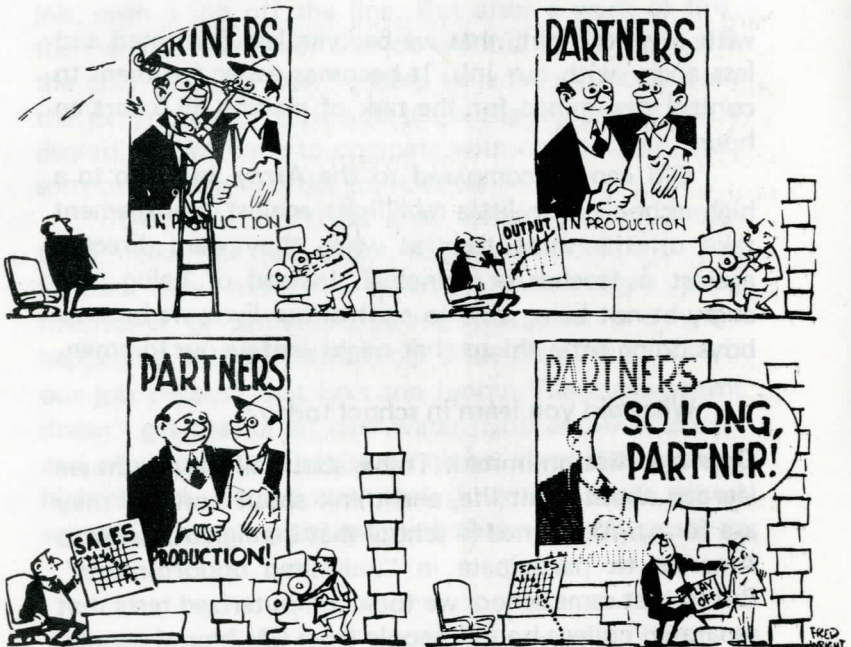
school.) Then they got better teachers and more attention and we kept on playing pranks against our duller teachers. There was one opportunity that was now limited.

Fighting for freedom: Maybe we had an opportunity to serve our country by fighting in the Armed Forces. But think about how you felt about it then, and how you feel about it now.

Land of prosperity: Of course we have the opportunity to buy a color TV or a big car, but if we stop and think about how much a big car contributes to making our life any better, we realize that again we are being tricked into thinking that our manhood or humanity is dependent upon steel and glass objects.

The myths of big business

The myth that has fooled us the most and for the longest period of time is the one that tells us that people who own companies have the right to make as much as



they can. This is based on several beliefs: 1) they worked hard to get to a position of power and therefore are entitled to use that power; 2) they take great risks in investing money and thus deserve a high return on their investment; 3) we all have the same opportunity.

Hard work: For the most part it is true that the big money makers in America worked hard for their money. Some of them may even have worked on the line, but they are the exception. Most of them got to positions of power by doing an especially admirable job of maximizing profits for some company.

There are two ways for the company executive to maximize his company's profits: by cutting costs or by increasing revenues. Since labor is a major cost of industry, cutting costs means that we either get lower wages or have more work to do for the same wages. If they decide to maximize profits by increasing their revenues, that means they charge higher prices for their products and we know what that's about. When prices go up, we still must work harder because the same product now costs more and the only way we can afford it is by working longer hours or getting a second job. So what it means for someone to rise to power by working hard is that he makes you work harder and he takes both the credit and the cash.

Risk-taking: Do corporations take great risks when they make new investments? First of all, where does the money come from for new investment? It comes from profits and we just found out who works for those profits. The only risk involved there is the one to us, because by helping them make profits for their use we might get automated out of a job.

Secondly, with the modern research techniques available to the modern corporation they are able to accurately predict the chances for success in a new investment. The Edsel became famous because it was one of the few examples available where an investment made by an automobile manufacturer failed.

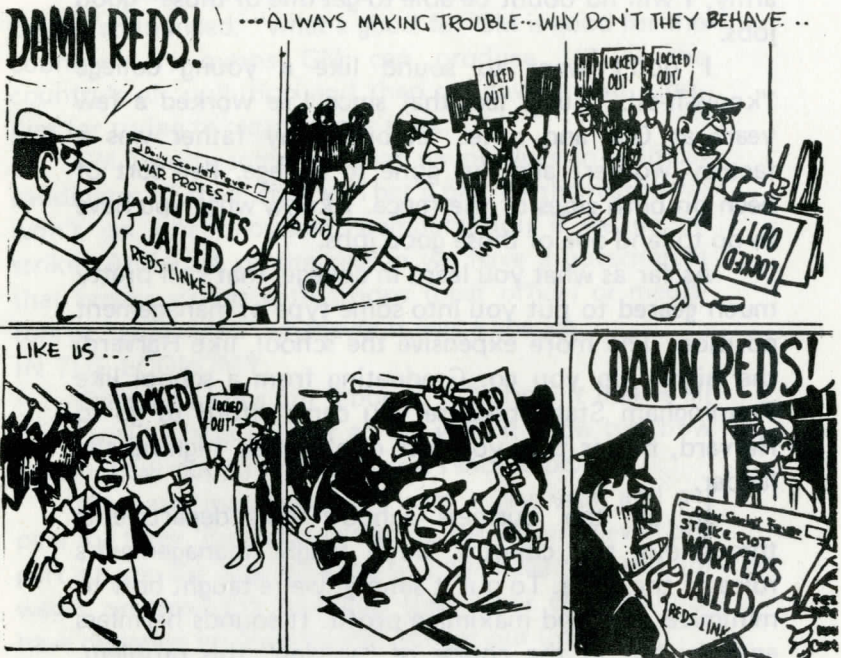
Same opportunities? If it is true that everyone has the

same opportunities, why don't more kids from working class families go to college? Why is it that in the colleges, lower- and middle-class students end up in one type of institution and upper-class students in another. Why do the rich keep on making money, while our fathers and uncles struggled to make a living and now we and our brothers are doing the same. The road to higher levels of success in America is a narrow road—few people can travel it, and few people are given the chance to try.

So?

The point of all this is simple. People who run corporations have power and, ultimately, have control over our lives in so many ways. All too often we help them in maintaining this power, even though it only hurts us to help them. Management knows they are not the friend of workers, otherwise we wouldn't need unions, have to file grievances, or worry about militant workers being hassled by them. Yet we must realize that they are not our friends and treat them accordingly. Our friends are our co-workers and it is through cooperation—not competition—with them that we will be able to improve our lives. We must realize that black people are our allies and not our enemies. By fighting with blacks we are ignoring the people who really make our lives miserable—the same people who run the place where we work. Also, by attacking radical college students we are again ignoring some of our allies. We hear quite a bit about student protest, but little about why these students are protesting. We heard little about students and General Electric workers who acted together to keep GE management from scabbing on the strike by carrying on their recruiting of college students.

Until we separate our friends from our enemies, until we support the ideas of our friends and not those of the enemy, we can only hope for the weekend and the big car and not something better.



Student

At present I am a college student. I came to GM for a job to help pay for my college education. (As you probably know only too well, prices, including the cost of going to school, are skyrocketing.)

I want to say that I have learned much in these past few years from school, from working on the line at GM, and most of all from yourselves. I would like to share some of my thoughts with you.

No doubt all of you have heard or been told over and over again that to get a good job you need a good education. So far, I seem to be on my way to attaining that goal: a college education and a degree. After graduation, with a very much undesired detour into the

army, I will no doubt be able to get one of those "good jobs."

I don't want to sound like a young college "know-it-all." But I feel that since I've worked a few years at GM and other factories (my father was a factory worker) and I've gone to college, I've sort of been on both sides of the fence. I know what you have to do to land one of those good jobs.

As far as what you learn in college, that's all pretty much geared to put you into some type of management position. The more expensive the school, like Harvard, the higher up you go. Graduating from a school like Framingham State, because you can't afford to go to Harvard, means that you just don't go so high up the ladder.

In all the business schools and departments throughout the country we're taught management's rules of the game. To put it simply, we're taught how to minimize cost and maximize profit. It sounds harmless enough; but in the course of "solving" this problem, you learn many tricks of the trade. In solving this problem, we're taught to think of people as numbers or machines, not as human beings.

For instance, look at the social sciences. In the social sciences we study about people: how they act, work, relate to each other. We're taught how to treat working people in a scientific—and inhuman—way. We're taught how to treat you as a machine, how to make you "run" more efficiently. We've learned how to do time and motion studies, watching your every move with a stop-watch as if you were a guinea pig. The only concern is to get as much work out of you as is possible.

We've learned to make use of those little psychological tricks, like the cartoons on the soda cups, and the company booklets you get once in a while. All these are designed to keep you quiet, to make you think you have it "good", and to keep you from wanting to change existing working conditions. Even the "white shirts" get a little dose of this so they can deal with you in the

This means we've had a Secretary of Defense who boldly announced, "what's good for GM is good for the country". It means GM can produce 1/3 of the country's air pollution and then get government subsidies for trying to clean up the mess.

GM invests some of what we produce in political candidates of **their** choice. That's part of the reason we won't get unemployment compensation if we go on strike. And part of the reason we have a government that breaks strikes with troops (post office) or mediators or "guidelines" whenever it gets a chance.

IN THE ECONOMY

Once GM buys our labor at 1/2-price, it makes all the decisions about what to do with it: how big, how unsafe, how sloppily made the cars should be.

We each make about 7 cars every year and get paid for three. But we don't get to decide what even one part of one car is going to be like. We have to spend our wages on products that GM (and other corporations) have designed for their profit, not for our use.

GM, by controlling our labor, has become the largest industrial corporation in the world. And it uses this monopoly power against us in the market place.

In 1956, for instance, GM announced a price increase twice as big as Ford had announced two weeks earlier. Ford quickly brought its prices into line.

So any increase in wages is topped by price increases, in other words . . .

INFLATION

GM says we're to blame for inflation because higher wages "force" car prices up. But if we get a 17% increase in the next contract, that would just mean GM was paying us for 3 1/2 cars out of the 7 each of us make for them each year. But that would make their profits smaller, and leave prices the same.

What "forces" prices up is when GM (and other corporations) raise their prices 17% so that our new wages are still only worth 3 cars, and their profits stay as big as ever.



They get away with this because there's no real competition among U.S. companies. But this trick only works as long as GM doesn't face
FOREIGN COMPETITION

Foreign cars now have nearly 1/6 of the U.S. market. European car workers get paid about a third of what we make. Therefore, the cars they make can be sold for less than U.S. cars and still make a higher profit. GM could reduce profits (and the power based on them) in order to meet competition. But it won't do that until it's tried three other possibilities:

1) **FOREIGN INVESTMENT**

One way for GM to beat foreign competitors is to join them. Last year the company sold 93,500 German-made Opels in the U.S. The new "all-American" Vega will have a standard transmission made in Germany.

This way GM increases unemployment in the U.S. and helps Nixon to

2) **"FIGHT INFLATION"**

Another way for GM to "fight inflation" is to keep real wages down until they're as low as European wages. Chairman of the Board Roche has announced he's willing to provoke a long strike in order to keep wages down.

This is just a way of appealing for government intervention—and nobody has much doubt whose side the government would be on. If the UAW doesn't back down, GM is counting on Nixon to beat them down.

Meanwhile, back in the shop, GM isn't waiting for a contract settlement to start

3) **"CUTTING COSTS"**

What the company calls "cost-cutting" is what we call layoffs for some and more work per hour for the rest. In other words, if GM pays us for 3 1/2 cars a year, it's going to sweat 8 or 9 out of each of us.

This meant a 4-month strike at Flint where the company tried to increase the workload, scattered strikes in Chevy plants when GM amalgamated them with its GMAD division and laid off some employees.

And it meant forcing Framingham workers to work in freezing temperatures, just to get a few more cars out.

Now GM employees at Lordstown, Ohio have returned to find a production line geared for 100 cars an hour with a completely new job structure designed to undermine protections they'd built up on their old jobs.

Meanwhile, where is the union?

25 YEARS OF "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING"

The union, of course, is negotiating with the company—"collective bargaining" for economic benefits.

Collective bargaining means just what it says: the union leadership bargains with management—it gives away some things and gets others in return. This strategy does nothing to increase our power in the workplace, the union or the society.

The UAW's collective bargaining policy has brought many economic benefits, but the power that's been traded away has helped create an economic dictatorship. Collective bargaining has failed to bring us changes which depend on getting more power, like major improvements in working conditions or a bigger share of what we produce.

Any union leader would rather talk about what he's won by his collective bargaining strategy. Any sensible member should draw up a box score that shows wins and losses both.

As we look over our "team's" record, 2 things stand out:

1) The economic benefits we won never made up for the power we lost. No amount of money could pay us for the parts of our lives that have been traded away to the company.

2) Whenever economic conditions were bad we lost even the value of the economic gains.

The conclusion is obvious: as long as GM and other corporations have an economic dictatorship we'll never

win any real victories.

Does this mean we should get rid of the union? No. That would be like getting rid of a good ball team when the manager's strategy stops winning.

The record shows the UAW has been pretty good at winning what the company is willing to trade away—without a union we wouldn't even get that.

When leadership hasn't fought hard enough, like when they signed 5-year contracts, **unorganized** opposition from the members was enough to force reopening of the contract to meet rising prices. When the



Box Score on Collective Bargaining

Date	Won	Lost to:	management
1945	113-day GM strike wins 18 1/2 cents, paid vacations	-48	
1948	11 cents and cost-of-living clause won from GM, but prices were stable Pension, health insurance.	-50	5,000 disciplinary layoffs in GM for resistance to increased production standards. Union accepts compulsory overtime.
1950	Substantial pensions.	-55	5-year contract giving GM absolute power over machinery, methods and employment levels.
1955	Guaranteed Annual Wage (SUB)	-58	Auto employment cut by 100,000 by June '56 to keep these workers from eligibility for SUB. Overtime replaces layed-off workers.
1958	Short workweek benefits.	-64	Local issues, especially production standards left out of national contract forcing local strikes (up to 14 days in GM) with little success.
1964	Gains in pensions, holidays, insurance, and early retirement with \$400 ceiling. 12 min. extra relief time for total of 36 min. for 1/3 of workers.	-67	Production standards still subject to local management interpretation: only local militance and international support can protect them.
1967	40-85 cents an hour increases in SUB.	-70	Huge stockpiles built up in GM strengthened the company. Cost-of-living clause weakened, Xmas bonus given up to pay for SUB.

business

national union

Price and rent controls lifted; cost-of-living up 6% per year.

Recession, lay-offs, 32, 24, and 16-hour weeks.

Wage increases kept to 2 1/2% or less. Real wages stay below 1944 level.

Recession encouraged by failure to achieve shorter work-week and diversion of 5 cents wage increase to SUB fund.

Cost of living up faster than allowance in contract. Pay increase of 2 1/2% per year-given up to pay for pension, first year.

Inflation undermined most of the gains in wages and benefits.

Anti-Reuther Allis-Chalmers local taken over, violating constitution. Local leadership replaced.

Leadership override members' demands for 30-hr. week with full pay, no company security clause.

Intervention in Local 600's elections, administratorship, ousted some leaders over members' opposition, then changed constitution to fit the facts.

Chevy Local 659 had attacked "5 Year Plan" in 1950. Using a convention resolution against this, the national union pre-censored articles in the local paper

In '61 the International Executive Board approved administratorships of GM Locals 262, 735, and 947 as well as 16 other local unions.

Unsettled local issues force 28 GM locals to extend month-long strike for up to 12 days more. Without national support, little was gained.

Union took over the right to schedule strikes on local issues to keep the pressure off the company by spreading them out and keeping them away from contract time.

leadership didn't want to go for "30 and out" this spring, the clamor from the ranks was enough to make this one of the main bargaining goals.

DECLARATION OF WAR

But now GM has declared open war on its employees. No more easy bargaining concessions, says board chairman Roche (as if they were easy!)

What matters in war isn't bargaining skill, but power. Power can't be won at the bargaining table, but only through

MASS ACTION

Mass action means direct action by workers who take what they need without giving anything in return. This is the method used by any group of workers who come together to fight for better working conditions and human production standards, either in the shop or through a wildcat. The point of mass action is to use our strength of numbers and militance to take away some of the company's power.

Some of us used this method when the company took down the walls in the body shop and tried to freeze us on the job. Coal miners have been doing the same thing—massive wildcats force Nixon to sign a safety law last winter, despite his opposition to it.

If we use this method more we can win some of the power we need:

- Power to stop production any time there's an unsafe or unhealthy condition.

- Power to choose as many committeemen as we need to really handle grievances.

- Power to call union meetings in the shop during working hours whenever an emergency requires it.

- Power to prevent last-minute schedule changes which mess up our lives.

It's Already Started

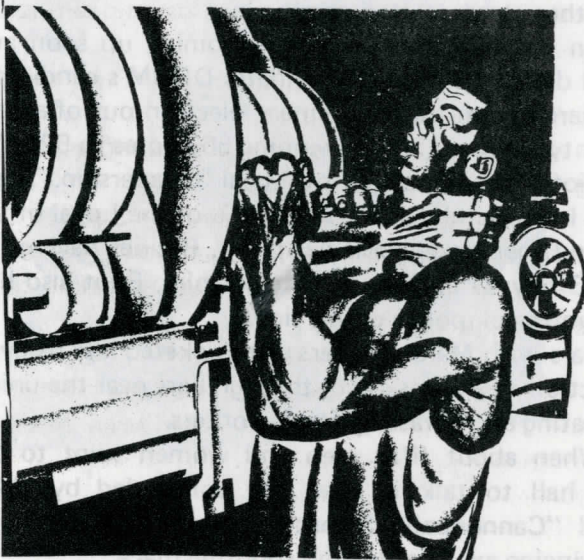
In recent years, the auto workers who've gone farthest in using mass action have been blacks. It's worth looking at what they've done, to see what we can learn from it.

BLACKS

We know from the papers that black people aren't going to let themselves get pushed around any more in their communities. But what the papers don't talk about too much is black people getting themselves together in the shops. The following are two of the larger black workers' organizations.

LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS (DETROIT)

If working conditions here at Framingham are bad then in Detroit they would have to be called horrible. In 1968 at the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck (a suburb of Detroit) conditions were so bad that there had been five wildcats before some young blacks helped lead a walkout on May 2, 1968. Nine of these guys got



themselves together into a group and called themselves the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, or DRUM. They started putting out a newsletter talking about conditions inside the plant and in the community.

After about eight weeks the plant was in an uproar. Black workers were screaming for a strike and DRUM membership was growing rapidly. The company began to tread softly and the union was in chaos.

DRUM leadership agreed to call a strike. In order to keep people from getting fired they got friends and supporters to set up picket lines. The men stayed 100 yards away from the plant. Had they been any closer, they would have been fired. The picket line stopped only black workers (about 70% of the work force) and the wildcat was a tremendous success. The plant was closed Friday and again on Monday. They went back to work on Tuesday because they lacked the resources to run a long strike. But the strike had shown everybody the power they had if they stuck together.

New members began to flock to DRUM. Even guys from other plants started coming in.

An election for trustee was coming up soon and DRUM decided to run a candidate. DRUM's candidate, Ron March, won the preliminary election out of a field of twenty-two candidates, winning 563 votes to 521, for Joe Eliot, a white backed by Local 3 leadership. These results look awfully fishy since 60% of the Local of ten thousand men and women is black. Besides having the Local 3 boys counting the vote for him, Eliot also had the Hamtramck police on his side.

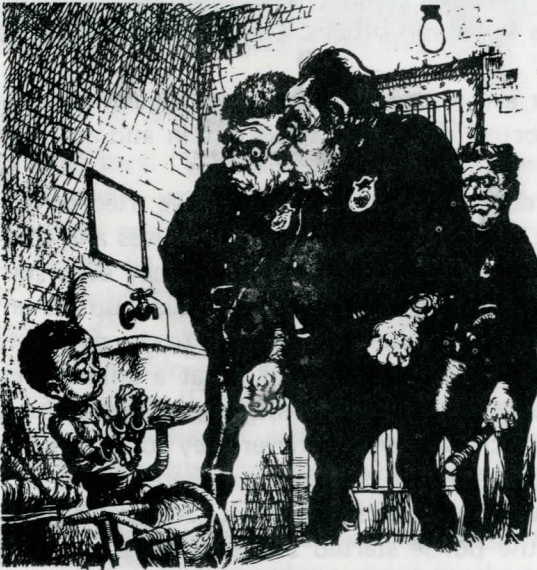
Cars with March posters were ticketed and delayed on election day. Cops swept through bars near the union hall beating and harassing black workers.

When about fifty men and women went to the union hall to talk it over, the police, led by UAW official "Cannonball" Selpski, charged into the union hall swinging axe handles and shooting mace.

March had not gotten a majority so a run-off was

called. This time the UAW used the same tactics plus they mobilized the thirteen hundred white retirees of Local 3 to come out and vote against March. March lost the election but DRUM continued to grow by leaps and bounds. Ford workers came in and organized themselves into FRUM. Next, blacks at Chrysler's plant in Eldron, Michigan were organized into ELRUM. After some arbitrary discipline came down on their members, they struck. Using the same tactics that had been used at Dodge Main they shut the plant down cold for one day. If it had been kept closed much longer Chrysler would have had to start shutting down assembly plants because Eldon is their only gear and axle plant.

As blacks organized more and more in the Detroit area, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was formed. It operates from an office at 9049 Oakland St., Detroit. The League is an umbrella group for DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, JARUM (Jefferson Ave. Chrysler plant), and even a CRUM (Chevrolet), and the Black Student Voice, a high school group.



"... And did you voluntarily accept a free, hot meal from known Black Panthers at nine a.m., September nine, nineteen hun'ert an' sixty-nine?"

Management and the UAW are trying to paint the League as a racist organization. But the League has said over and over that its fight is against management and the leadership of the UAW, **not against white workers!** Their position is that white workers should build their own revolutionary organizations, and that together we will be strong enough to make some real changes.

BLACK PANTHER CAUCUS—

FREMONT, CALIFORNIA

Fremont is a suburb of Oakland. About 30% of the workforce is black, works nights, and commutes from Oakland. Most of the rest of the plant is white and lives in the immediate area. In 1968 a group of black workers organized the Black Panther Caucus. The base of the caucus is in the GMAD plant but new members have come in from a number of UAW plants in the San Francisco Bay area. The caucus has also been relating to and exchanging information with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit.

The caucus during the past year has held two fairly successful anti-war rallies. They also ran a slate of candidates for union offices. They lost but made a good showing.

They also started putting out a regular newspaper called "Focus" which is passed out in and around the plant.

The company and the union have tried to isolate and break the caucus by lying to the press and playing on the racism of the white workers. They even started rumors that the blacks were going to blow up the union hall and the plant. Finally, things got to the point where a group of Wallace-ites showed up at a union meeting with guns. At the same time, the Fremont police started to harass black workers whenever they could. Like us in Framingham, a lot of the guys out there like to go out for a couple of beers at lunch. Around this time however, the police started sweeping through the bars and package stores harassing blacks.

Finally, as Kenny Horsten, one of the leaders of



"THE PART WE'LL PLAY IN CURBING INFLATION WILL BE THE LAYING OFF OF THAT LAST HIRED FIRST FIRED BUNCH!"

the caucus, says: "We went to the union leadership and we told them very clearly that if anything at all happened to any black workers in the plant, we were not going to be responsible for any action that came down. Immediately the union leadership got very excited and thought we were talking about killing everybody and blowing everything up, and we made it very clear to them that **we do not believe in violence** but that **we do believe in self-defense**, and if anything happened to any black worker in or outside the caucus then we would look to them as being responsible."

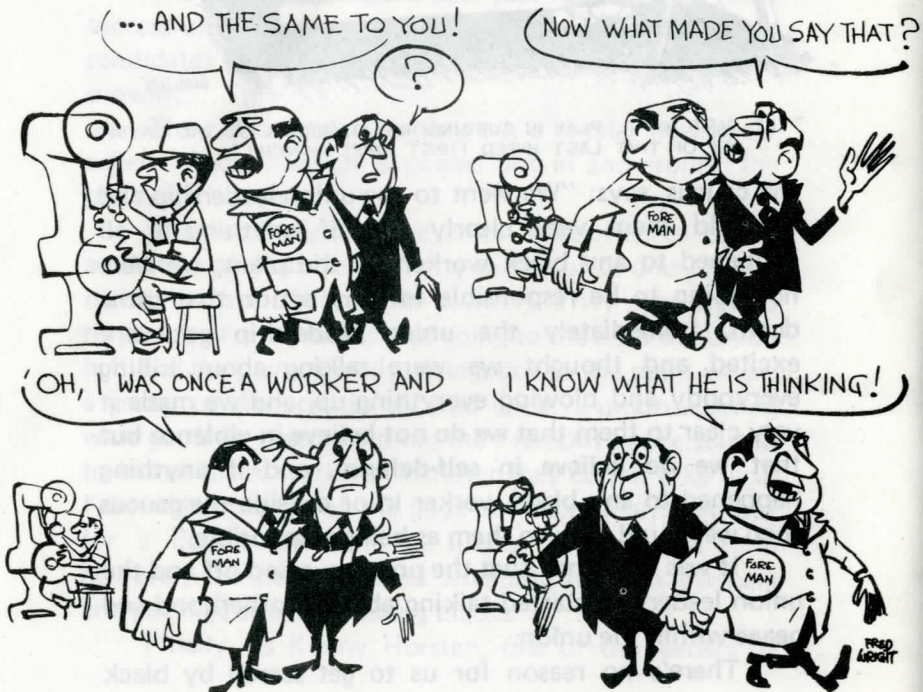
It was only then that the pressure eased off and the union leadership started talking about brotherhood and peace within the union.

There's no reason for us to get scared by black people getting themselves together. The Black Panthers haven't got anything against us. They're not going to

ride into Woonsocket or Milford with machine guns and kill us. They're trying to improve and even liberate their own communities from Oakland to Roxbury. If you stopped long enough to read this pamphlet, you've seen that they're fighting the same bastards who screwed us out of our SUB benefits last Christmas.

Bobby Seale isn't going to come to Framingham and destroy the community, but General Motors pollutes the hell out of the area. Huey P. Newton doesn't make \$794,934 a year while we make \$6000. James Roche, chairman of the board of G.M. does. Each of us produces about \$20,000 worth of work each year and gets back \$6,000. Eldridge Cleaver didn't steal that money, General Motors did.

Instead of fighting or opposing the blacks, we should start learning from them.



United We Stand

"If our people fight one tribe at a time all will be killed. They can cut off our fingers one by one. But if we join together we will make a powerful fist."

—Little Turtle
Master General
Miami Indians, 1791

One reason we get screwed over so bad in here is because everybody just fights his own little battles.

Some guys think that "A man has to fight his own battles" and some just want to get by and "mind their own business." But this kind of thinking doesn't get us anywhere. In our situation in here we've got to get together and say, "An injury to one is an injury to all." We've got to pull ourselves together and form a powerful union. Our union leadership here just doesn't operate like this, however. Just look at what happened last spring, when they knocked out the back wall of the body shop. It was freezing cold in there. Everyone was working with jackets or two pairs of coveralls on. Those were intolerable working conditions! The union should have shut the plant down and demanded that we get paid for the night. But they didn't. Finally at six-thirty a handful of men had the courage to walk off. When they were replaced, another twenty or so guys wouldn't go back on the line. After all this had happened the Union heavies finally burst upon the scene. We got sent home that night but nobody got S.U.B. because it was an illegal work stoppage. Damn it, it should be illegal to make men work under those conditions!

If our union wanted to be strong they would have

"cleared the decks" that night! If they had any backbone they would have closed the plant down tight after thirty guys got suspended! But they say they have to stay within the limits of the contract and rely on the umpire and the courts to settle things. The result is, the company has no fear at all of the union and does what it damn well pleases. Remember the night after those guys got suspended how plant protection stopped everyone on the way in so that none of the suspended guys got in?

Well, it would be nice if we had a fighting union, but it seems that the only thing they're interested in fighting is a bunch of college kids practicing their Constitutional rights, selling newspapers (lousy papers anyway) at the gates. What we've got to do is start pulling ourselves together into small groups on the floor. If a guy on your line or in your area gets some grief from a foreman give him some help. How? Everybody knows how, in fact in some areas guys have been doing it for years.

If a man in your area gets harassed, it should make you sick, so sick in fact, that you'll need a hospital pass or an emergency relief right away. I also know that I can't do my job right if a friend of mine is being harassed.

If we can build up enough of these tight groups, after a while we can start getting them together, so that the next time there's water on the floor where men are using electrical tools it won't be just twelve men walking off.

Maybe next time the paint shop walks out because of the heat, the body shop will go too.

What will the company do then?

What will the union do?

Will they suspend all of us and try to run the plant with scabs?

How many men would cross a picket line we set up at the gates?

Will the union back us?

Will the company sic the police on us with their riot sticks?

Maybe next time the company tries to push us around we'll walk off the lines, but not out of the plant. Maybe we'll take the goddam place over until we get what's rightfully ours!

Detroit – A hot afternoon in the middle of July. Two foremen and a jobsetter lie dead. James Johnson, conveyor loader, Dept. 78, the Brake Shoe Dept., Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant, Chrysler Corporation, tosses his M-1 carbine aside saying, "I'm satisfied," and walks down the aisles of the plant to the company guard shack where the Detroit police take him prisoner, charged with murder.

Hundreds of workers stood in the aisles in surrounding departments, thinking about the shootings they had just witnessed. Company officials ordered all lines immediately started, but the workers did not move. Orders came down for several departments to go home early. The workers left.

Groups of worried and shaken foremen gathered on Lynch Road. ELRUM (Eldon Revolutionary Union Movement, a division of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers) leafleted the plant the next day approving of Johnson's action. Black workers dug the leaflet, an ELRUM member reported. Many workers were saying things like "this evens things up." "Everyone has to die sometime," and "They won't be so fast to write people up now."

FLASHBACK: April 16. The second shift, Johnson's shift, wildcats when Chrysler fires a black worker who argued with his foreman, and refuses to discipline the shift supervisor who had picked up a pinion gear and told the worker: "I'll bash your brains out." After two days, the United Auto Workers Local

961, which serves the workers at Eldon, gets cold feet and orders everybody back to work.

FLASHBACK: May 1. The plant is shut down by another wildcat, protesting Chrysler's summary firing of 14 stewards for organizing the first wildcat. Stewards are the foot-soldiers of the union, directly responsible to small groups of workers, serving as their first line of defense against the company.

Chrysler obtains a quick and easy injunction against the second wildcat with only token opposition from a UAW attorney, who at one point is heard to say to the judge: "I only vaguely represent Local 961."

* * * *

The UAW always opposes wildcat strikes because they threaten its control over the workers in the plants, and therefore threaten the UAW leadership's tacit pact with the auto companies to trade uninterrupted production for dollar benefits. This leaves working conditions up to the corporations and toothless union locals.

* * * *

FLASHBACK: May 3. Armed with the injunction, local 961 officers and high-level UAW representatives order Eldon workers back to work without insisting the fired stewards first be reinstated. A second strike has failed. The workers have seen their strongest, most aggressive stewards tossed into the street. Without their stewards, they are completely at the mercy of their foremen and Chrysler. Morale is low. Chrysler is beaming.

FLASHBACK: The early weeks of June. Some of the stewards get their jobs back by signing an agreement to be fired if there's ever another walkout on the second shift. The stewards have many years of seniority to protect, and some would be hard-pressed to get another job at their age. Chrysler knows that.

Eldon Ave, Gear and Axle Plant is completely unsafe. The ventilation system is inoperative. The

aisles are blocked by skids and boxes. Working conditions are so bad, Chrysler has taken the unusual step of appointing a number of Black foremen to cool down workers.

FLASHBACK: May 25. Three tons of scrap steel fall off a fork-lift truck so unsafe it should have been scrapped long ago. Gary Thompson, a 22-year-old Black Vietnam vet, is crushed beneath. Local 961 and Chrysler both send their boys to the funeral, but Local 961 is as unwilling to fight for the safety rules that would have prevented Gary Thompson's death as Chrysler is to implement them.

* * * *

The pattern is clear. Intimidate the union until the stewards are afraid to aggressively represent workers on the floor of the plant. Lay off workers and speed up the lines to save profits in a time of inflation. Step up the threats, suspensions and firings of all workers who object to being pushed around. Eventually, high union officials will blink, whatever the abuses. By this time, the plushness of their offices will rival managements's own.

* * * *

FLASHBACK: Early May. James Johnson is involved in a car-crash which totals his vehicle and his doctors tell him to stay home from work. The company medics order him back to work. He protests but Clarence Horton, the steward who represents the brake shoe department, was fired for organizing the April 16 wildcat. James Johnson goes back to work, having no means to fight the company's order.

FLASHBACK: The first week of June. He returns to his job after a two-week summer vacation but gets called down to the office where they tell him he's fired and won't get his vacation pay. No

reason. James Johnson still has no steward to fight for him, but the abuse is so flagrant that the management takes him back two days later on it's own initiative.

By this time, James Johnson has become a "trouble-maker". It's not what you do that makes you a "trouble - maker." You become a "trouble - maker" whenever the company decides to get rid of you. After three years at Eldon, Johnson's turn his come.

FLASHPOINT: July 15. Chrysler replaces James Johnson with a worker hired two weeks ago. No longer a conveyor loader, he is told his new job is to work the brake oven; to place brake shoes in ovens to bake on their coating. The entire operation takes place in 120 degree heat.

James Johnson protests angrily, takes off to the labor relations office with his steward and his general foreman, Jim Rhoades. "I couldn't do nothing," the steward is reported to have said the next day, referring to the meeting with the labor relations slickies. Brother James Johnson had to protest all alone.

"We're going to give you a few days off to stay home and cool off," Rhoades is reported to have told Johnson as the meeting come to an end.

"No you won't. I'm going to come back here and kill you."

GUNFIRE: James Johnson returned to the plant with a 30 caliber carbine in a desperate search for his general foreman. Reportedly, he asked all of his fellow workers to stand back because he did not intend to hurt them. In pursuit of James Rhoades, he encountered instead his foreman, then the foreman of an adjacent department, and finally a job-setter who tried to disarm him. All three died on the spot.

This is what has been happening at Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle, and it must have all flashed in James Johnson's mind when he decided to handle the situation in his own way. It's obvious that workers

STATEMENT OF EMPLOYEE REPRIMAND OR PENALTY

DIVISION _____ PLANT _____

EMPLOYEE _____ CLOCK NO. _____ SHIFT _____

JOB CLASSIFICATION _____

To maintain discipline and efficiency of employes is the responsibility of Management. Violation of Shop Rules, Plant Regulations or other acts of misconduct are sufficient grounds for disciplinary action, ranging from reprimand to discharge, depending upon the seriousness of the offense in the judgment of Management.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE:



The
Tank



Copies to:

1. Industrial Relations Department
2. Department Superintendent
3. Employee

(In _____)

(Date this statement is presented or mailed to employe)