

Mr. Percy Llewellyn - L
Mr. Dennis East (interviewer) - E

E: This is Dennis East at the home of Mr. Percy Llewellyn in Dearborn, Michigan. The date is January 19, 1971. All right, Mr. Llewellyn, could you please tell us a little about yourself - a biographical sketch of your life, when you first came to Detroit, etcetera?

L: I was born in Fayette City, Pennsylvania, on January 4, 1905. I was raised by my grandfather and attended school until the eighth grade. While attending school I was mainly interested in the activities of the United Mine Workers, who were the main labor organization in that section in the state of Pennsylvania. I went to work at eleven years old at the California Bottling Works - working days I made a \$1.00 a day for 8 hours and working afternoons from 3:00 to 12:00 midnight, I made \$1.20 a day.

At the age of thirteen I went to work with my grand-dad, who was a river captain on the Monongahela River; his license, of course, extended further than that as a captain and as a pilot down into the Ohio River, all of the Monongahela River and the navigable parts of the Allegheny River. Most of our work was the towing of barges of coal from the coal mines on the Monogahela River to the steel mills, mostly in the area of Pittsburgh. However, on occasion we went down the Ohio River as far as Stuebenville with coal. On one occasion I went from Pittsburg on a boat called the Boaz into New Orleans with a load of coal.

While employed on the boats, I joined the Longshoreman's Association and took part in one strike which lasted approximately three weeks. Now at about 13 1/2 or 14 I left the boat and worked at the tipple of the Crescent Mine, owned by the Pittsburgh Coal Company, as a slate picker on various occasions. I worked at this mine until I was about 15 years of age. I then left and went to Douglas Business College in Charleroi, Pennsylvania, spent about a year there, left there and I went to work as a clerk on the railroad, back to the coal tipple, and back on the riverboats. Until after my marriage at the age of 19 I was going back and forth to work on the river boats and at the coal tipple - of course, I advanced at the coal tipple. While I was working in the coal tipple for the coal company I became a member of the United Mine Workers. I assume I was about 14 years of age when I became a member.

I was married at the age of 19, I worked; besides on the river boat I worked at times on the railroad as a gandy dancer. That, of course, is the job of repairing the tracks. I took the civil service examination for letter carrier in the city of California, Pennsylvania. They started me off as a village carrier at \$1150 a year salary. I immediately joined the National Association of Letter Carriers. My first grievance was that cities smaller than us were paying their carriers on a city basis while I was classified as a village carrier. Of course, I was the first letter carrier in this town. Through the Association of Letter Carriers I won my grievance and was advanced to letter carrier of the city

which brought my wages from \$1150 a year to \$1750. I was at the post office, worked there, and continued my membership with the National Association of Letter Carriers until the year 1932. At which time, because of political reasons between myself and the postmaster, I left.

I came to Detroit after looking around for jobs - there were none available down through Maryland, West Virginia, over to Ohio. I came to Detroit and was placed on a job at Ford. This job was obtained after I was invited to a political party. I was only here about two months. The City of Dearborn held a political party for two candidates. I was invited by an old friend of mine from Pennsylvania who was working for the City of Dearborn and asked me if I wanted to go to work for Ford. I asked him how could I go to work for Ford when Ford workers were unemployed? He advised me to go to City Hall and talk to the Mayor's Clerk - the mayor at that time was Clyde Ford. He gave me a note. I talked to the Mayor's Clerk. He told me that he didn't think there was anything available. However, I noticed, while over at the City Hall, that they were hauling workers out of the garage back of the City Hall and up Schaeffer Road and into the plant. I checked around and found that they were hiring people who were sent by the City of Dearborn to the Ford Motor Company. I went back and I told him what I had seen. So he then told me to report to the garage the next morning and on June the 20, 1932. I then was placed to work at Ford.

After my knowledge of labor unions from past years that I have worked, I knew that there was a necessity for union at Ford. And I called it to the attention of William Green, the President of national AF of L. Bill Green advised me by letter to get in touch with Frank Martell, the president fo the Detroit AF of L organization, which I did. He told me that the organization of Ford was impossible and that in his opinion if enough trade organizations were interested and could organize their trades it would be a probability, buy industrial organization would be impossible. At that time I became interested, prior to going to Fords.... the southend, the workers' section of Dearborn, were being organized by workers' groups. And I became a member of the Socialist Party and was instrumental, after being laid off at Ford for setting up a Progressive Club in the southend of Dearborn. This was done for the purpose of learning of labor organizations and to discuss the probabilities of the organization of the Ford workers. During the depression people were hungry. We went to creameries and obtained day-old milk. We obtained buttermilk. We went to bakeries and obtained day-old cake, bread. We went to the companies who were bringing in the meals to the Ford workers and obtained soup from them that was left and the sandwiches that were left from each shift. And we passed this stuff out to the people in the city of Dearborn, mainly those on the southend. Every day in the morning and in the evening they would be lined up with their pails or their bags to stand in line to pick up the necessary food that we were able to obtain.

E: Mr. Llewelyn, I would like to ask you if this Progressive Club is associated with any political party. You mentioned that you joined the Socialist Party; was this Progressive Club under the auspices of the Socialist Party?

L: The Progressive Club was not under the auspices of any political party. The Progressive Club was set up by members of the Socialist Party, but we felt that it would be easier at this time to stay unidentified as being officers or promoters of the Progressive Club.

The Progressive Club received notoriety mainly in Dearborn. Mr. Ford made the statement that soup kitchens were not needed in the city of Dearborn. And they offered the officers of the Progressive Club jobs in the plant if they would close up the club. We refused to do it. The club operated until WPA came into operation, at which time we were all allowed so many hours a week work, at so much an hour. If I can remember correctly it was 35¢ an hour, so many hours a week, based upon a single man or the size of his family. Then there was no longer need for our organization. This was one thing that we were right fighting for - the right to work for a living. The organization closed up gradually as the depression started to peter out and people were placed back to work on their jobs.

E: You mentioned Bill Green earlier. At that time in the early mid-thirties the AF of L had some automobile people here organizing - William Collins and Francis Dillon of the Detroit AF of L. Did you in any way work with them in organizing out at Ford or was this more or less an independent effort by Ford workers?

L: It comes to my mind now that the person who I went to see, who I was directed to, was Frank Martel, the President of the Detroit Federation of Labor. At that time, which was '32, there was no semblance of organization. The only literature that was received by workers was literature smuggled in sometimes by the Communist Party, Proletarian Party or some leftist workers party. Collins came into the picture, if I can remember correctly, around about '34. He was provisional - set up as a provisional President of the Auto Workers Union.

E: That was Dillion.

L: You're correct, it was Dillion. Collins came in, I believe, under the NRA. What do they call the NRA when we put the initial B?

E: The National Recovery Act?

L: Yes, the National Recovery Act. But they gave them some right to work there. However, Ford was never effected by any of this going on. Approximately 1934-35, Dillion then became appointed as an officer of the new union called the United Automobile Workers. He

served in that capacity until 1936 at which time at the South Bend Convention the Auto Workers took over and elected Martin as President and Addes as Secretary Treasurer.

- E: My question was related to what extent were the workers who were interested in organizing at Ford working with Dillion and Collins and other people from the AF of L. Weren't they primarily concentrating on GM rather than Ford?
- L: You mean Collins? Well, they were maneuvering but there was nothing being done. The Ford workers had no knowledge of it; even if they did have, it was because of the Ford Service Department. It was unbeknown; they were afraid. At that time, of course, at Ford you didn't try to, regardless of your seniority. When layoff time comes you may be the youngest guy and continue to work while the oldest guy would still be laid off. Now these are the things which we discussed and talked about. I became a member of the UAW on February 1, 1937, and although I had been doing work and talking to people about unions, I didn't become an active member until February, 1937, at which time I then began signing up and taking membership fees and turning them in to Local 174 at that time.
- E: Had you gone to Reuther and said you wanted to do this or just how, exactly, did you get involved?
- L: I talked to Reuther and told him I was going to do it and he liked me, and besides me, there were also other people who were working towards the organization. We were bringing our members into Local 174. During this time, however, workers on the east side, for example, were joining Briggs locals, and Ford workers were joining Chrysler locals. They were joining other local unions which were then in existence. So I was discharged from Ford for union activities on May 19, 1937.
- E: Did they tell you that was why you were discharged or was it under some other pretense?
- L: I was working at the time in the crank shaft department of the Motor Building as an inspector. At that time the Ford Motor Company had two inspection groups. One was what they call the production inspection group who worked under the production superintendent of that particular department. The other was the final inspection department which worked under the superintendent of inspection for the entire plant; I was working for him and his name was Norris. In reporting for work this morning I reported at ten minutes to seven and immediately the superintendent of production inspection came to me and said, "Percy, you're in trouble." He said they called me up to Al Smith, the superintendent of the building office, and said you were the organizer for the UAW and I had to get rid of you. I explained that you didn't work for me, that you worked for Mr. Norris. Don't tell anybody I told you; Mr. Norris will probably be seeing you after he reports for work. Mr. Norris reported at 8:00 in the morning; he

was my general superintendent. He wore a star; they called them a star because there were stars instead of letters on their badges. He always came to me and asked me how things were going and I explained to him this morning that we were having some trouble, and showed him some examples of some of the cranks which I had pulled off the line and thrown out. He told me not to let them get over into the motor assembly. I said I'd do my best. He left me and 15 minutes later he was standing in back of a pole watching me. I was still at my bench. About five minutes later he said, "Come on, you gotta go with me. I'm tired of you sitting up here fooling around and not doing your job. We got all kinds of this stuff over on the assembly line." I went up past my time clock and he told me to ring out my card. The time keeper had picked up all the cards and the only time card in the card rack was mine. I had no problem ringing it out. He took me up to the superintendent's office where two service men then took me from there to the employment office. When I got to the employment office Mr. Miller said, "What are you doing, Percy?" He said, "Fooling and bothering these other people down there that are trying to do a day's work." I told him I certainly was not, I had done my job, I received an increase in pay on the last pay that I got, and if I was fooling around I certainly wouldn't have received it. He told me to go home and get in touch with him in a couple of days. In the meantime I had ordered a new car from a Ford dealer and they had called me when I got home and said your car is ready, to come down and pick it up. I said, "I can't pick it up, I haven't got a job, I'm fired." He asked me where I was fired from and I told him I was fired from Ford. "Don't worry," he said. "We'll take care of it." So I waited until the next day and I called him and I said, "Well, what am I going to do about the car? Am I going back to work?" He said, "No, come down today and we will give you back your refund." So I went to Holdsworth to get my refund back, went over to Fords employment office as I was told to do and went in. He said, "When we find a job for you we will let you know." That was on the 19th of May.

At the overpass a week later, we seem to think that nobody was injured there or roughed up except Reuther and Frankenstein, but there were people - roughly 60 or 70 including myself - around other sections of that plant who were passing out leaflets at Miller Road and Dix Highway, who were beaten up. I was beaten up on that day around about 2:00 in the afternoon by a group of people who jumped from a car and grabbed me and beat me, took my leaflets and let me lay there. I was able to get up and get over across the street in my car and get out of there. The next day I came down to the international union which was headquartered at Woodward Avenue across from a hotel....it was in the Hoffman Building. In the Hoffman Building I saw the President of our International Union, Homer Martin. He looked at my two black eyes and said I looked like I'd been out at Fords. He wanted to talk to me, so I went with him into his office and he said, "Do you want to go to work for us?" I said, "I'd better go to work for somebody," so he gave

me a job as an International Representative for the UAW. I continued to work there for the UAW. He set up a committee for the organization of Ford consisting of Reuther, Frankenstein, myself and a gentleman - that I have tried to remember the name of - who formally had worked for the AF of L.

E: Kennedy?

L: Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was his name. And we proceeded to the organization of the Ford workers.

E: What instructions did you have at that time from Mr. Martin, or how would you proceed in that?

L: He said work under Mr. Kennedy and along with the committee on the organization work. I explained the need of meetings in the city of Dearborn. I said that is where we have to break down the animosity against organized labor. That is where the majority of your Ford workers reside. Of all the workers living in the city, you will find that better than 75% of them are Ford employees. We began immediately setting up a series of meetings in Dearborn. We started at Baby Creek Park, that which is on the boundary between Dearborn and Detroit. After getting permission for our meeting from the City of Detroit we immediately put out our leaflets advising the Ford workers of such a meeting. At these meetings - outside meetings - we had good gatherings. We continued to hold meetings, mainly home meetings in basements and at night, but we had to watch because in the home meetings especially, you were followed. I did most of my driving, it seems, through the rear view mirror watching who was following me. At one particular meeting, I can remember, I attended over on Hartwell in Dearborn - an Italian fellow's basement. He had about ten of his fellow workers with him and we discussed the ways and means of obtaining a union at Ford. I left this meeting at approximately 10:30 in the evening. I was driving from Hartwell over to Miller to my home which was on Mulkey in the City of Dearborn and I had to go under the Eggle Street underpass unto what is now Wyoming, which at that time was Mulkey. This car was still following me and in back of this car was a police car. I was driven into the curb about 400 feet north of the brown house on Mulkey which was always called a whore house and I was beaten up very badly. They left in the car, the police car then drove up, picked me up and took me to Ford Plant first aid, patched me up and took me over to Dearborn jail. Over at Dearborn jail next morning I was not charged with anything, but brought before Carl Brooks, the chief of police. Carl says, "Percy, you're at it again. How many times have we told you to behave yourself." I said, "What am I charged with now?" He said, "You know what you did." I said, "Yeah, I know what happened, but I didn't do anything unlawfully." He said that wasn't the story they got, that I started a fracas in that whore house and the guys beat the hell out of me and threw me out and their police picked me up. I said, "Chief, if there is a whore house in this town

then it's your responsibility. The chief got mad and told me to get the hell out of his office. I always feel because of these incidents that I have seniority in jail in the city of Dearborn but at no time have I ever been charged with anything. I've been picked up for putting out leaflets, I have been picked up for talking to workers in restaurants and bars, I have been taken to jail and I have been released, but at no time have I ever been charged.

Ben Allen was assigned by the LaFollete Committee and was in the city of Detroit making his investigation as to paid informers and spys in the labor movement. Among one of his duties was to investigate the organization called the Knights of Dearborn. He said to me that they are meeting tonight on Shaeffer and Michigan, right near the building where now stands the Montgomery Wards store. He said, "Come with me, I'm going to serve subpoenas." I asked him how he was getting to the meeting and he said we'd get in somehow.

E: What were the Knights of Dearborn?

L: The Knights of Dearborn was an organization that was opposed to the organization of the Ford Motor Company. By labor unions and referring to all members that all people interested as being members of the Communist Party, so Ben and I went to the building. We walked up the stairs, walked right in and started down to serve a subpoena. The chairman of the meeting was Sam Taylor who was the service man in charge of Goons at Ford Motor Company's Rouge Plant. While Ben was down there serving subpoenas, approximately 20 to 25 members who were at the meeting shouted, throw them out, throw them out. He then passed out his subpoenas, backed down the stairs with the people still yelling at him and the police at the bottom (somebody apparently called the police) of the stairs, picked up Ben and me and takes us down to the police station. Ben showed them his credentials as being an officer in the United States Senate, but the policemen paid no attention to it. Instead of locking us up he took us into the Chief of Police office and about ten minutes later Carl Brooks, the Chief of Police, arrived and asked me what was going on. Ben spoke up and said, "Here are my credentials." The Chief of Police looked at his credentials and said, "But where are his credentials? Allen said, "But he is my deputy." The Chief turned around to Inspector Slammer, who was in charge of our arrest, and started to ball Slammer out for picking us up. Slammer, in turn, started to cuss out the Chief for giving him orders to pick us up. We were then released.

E: There was the organization started by the Ford Motor Company called the Ford Brotherhood. What did you do to combat the Ford Brotherhood and what were some of the circumstances?

L: The Ford Brotherhood was the first company union that showed up in the plant. They were collecting a dollar from each member for his membership. In most cases these memberships were solicited by the

worker's foreman. And the workers felt that if he didn't join he'd be out of work, so he coughed up his dollar. Many of these people were members of our organization and they would come to me and tell me what was taking place. I went to the National Labor Relations Board and demanded that if this was a union, then they should hold a meeting for the purpose of electing officers and discussing their organization problems. Frank Bowen, who was the director of the regional office of the National Labor Relation Board, contacted a person, I believe - I'm not sure - but I believe his name was MacMalley, an attorney who was supposedly heading the Ford Brotherhood.

E: Do you mean McDowell, William McDowell?

L: McDowell, William McDowell and he was to tell him that if he had, that if his union is receiving complaints and if his union was a bonified union then a meeting should be held of its membership. He promised that he would. So he obtained a place right off of Michigan Avenue in the city of Detroit and called a meeting. He sent out notices to his members that a meeting would be held there and that the card received by them - a mimeographed card received by them - would allow them entrance into the meeting. Workers brought these cards to me and asked me what to do. I took some to Dodge local and to Briggs local and they mimeographed approximately 500 cards. We then called a meeting of the flying squad at Dodge and Briggs and explained what was taking place and asked for volunteers to go there with these cards and be admitted. They went there, we gave them the outline of what would take place. Some of our members which were fired would be there. We gave them the names of who we wanted them to look for, so they went ot the meeting and everybody with a card was admitted. All they did was just show your card and you got in. I told these workers who were not yet members of the Ford Brotherhood not to go. And I advised these people who had come to me with their card not to go, that there would be enough workers there to take care of the situation. I didn't want to advise all the people who were appointed to me because in my mind at that time.....

It was proposed from the floor that we disaffiliate with the Ford Brotherhood and join the UAW. It passed, practically unanimously. The meeting was adjourned and the following Monday morning we appeared before the National Labor Relations Board. After talking to our attorney, prior to appearing before the National Labor Relations Board, we went to McDowell's office and asked for the records and he refused them. We then proceeded through the National Relations Board and explained what we'd done and that was the last of the Ford Brotherhood.

E: What ever happened to the records of the Ford Brotherhood?

L: The records we never received and we don't know what ever happened. Whether the National Labor Relations Board had got these records or not, we don't know. You see, a lot of things that have happened

in the early days that would have been a.....people today who hold jobs in the international union and people today who hold positions of trust, many people today in the local unions, especially the Local 600, would have been named with all of these things that were picked up with the '37 hearing which was under the new hearing to come up. We got to remember in 1941 when we signed our new agreement, the first agreement with Ford, we had to drop all of our cases before the National Labor Relations Board; therefore, there are people today who, as I said, would be asked to testify why they were doing certain things in behalf of Ford and against the unions who are today out telling you what wonderful people these unions are.

E: After the breaking of the Ford Brotherhood then in 1938 there was a continuation of organizing and there was a man by the name of Dembrowski who was on Dick Frankenstein's staff and you were trying to organize a series of meetings. You got some opposition from him about these meetings, particularly a meeting that you had planned for Fordson High School and the Miller Auditorium. What do you recall about the circumstances of Mr. Dembrowski's opposition to those meetings? Wasn't the UAW fully committed to the organizing at Ford at that time?

L: Well, prior to meeting in Dearborn at Fordson we had various meetings with Homer Martin, at which he had a former police commissioner in the City of Detroit, another name now that I'm trying to recall, who had met with us and told us that the Liberty Legion would become a union and talked to us concerning plans on how we could merge the Liberty Legion with the UAW. And how we could.....things that we could do which I and a few others disagreed with, so he felt that we should attend such meetings, which were generally held in the Eddystone Hotel in the city of Detroit where Homer Martin at that time resided and felt that we would be able to break up the Liberty Legion and bring them into the UAW. But after a trial examiner referred to the Liberty Legion as a company union, headed by a Justice of Peace in the city of Dearborn, who called himself the Judge, Leo Shaeffer. And I felt that knowing this man and knowing his background, there was everything in favor of the Liberty Legion that was against the organization of Ford into a legitimate union. But Dembrowski and I disagreed on that. In fact, he did not want to hold meetings of the UAW. However, I convinced enough people that we should hold them. To get the Dearborn Auditorium, or the Fordson Auditorium rather, we had to go to the Dearborn Board of Education. We got the permission to hold this meeting and then we were denied because of the efforts on the part of the allied veteran organization who also was opposed to unions in the city of Dearborn. So I immediately went out with a petition and I got the addresses of Dearborn residents working in Dodge plants, Chrysler plants and General Motors plants who were organized and I went to them and asked them if they would sign a petition, as property holders, to allow us to use the Fordson Auditorium. I got enough signatures, it demanded a meeting and after another fight we were given permission to hold the meeting. After the meeting was set up, Dembrowski

and Martin appeared and spoke at the meeting. But they were in negotiation with the former Police Commissioner of the City of Detroit. However, we were able to fill up Fordson Auditorium with an overflow that had to go from one meeting to another so that we had to go over into the gymnasium and from there over to Miller Road.

E: Why were Martin and Dembrinski associated with the Police Commissioner of Detroit?

L: Well, he wasn't Police Commissioner at the time, Gillespie was his name. He was a former Police Commissioner, who was employed under Bennett - Harry Bennett over at Ford - and he was interceding between the Ford Motor Company and Homer Martin for the purpose of stopping the organization of the Ford Workers.

E: You felt that the meeting ought to go ahead and get as much support as it possibly could?

L: My first knowledge - I had suspicions of what they were doing - buy my first knowledge at the time when I felt I was sure was after the Trail Examiner and the National Labor Relations Board Case had ruled against the company union. I immediately got his findings and mimeographed them and put them out at the intersections. This let them know what the Liberty Legion was and what the Trail Examiner said they were in the city of St. Louis. I used the same thing in the state of New York at our hearing when we went down there to testify against the Liberty Legion receiving a charter in the state of New York. We used the findings of the National Labor Relations Board against the Liberty Legion in the city of St. Louis. Martin called me in after we put these leaflets out and asked me who authorized me to put the leaflet out. I said that nobody authorized me; I did them on my own. He then said not to put anything else out. He said, "Well, you know we think we'll pull the Liberty Legion over into the UAW, and it may hurt us by still putting leaflets out like this, so don't do it anymore. Then I started to figure that he was playing along with the Ford Motor Company.

E: I was going to ask you that. How positive were you and other people that Martin was working along with rather than against the Ford Motor Company? Was it pretty clear that he was working with them?

L: Well, after this incident I received a telegram from Scottie Haywood, who was then the director of the CIO in the state of New York. He told me that the Liberty Legion had made application before the Board of Appeals in Albany for a charter to do business in the state of New York. He says this hearing will be held on a certain date. A week later they had made application for a hearing in Harrisburg in the state of Pennsylvania. I immediately went to Martin, told him that I was able to take some witnesses there and asked him for expenses to take them to Albany. He at that time refused me. He said it was not necessary. I felt from then on

that he was not interested in the UAW as much as he was in the Liberty Legion and the Ford Motor Company. However, I was able to go to George Addes, Secretary-Treasurer, and after talking to George he gave me \$100.00 to take care of my witnesses. I then picked up one worker, who was still employed at Ford but refused to join the Liberty Legion, by the name of Rosco Store. He said he would go and testify against them. I then got a hold of Gerry Adams, who was a foreman at Ford and who was discharged because he refused to join his workers into the Liberty Legion. I then obtained another fella who was discharged from Ford because he refused to join the Liberty Legion. We got in my old Chevy and we drove to Albany and appeared at the hearing. These people testified there was nobody at this meeting representing the CIO. When we got there our attorney then joined us from Detroit - who contacted him I don't know - but he joined us at the time of the hearing. I had advised my witnesses to be aware of Ford Service Men because we'd seen a lot of Ford Service cars there and at the hearing there was quite a number of people. I told them that when the hearing was over we would all stick together. Well, after we had testified and Rosco Store - who said that I was employed by the Ford Motor Company before I came here and don't know whether I got a job when I get back - had testified, we recessed. These people in the back came down and they said, "Llewellyn, we represent the AF of L of the State of New York. You people have done a wonderful job here and under no circumstances do we think that they will receive a charter. They took us out and wined and dined us and came back in the afternoon and finished up and left to go to Detroit. The Court of Appeal denied them the right claiming that they were a company union and could not function under the laws as a labor union in the State of New York. In Harrisburg the appeal never came up. They withdrew their application for charter in the State of Pennsylvania. That is the last we have heard of the Liberty Legion.

E: Did the Liberty Legion ever come into Michigan?

L: The Liberty Legion has workers signed up in the Ford Plant.

E: But they never applied in Michigan?

L: In the State of Michigan there was no reason for them to apply. Their laws do not require them to get a charter in the State of Michigan. But in the State of New York and Pennsylvania it was required.

E: What was Homer Martin's reaction when he found out that you had gone out and testified against the Liberty Legion? Did he contact you then?

L: Martin never contacted me. He never had anything to say to me concerning it. Of course it was months after that before we actually got the official opinion from New York. The papers that I have given you - I think it was the Albany Standard or something - told of the thing there.

- E: When you got back from testifying there is this when Local 600 came into being? Is that when it started pushing for a charter?
- L: Local 600 was already into effect. Local 600 was chartered in August of 1938. That is when the group of us went to Martin and said that because of his factional fighting we didn't expect any organizational activities by his international union. That if the plant is going to be organized, then apparently it has got to be organized by the workers themselves. And we like to have Charter. He set up a charter and appointed the officers until the next regular election after they had drawn up by-laws.
- E: Were you active in factional politics at this time, were you a pro-Martin man or anti or neutral?
- L: I try to be neutral. I only took my position is what I felt was best for the organization - especially the Ford workers.
- E: When the UAW set up Local 600 you were elected first president, is that right?
- L: I was appointed the first president, but then was re-elected later. Then in 19....I can't remember the date of the Cleveland Convention. That's after the split between Martin and the other officers. The CIO faction then, which we stayed was headed by R.J. Thomas, but prior to that....'39 Convention....I'm trying to get the dates of these conventions, because prior to the St. Louis Convention in 1940 I had called my board of directors together and I said we are going to have to take the organization of the Ford workers out of the hands of the UAW and put them into the hands of the CIO. And I recommended a resolution to be taken to the convention in St. Louis calling for the setting up of an organization director by the CIO for the purpose of organizing Ford.
- E: 1940?
- L: 1940 - and on the adoption of the resolution by the UAW Convention in 1940 we then would step out of office and allow the UAW to take over the trusteeship of our local union with the organizational directors from the CIO being in charge of organization.
- E: Who was Michael Widmen?
- L: As the Resolution was adopted there were two dissenting votes from my Board and we stepped out of office. The UAW took over Trusteeship and Widmen came in from the CIO as Organizational Director and from there on we had clear sailing.
- E: Well, earlier before that convention in St. Louis in 1940 when you introduced that resolution, it was 1939 the House of American Activity Committee in Detroit named Walter Reuther supposedly as a Communist and didn't Homer Martin remove you from the presidency of Local 600 then and put it under administrativeship?

L: Martin didn't ever remove us from the Local Union. The only thing that he did after we split, I took my group with the CIO, you see, and he took his group and continued it under Local 600, but we had the Charter.

E: You had the Charter?

L: Yes, and we continued to operate to the point where prior to Widman coming in. They were operating out of a bank building in the city of Detroit which was the original headquarters of the Ford Organization Drive and the local union after it was chartered. They had control of the building, they had control of the files, but I still had the membership and the membership meetings. I was told to get those files away from them. We didn't know how to approach this, how we were going to get these files. We knew they were in the bank and locked up in the vault. We met and I picked up some boys and we checked around to find how we were going in to get them. We arrived upon a plan.

We arrived at the Ford Headquarters that morning about daylight, jimmed the front door and got inside at 7:00 in the morning. I called a locksmith. I explained to the locksmith that the Secretary-Treasurer had left town and we wouldn't get the vault open and we had to have it open immediately. In the meantime he came out, drilled the vault open, changed the combination and gave us the new combination. Around about 9:00 before we could get everything moved out of there they came to the headquarters. We locked the door on the inside and they started picketing around and got the police. The police came to the bank building and said, "What are you doing here? They said, "These people broke and entered into that building; they have no right to." The inspector said, "I don't know who is in charge here; I don't know whether they have the right in here or you have the right. Go see your attorney." In the meantime, they had put locks and chains on the handle of the door and he said, "If they haven't got the right in there, then why have you locked them in? Take that chain off that door." So they took the chain and locks off, and while they were looking for their attorneys, we moved everything out. Two days later I was served with a summons for breaking and entering and along with six John Doe's. It was served to me on a Friday and I believe the 30th of May was on a Monday, and he said, "If I take you in and take these other fellas in you'd be in jail until after the holiday." He said, "You're on your own if you give me a promise that you'll be at the McGraw Station Tuesday morning at 9:00 and have these other fellas with you - I'll leave them with you." I accepted, not knowing if these fellas would show up or not. I went to each one of them and each one of them showed up and we went to the McGraw Station. They finger printed us, mugged us, put us in the patrol wagon, took us downtown and the judge left us out on our own recognizance. When the hearing came up, the old question arose as to what we were going to do. The attorney said, "If it comes to the worst, Llewellyn, you'll have to plead guilty - and it looks that way - to exonerate

the other six people." But I said, "If you make a check of the records of who owns that bank building and of who leased it, I think we've got the case won. They subpoena the man from the bank who testified that the lease was signed by Percy Llewellyn, the president. Percy Llewellyn signed the lease, Percy Llewellyn is guilty of breaking and entering his own building, therefore, we haven't a case." That was it.

E: In your opinion, why was Martin on such good terms with the Ford Motor Company? There seems to be a personal factor involved here. Martin, I thought, was a dedicated union man.

L: I had the opinion that Martin was a dedicated union man up until his position against us in doing anything, passing out any leaflets concerning anything about the Liberty Legion, and after meeting with him and then with the former Police Commissioner Gillespie who was representing Bennett. I came to the opinion that he was not dedicated to the principles of the organization as set up in South Bend. Outside of the few people who were still loyal to Martin and who felt that he was doing the right thing in trying to consolidate the Liberty Legion, but with the background of the leadership of the Liberty Legion and the people he was working with, I and my people felt that he was wrong. That the job of organization when he came in.....Martin came into a meeting (I'll never forget this meeting) - I was called downtown, picked up by a couple of representatives, and taken down to Griswold Street where the headquarters of the International Union was at that time. I was told there that Bennett had investigated me, they had all the information concerning my activities and they knew everything that I ever did. They knew that I have stopped at times to talk to Reuther; they have all the background and everything and I have got to work with them on the organization and stick with Martin. After telling me some of the stuff that they knew, that they were going to get, the Liberty Legion was going to belong to the UAW, and I should go along with them. I didn't know what to think. I left there in a daze.

I went over to Larry Davidow, who was an old Socialist friend of mine who was an attorney for the UAW at that time, and I explained to Larry just what I thought. I can't understand the conniving in working with guys like Gillespie and Bennett and expecting to have the labor union, and I came to him for advice and I said, "Yes," and he said, "Then go along with your president." Well, I felt he let me down. So I left there and went over to the president of the CIO, and went to Adolph Germer and told him my story. He said, "Let's talk to John Lewis," so he called Lewis' office and tried to arrange for an appointment. He then advised that I do not attend a board meeting called - I think it was on a Friday - and he said, "Tell them you're ill and you can't get there and keep away from any meetings that are going to make any decisions." So I called up on Sunday morning and told them that I was ill and was not able to attend the meeting Sunday morning at 10:00. However, Carl Smith and these two representatives I was with knocked at the door, came

into my apartment and said, "Get dressed; you're going." So I went. One got in the car with me while I drove mine and the other two followed. We went to the meeting. At this meeting they said, "We have planned a meeting for tonight. We have notified as quickly as possible all the Ford workers who are layed-off. Martin will be here, and he's going to tell us what can be done." I was outvoted on anything that I suggested and I said that I would attend the meeting that night. In the meantime I had got a hold of Adolph Germer again and in that case he said to play along with them. I went to the meeting. Martin showed up with this goons. He gave them a very good introduction. He said, "We are going to get all of you fired guys back to work. Any person who can prove that he is not a member of the Communist Party will be placed back on the job. In the meantime, we are going to organize every highway, by-way, service station and garage. At the next convention we will have our members there. I have just gotten back from taking over Local 155 and 228. We have stormed the portals and they are ours, and our job is to line these people up and give us their names after you are certain that they are not Communist, and I will take them to Fords and you will get back." He said, "The Liberty Legion is nothing to worry about because they will belong to us." That was how the meeting turned out. In the meantime the loyal people were trying to locate the loyal employees. Very few, if any that I know, were ever sent back to work unless they were layed off for reason other other than labor activities in the plant. I convinced his loyal members that I should go to the National Labor Relations Board and get a list of all people whose names were filed there - the names were filed there because they were discharged for union activities - and bring them back so we can place them back on their old jobs and they thought that was a good idea. I proceeded to the National Labor Relations Board with one person, Paul Saint Marie, who thought my position was correct most of the time in what I was doing. We got to the National Labor Relations Board and I told Bowen all that had taken place. Frank Bowen said, "Let's get a hold of some of your international officers." We called the meeting, which in attendance were Leonard, Addes and Thomas, and they felt that they should call a special board meeting and I should move, go someplace in hiding and appear at this meeting when they were ready for me. I was then taken over to the Fort Wayne Hotel, placed in a room and kept in there for three days. Saint Marie went to my wife, told her I was there and not to worry about me. I was then picked up by Thomas' people and taken to the Griswold Building in which charges then were being raised. I testified.

E: Charges against Homer Martin?

L: I testified there as to what I had seen. At a special meeting immediately after that is when the split came. Martin fired half of his board who were not loyal to him and the CIO came in and set up headquarters in the Fort Shelby - you have one organization running out the Griswold Building headed by Martin, and the other running out of the Fort Shelby headed by Thomas. Meetings were set up

of the Executive Board in Cleveland. I appeared before that board with Saint Marie and decided further that these things had taken place, that the charges were brought against Martin and he was expelled.

E: You served as President of Local 600 from 1938 until when?

L: I served as President of Local 600 from 1938 until the St. Louis Convention in 1940, at which time the resolution was passed sending in a director of organization under full charge of CIO. The local union then was placed under administrativeship of the region.

E: What did you do then?

L: I continued as the representative of the local - I was still a representative of the international union while I was serving as president and it was the only salary that I received.

E: Then later you were elected to the International Executive Board?

L: I then at the 1941 or '42 convention - I believe in Buffalo - I presented on the floor of the convention a resolution asking that autonomy be restored to Local 600 so that they could then elect their officers and continue as a full fledged local union. It was passed unanimously. Steps were taken by the board and in 1942 I was elected Vice-President of Local 600 and Saint Marie was elected President. In 1943 I was elected President of Local 600. I did not fill out my full term because they wanted me to serve as international board member and regional director, and I served there in 1943 until the late fall of '47.

E: During your term, I saw in your scrapbook you got into some kind of a feud with Walter Reuther when you were Regional Director, and I was wondering what brought that about and if you care to talk about it?

L: Well, we can talk about politics of the UAW. I never wanted to leave Local 600. I was only elected in May of 1943 and in fall of '43...they wanted me to become a board member. I was loyal and faithful to Addes and had loyalty to R.J. Thomas, who was the president. Dick Leonard was the Regional Director of the west side, Co-Director, him and Stevenson. R.J. asked me to attend the meeting in the Fort Shelby Hotel in the fall prior to the Convention so I attended that meeting with my Vice-President. At this meeting I was then told that they wanted me to become a candidate for the board - Executive Board - which would mean being a regional director. I told R.J. Thomas, the President fo the International Union, that I had no desire of leaving Local 600. He said, "You have the full support of us and the Reuther group. You will support Dick Leonard for Secretary-Treasurer against Georges Addes." I told him that I would do that under no circumstances. They kept negotiating with me trying to get me to change my stand until about 4 A.M. in the

morning when R.J. said, "If Philip Murray wants you to do this will you do it?" I said, "I have a lot of faith in Phil; I've known Phil Murray longer than anybody on this international has known him; I knew him as a kid. I used to go next door to his sister's home when he was President of District 5. And many a time he bounced me on his knee with my boyfriend who was the son of his sister." And I said that I would listen to Phil and then make up my mind. They reached Phil at 4:00 in the morning at his home in Pittsburg. Phil called me to the phone and said, "What is the problem, Percy?" I told him that they want me to support Leonard against Addes, and that I will be guaranteed a member of the International Executive Board and Co-Director of Region 1A. I said that I didn't want to do it and I explained to him why. I said, "My loyalty has been to Addes; I don't want to forsake Addes and I have no desire to be a Regional Director." He asked me if I would do what he wanted me to do; would I take his advice. I asked him what his advice was, and he said to go along with my president, which meant then that I was suppose to support Leonard against Addes. The agreement was that if Leonard did not make it he would not accept to rerun and would support me for the Board. That is what took place. After going up to the convention and after Phil had left I was approached by a man by the name of Thompson, who was a CIO representative, who said Phil had called from Washington and wanted me to reconsider and not run. I said that Phil got me into this and if he wanted me out, to let him call me and talk to me. Under no circumstances would I listen to him. The election went on; I was elected, Leonard refused to run. There was no question that I was elected and became a board member because of that.

E: Was Leonard elected Secretary-Treasurer?

L: Leonard was not elected Secretary-Treasurer. Leonard was appointed Ford Director.

E: They were trying to remove Addes?

L: They were trying to remove Addes.

E: For what reason? Because of his former loyalty to Martin or....

L: No, Addes didn't have any former loyalty to Martin. They were trying to get rid of Addes because they thought he might possibly be a threat to Thomas.

E: Getting back to what I originally asked, I got the impression that while you were Regional Director you had conflict over some issues, or maybe it's just the politics of the UAW with Walter Reuther, and I was wondering what the circumstances were regarding that.

L: Well, there were issues on which I was opposed to Reuther. But even though my issue, my feeling today might be outdated with the young people today coming up in the labor movement, when I was with the union I felt that you got to look back and take labor history

and consider positions that labor has taken in the years gone by and give them some consideration in making decisions. Walter's position was different. He said that it was outmoded. I said, "Well, they may be outmoded, but without the help of the government and the National Labor Relations Offices and the Taft-Hartley laws and things, they worked in this country over a period of years. And sometimes we're going to have to take a look at them and possibly feel that we can't depend upon government agencies at times to help us." And that was one big thing that we disagreed on. Another thing that we disagreed on was that Walter's Local 174 being an amalgamated local of a lot of plants - a large amalgamated local of a lot of plants which were able to have their own separate local unions. In the plant at that time they had a Cadillac local, which is now local union 22, which I was able to pull out of his west side local. He didn't like that. I was able to pull the Kelsey Hayes division out of the west side local. He didn't like that so he felt that I was trying to tear up his local union. I felt it was more proper for these people to have an organization of their own instead of becoming a part of amalgamated consisting of maybe a hundred different local unions, a hundred different plants with a hundred different managers. I felt that many of them were large enough to be local unions of their own. It wasn't fair for these people to be in there with their large memberships and try to control the small people who didn't have these large memberships and didn't need the amalgamated local. I felt that if the plant consisted of so many members then it should not become amalgamated, that if it was able to support itself then it should become a local union, separate. So they have different problems; they handle problems differently. He and I did not agree on that and there were quite a few things that we disagreed on throughout.

E: Then you think basically that your activities as Regional Director, and setting up independent or separate locals out of 174, led to the Reuther opposition to you when he made his push for president in '46? You were elected to the International Board in '43, '44, '46 and in '47 you were defeated. Do you think it was your action as Regional Director that didn't put you in the Reuther camp, or did you not choose to be in the Reuther camp?

L: Well, I did not choose to be in the Reuther camp, but I didn't have any objections to some of the things that Reuther proposed. I supported him on what I felt was good for the union, but I was certainly opposed to certain things that he advocated. And it's true that that was one reason he did not want me as Regional Director - because of my activities of taking his large plants from his local union.

E: Well, after you were defeated then for the International Board, you went back to work in the plant, right?

L: After I was defeated for the International Board, Jack Livingston, who was elected to Vice-President at the time I was defeated, called

me to breakfast with him down at the Wolverine Hotel. He said, "Percy, Walter wants you to go to work for him. Have you any objections?" I said, "I have no objections to working for Walter if I know what kind of assignment I'm going to get. If I take an assignment where I can help workers, I can take an assignment where I will not be chopping the heads of my friends, I'll consider. But why ask me to take a job without telling me my position or where I'm going to go?" He said, "Well, what are you going to do? Where are you going to go?" I said that was returning to the plant to work Monday and he said to hold off for awhile. I said, "Well, I can't hold off. He certainly can tell you what my assignment will be, so that I can consider it." So that was where it left. I never was called.

E: Had you been an active opponent of Reuther at the convention in '47?

L: Yes. I supported R.J. Thomas in '47. I supported R.J. Thomas in '46 when Reuther defeated him.

E: Don't you think this is a favorite tactic in the UAW? - when you have defeated your opposition you try to get them to come to work for you or put them in positions of responsibility....

L: That is a good political move if a man will do it. But to me, I didn't look for the political advantage of anything. All I was doing was looking for some work to do in behalf of my union. And there certainly are jobs you can do in behalf of your union without being a political hatchet man. That was the proposition I gave Livingston - that I could not work at a job if it required me to do a political hatchet job upon my friends.

E: So you went back to work in the plant?

L: I went back to work in the plant.

E: And then you became active again in Local 600 under the presidency of Carl Stellato, right?

L: I became active in Local 600 under Carl Stellato. He asked me if I would like to come and work for him. I did go to work for Carl. Carl went to work for me. Carl's first job was an appointment made by me when I was president of the local union. I carried Stellato all the years that I was Regional Director; he was my assistant director. In '47, however, he was one of the few men that my opponent kept. He then ran for Local 600 and became president. He had promised me a job with Local 600 when he was elected president. As a matter of fact, I supported his position for president of Local 600. However, the mistake I made - I was supposed to go to work for him within two weeks after he had taken office, and at his inauguration at the Council meeting is when he started to do the job upon certain people, calling them Communist. Now, to me, I had no knowledge of people being Communist or not Communist. Nobody ever came to me and said, I'm a Communist Party member. I looked upon people

as to their ability and as to the type of work that they were doing. And I got up in the general council meeting and defended them and felt that it was the wrong attack upon these people. So I never got my appointment. I worked in the plant for another year or so. As a matter of fact, I was a counselor for the five people that they wanted to suspend from the local plant offices because they were Communist. I supported them as their charges were being brought against them, and in the final analysis before the charges ever came to a head, he was up again for re-election. This time he came near to getting beat. He felt then that he should drop the charges against the people and he changed his tactics. The Sunday after Carl Stellato was first elected president, he met with me right here in this basement and said to me, "Percy, what job do you want?" And I said to Carl, "Listen, Carl, it isn't a question as to what job I want. What job can I do and what job do you think I can do for those workers in the plant?" So he told me that he would put me in charge of the retirement. He said, "We'll give you a job, anything you want, but we're going to fight for retirement and it will be your job to work on that." So, I said that I would consider it. In the meantime, after he left here, he told me when he left, "Percy, I got a call this morning from the red head. He says this is the first time in all the years that I have worked for you in this international union that he has ever talked to me. He congratulated me and he said, 'Carl, we got our foot in the door.' I wonder whose foot he's talking about." Carl's position was with Reuther, but when the workers revolted, he saw that he couldn't carry Reuther's ideals. Come near getting defeated there the second term, is where he made his change and became an attacker of Walter Reuther, as some of those papers will show you. That is when he called me over and put me on his staff - when he started then again to attack Reuther. And I worked with him all these years, up until he started to move back again. First of all, during his attack we had an administrativship put over the local union. I wanted Carl to fight the administratorship. He wouldn't fight the administratorship because the administratorship called for the International Union to take in control of the local but keeping the officers on the pay-roll. He was an officer, so there was nothing for him to fight for apparently, he felt. When the administratorship was put into the local, Reuther fired me.

E: Why was the administratorship put over the local?

L: Because they were attacking Reuther. They brought Lewis in. I was instrumental in that. We went to meet Lewis and brought him in. The International Union fought that. They didn't want Lewis to speak here. They did everything they could to sabotage the meeting and we had the biggest meeting that was ever held. Because of their - ever in face of their fight to sabotage it, it brought more working men out to hear Lewis. Other activities, and he felt there that the un-American activities committee had been in on the picture and in these matters he felt that administrators should be put over Local 600. So as soon as administrators were put over there, I was

fired. I went back into the plant and again went to work. But he didn't fire me; Reuther fired me and at the end of administratorship and election of new officers, as time went by, Carl called me back to work again for him and I worked for him up until he started playing footsie with Reuther again, and the group and Carl fired me. He wrote me a letter which said that my service was no longer required, blah, blah, blah....and he gave me the letter and never called or talked to me. That was the end of me and Carl. Carl then served out his term and went to work for the International Union. So, the question in this union has always been: If your politics is correct, you've got a job. If the politics are not good to the administration then you haven't got a job regardless of what you may advocate as to the best interest of the people you are representing. If it isn't political to the administration, then you just don't work there. And that's the bad part about the whole thing.

- E: Back when you, and I believe Walter, and a couple of other guys were on this defense committee of five men who were charged with being "subservient" - I believe is the word that was used - then it referred as being subservient to the Communist Party. These charges had then been instigated by Stellato or had they come from the International - the charges against these five men? What were their names....Gailo, and Davis, Boatman and Moore and Lcke, five. Did this come from Stellato or did it come from the International?
- L: Charges were made by Stellato.
- E: For what reason? Political reasons or did he honestly feel that they were Communist Party men?
- L: He felt that politically he was building. It didn't build him. In the following election he was damn near defeated by out candidate, Hogan, at which time then he came to us and said, "I got four staff positions over there. Let's neutralize this thing. If you guys will accept, I will withdraw these charges. Let's put them into effect and we'll all do a job together in behalf of the Ford local, regardless of the International Union." And we met here in this basement and we made a decision on that. And that was what we were going to do. I felt I had convinced my people. The most important thing, I told them, is to forget our goddamn politics, and that if we're successful in the labor movement, we're going to have to look out for the people we represent. And if you are a good representative that is the only politics you need; that is helping your worker and he knows that is the only politics you need. So we agreed. So, myself and three other people were placed on his staff and we began to work, work there as officers of local unions on behalf of the Ford workers. We did everything we could. Carl had no problems with his opposition over those years. When he started to go back and play footsies with the International Union, is when he again started to develop his opposition. He won, he never was defeated. He won, but he knew that it was getting tougher and I again had a conference with him and Dorisch in this basement on the

last term he ran. I said, "Carl, people are getting tired of the same guy. It's tough. The longer you serve, people come, they retire and they go. New workers come in, the politicians talk to them and it's not as easy today when you had your old people year after year because they knew you, but it's going to be tougher," and he agreed with me. Then he started playing, knowing that he was not going to run again, knowing that he was going to make a compromise. That is when he started to deal back with the International Union and prepare himself for a job with the International Union because he was leaving.

E: When he initially had started -

L: I assume that the first thing that he had to do to get himself into good shape with Reuther to be appointed to a job or guaranteed an appointment, was to get rid of me, which he did.

E: Initially, I think he made his stand against Reuther for a dues increase. Was this the sentiment of the local union, the majority of the membership would you say, or was it just kind of a bogus issue that Stellato decided to make a stand on?

L: No, it was not a bogus issue. While he made some stands on some bogus issues, this was not a bogus issue. The workers in the plant felt that because of the amount of money the local union was getting and the service that it was giving to their workers, there was no need for them to be taxed further to put additional people on the International Union. And that's where the fight came up. We had a sound treasury; we had our own service department over there; we did not require the International Union's community services. We had a pension department, we had a resource department, we had our plant-wide grievance board; we had everything that was necessary to take care of the problems of those workers in the plant. And there was no need for us to be paying more dues because with what we were paying then we could afford it. And if we could afford to give the workers this kind of service at Ford, why should we be taxed to given services which could have been given under the same rate throughout the country without an increase in dues?

E: Well, during this whole period - the late '40's, 50's period - because of your opposition to Stellato, at least when you supported these men in regard to being Communist, you and others were also charged with being left-wingers and Communist. I remember seeing a clipping of you which always refers to you as being a left-wing sympathizer. What was your reaction at that time as to being labled in that way?

L: Well, my reaction would be based upon my own activity in the labor movement. As a kid all up through the years, every man who proposed a progressive ideal would be attacked in the early days as being a Bolshevik, and then the name changed to Communist. I can remember Phil Murray speaking in a meeting in 1922 in California, Pennsylvania,

where the workers were on strike and during the strike we were called Bolsheviks - the coal mining strikers. Deputy sheriffs were appointed, and everything else was done to take away the rights, the civil rights of the strikers, that they possibly could. And one of the deputy sheriffs was standing in the meeting, in the outside meeting. Phil Murray said, "You know, the Deputy Sheriff is standing here for his information to take back to his bosses. We're called Bolshevik today because we're striking." He said, "I don't know anything about the Russian form of government. But all I can say here for you to take back is, regardless of how bad it is, it is the best form of government the Russian people ever had." And he said, "He's standing here; I can remember him as a kid in the mining camp. I used to beat the hell out of him. I came out to become an organizer and a worker for the union and this deputy has become a state policeman and while he is serving on the state police his mother is picked up in Castle Shannon for selling moonshine." He said, I used to beat the hell out of him when we were kids, and if he's still here after this meeting I think I can still do it." And that's the attitude you took. That's the political attitude that you took. The political attitude in those days was not against your opponent, it was against your boss - the guy you were fighting. And the whole question of Communism - when a man was called Communist, to me it wasn't based upon what he was doing for the workers; they were calling him that because they were politically opposed to it.

I would suggest this, Dennis, that you go back and possibly read up some of the notes and some of the things that Lewis said. And there should be some panel discussions as to his ability and his right and wrong in it. One of them was at the time that he addressed a meeting in the city of Charleroi, Pennsylvania. The miners were on strike - well, they weren't on strike, they were working three, four days a week. And of course the companies said that if we take a reduction in wages, we'll give you six days a week work and you'll make more money, and John objected to that. He said that high wages meant prosperity; if that wasn't so, China would be the most prosperous country on the face of the globe.

E: Laugh

L: Now there's a quote worth discussing today in the days of inflation. Those are the things that you got to go back into labor history and say, well, how did he reach this? Where do we look?

~~INTERVIEW WITH PERCY LLEWELLYN, LOCAL 600, UAW-CIO~~

~~BY: GEORGE HELIKER, FEB. 24, 1954 AT THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY ARCHIVES~~

I CAME TO DETROIT TO VISIT FRIENDS IN JUNE, 1932. I WAS NOT EXPECTING TO FIND WORK HERE, ALTHOUGH I WAS UNEMPLOYED AT THE TIME, HAVING QUIT MY JOB WITH THE POSTAL SERVICE IN PENNSYLVANIA. WHILE I WAS HERE I HAPPENED TO OBTAIN WORK AT THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY. IT WAS VERY UNUSUAL THE WAY I WAS HIRED. MANY PEOPLE IN DETROIT WERE STILL UNEMPLOYED. I ATTENDED A POLITICAL PARTY IN THE SOUTH END OF DEARBORN, AT WHICH HOME-BREWED BEER WAS PASSED OUT. THERE WAS AN ELECTION COMING UP FOR THE SCHOOL BOARD. I WAS INTRODUCED TO A PERSON THERE WHO WAS SECRETARY TO MAYOR CLYDE FORD. I WAS INTRODUCED BY A FELLOW NAMED TIPTON, WHO HAD FORMERLY WORKED IN THE COAL MINES IN CALIFORNIA, PENNSYLVANIA, WHERE I CAME FROM. HE ASKED ME IF I WANTED A JOB, AND GAVE ME A CARD TO THE MAYOR'S SECRETARY, SAYING THAT HE WOULD SEE THAT I GOT A JOB IN FORD'S.

I WENT OVER AT VARIOUS TIMES TO SEE THE SECRETARY, AND HE KEPT TELLING ME THAT NOTHING WAS AVAILABLE AS YET. I NOTICED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS ALWAYS A GROUP OF PEOPLE AROUND THE CITY GARAGE IN THE MORNING, AND THAT THEY WERE LOADED INTO CARS AND TAKEN DOWN SCHAEFER ROAD, AND I FELT THAT THESE WERE PEOPLE GETTING JOBS. AFTER A COUPLE OF DAYS, I EXPLAINED TO THE SECRETARY THAT IF I DIDN'T GET A JOB, LIKE THESE PEOPLE OUT IN THE GARAGE WERE GETTING, I WAS GOING OUT IN THE SOUTH END

AND TELL ALL THE UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE OVER THERE WHAT WAS GOING ON AND BRING THEM ALL OVER TO SEE FOR THEMSELVES. I SAID, "THESE PEOPLE YOU ARE HIRING ARE FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE STATE, AND ARE NOT FROM DEARBORN." "WELL," HE SAYS, WRITING OUT ANOTHER CARD, "YOU TAKE THIS OVER TO THE GARAGE IN THE MORNING." THE NEXT MORNING I WENT OVER THERE WITH ABOUT 25 OTHER PEOPLE. THEY PUT US INTO CARS, TOOK US UP SCHAEFER IN THE ROUGE GATE, UP TO THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE AND LINED US UP. THAT'S HOW I CAME TO WORK FOR FORD'S.

I DON'T KNOW WHY THEY WERE HIRING FROM OUTSIDE OF DEARBORN, EXCEPT THAT I FOUND LATER ON THAT MANY OF THEM WERE HIRED BECAUSE OF THEIR LETTERS FROM VARIOUS POLITICIANS: JUDGES, MAYORS, COUNCILMEN, PEOPLE WHO HAD SOME POLITICAL FOLLOWING IN THE STATE. THE MAYOR'S OFFICE WAS USED APPARENTLY ONLY FOR THE DEARBORN PEOPLE, BUT THE GARAGE WAS USED SO THAT THEY COULD TAKE PEOPLE OVER TO THE ROUGE WITHOUT TOO MANY PEOPLE KNOWING ABOUT IT. OF COURSE, THERE WAS A LINE IN FRONT OF THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE ON MILLER ROAD.

I BEGAN WORKING IN THE PISTON DEPARTMENT IN THE MOTOR BUILDING AS AN OPERATOR OF A BAIRD MACHINE. I WORKED THERE UNTIL THE LATTER PART OF JULY, ABOUT A MONTH. THEN THEY PUT ME IN THE CRANKSHAFT DEPARTMENT. IN THE MEANTIME, I HAD BROUGHT MY FAMILY FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND WE HAD AN APARTMENT OVER THE SOUTH END OF DEARBORN. I WAS LAID OFF IN THE MIDDLE OF AUGUST.

I WAS ABLE TO GET ALONG FOR A WHILE, BUT EVENTUALLY ENDED UP ON WELFARE. I HAD QUITE AN ARGUMENT WITH THE CITY OF DEARBORN BECAUSE OF THEIR REFUSAL TO GIVE ME WELFARE AID BECAUSE MY RESIDENCE IN THE STATE HAD NOT BEEN A YEAR. THEY PREFERRED TO SEND ME BACK TO PENNSYLVANIA, BUT MY WIFE WAS PREGNANT AND I HAD MADE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE SOCIOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY TO HAVE HER ADMITTED TO FORD HOSPITAL WHEN THE BABY WAS TO BE BORN. I WAS TOLD THAT IT WOULD COST ME ONLY \$40. I REFUSED TO GO BACK TO PENNSYLVANIA: I TOLD THEM OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR MY WIFE, AND THAT I STILL HAD MY FORD BADGE AND WAS WAITING FOR RECALL TO WORK. IT TOOK QUITE A FEW BATTLES, BUT THEY FINALLY DID GIVE ME WELFARE. THEY ALSO HAD A "DOLLAR-A-DAY" PLAN IN THE PLANT WHEREBY THEY WOULD AGREE TO GIVE A MAN A JOB AND A DOLLAR A DAY, AND AGREE TO PAY HIS RENT, A CLOTHING ALLOWANCE, ETC. THAT HAPPENED MOSTLY TO PEOPLE OUT IN THE INKSTER AREA, MOSTLY NEGROES. VERY FEW THAT I KNOW OF FROM DEARBORN WERE SO TAKEN CARE OF. THEY ALSO HAD IN DEARBORN, AT THE COFFIN-NUNNELLY LUNCH COMPANY, WHAT THEY CALLED A "FORD RELIEF." I WENT OVER TO THE WELFARE OFFICE ONE MORNING -- IT WAS IN THE SALINA SCHOOL -- FOR MY REGULAR WEEKLY CHECK. THEY TOLD ME TO GO OVER TO SEE MR. GRANT AT THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY. I WENT OVER THINKING THAT I WAS GOING TO GET A JOB. HE SAID, HOWEVER, "FROM NOW ON, YOU'RE GOING TO BE ON FORD RELIEF." YOU GO UP TO COFFIN-NUNNELLY AND GET WHAT GROCERIES YOU WANT, AND WHEN YOU GO BACK TO WORK WE WILL TAKE IT OUT OF YOUR PAY."

THAT SATISFIED ME, BECAUSE I WAS WILLING TO PAY FOR ANYTHING THAT I NEEDED. SO I WENT HOME AND ASKED MY WIFE WHAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE. SHE WROTE OUT A LIST OF WHAT SHE NEEDED. I TOOK IT OVER, HANDED IT IN. HE LOOKED AT THE LIST, HE LOOKED AT ME, PICKS UP A BURLAP BAG, THROWS IN SOME CABBAGES, CARROTS, POTATOES, ETC. THAT I ASSUMED HAD BEEN GROWN ON THE FORD FARMS, AND HANDED THEM OUT TO ME ALONG WITH A SIDE OF BACON. I SAYS, "THIS IS NOT WHAT I ORDERED." HE SAYS, "YOU EXPECT TO GET WHAT YOU ORDER AROUND HERE? YOU'RE LUCKY TO GET ANYTHING." I SAYS, "I GOT TO PAY FOR THIS WHEN I GET BACK TO WORK. I WANT WHAT'S ON THIS LIST, I DON'T WANT THAT."

"YOU CAN TAKE THIS OR NOTHING."

"OK, I DON'T WANT NOTHING."

I WALKED BACK OUT; WALKED BACK TO THE WELFARE STATION; ARGUED WITH THEM. THEY SAID, "YOU'LL NEWER GET A JOB WITH FORD'S AGAIN."

I SAID, "I DON'T GIVE A DAMN. I DON'T INTEND TO TAKE THAT STUFF FORCED UPON ME THAT I'VE GOT TO PAY FOR LATER."

IN THE MEANTIME, WE HAD ORGANIZED IN THE SOUTH END OF DEARBORN WHAT WE CALLED THE "PROGRESSIVE CLUB". MANY OF THE MEMBERS WERE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. IN THE SOUTH END WE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS A LARGE GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO THEY CLAIMED WERE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. I WOULDN'T KNOW.

IN THE PROGRESSIVE CLUB WE TOOK IT UPON OURSELVES TO GO TO THE LUNCH COMPANIES WHICH SUPPLIED FORD AND TO THE BAKERY COMPANIES AND TO DAIRIES, TRYING TO OBTAIN FROM THEM SOUP WHICH LUNCH COMPANIES HAD BROUGHT BACK BECAUSE THEY COULDN'T

SELL IT IN THE PLANT, ANY OLD LUNCHES THEY HAD BROUGHT BACK, DAY-OLD MILK, BUTTERMILK, SKIMMED MILK, DAY-OLD CAKES AND BREAD. WE WOULD GO OUT AND GATHER IT UP, AND PASS IT OUT AT OUR SOUTH END HEADQUARTERS TO A LINE SOMETIMES TWO BLOCKS LONG. IN THE MORNING AND IN THE EVENING. THE CITY OF DEARBORN DIDN'T LIKE THE IDEA, BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T THINK IT WOULD LOOK RIGHT FOR A BREADLINE IN THE CITY. THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY WAS OBJECTING ALSO. HOWEVER, WE TOOK THE POSITION THAT THESE PEOPLE SHOULD BE FED.

WE WOULD HAVE REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE PROGRESSIVE CLUB. WE HAD SOCIALISTS SPEAK, OR REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS GIVE THEIR VIEWPOINTS. WE NEVER INVITED COMMUNISTS, AND THEY NEVER APPEARED. AT THE SAME TIME WE WERE GOING TO COUNCIL MEETINGS DEMANDING WORK, AND EVENTUALLY THEY PUT IN A CITY WORK-PROJECT. WE WERE ALL TO REPORT TO WORK TO THE HARTWELL YARDS THIS ONE MORNING. THERE WERE A COUPLE THOUSAND PEOPLE THERE WAITING TO BE ASSIGNED JOBS. SOMEBODY CAME RUNNING DOWN THE LINE YELLING "PERCY LLEWELLYN HERE?" I STEPPED OUT OF THE LINE, AND HE SAYS "COME UP TO THE OFFICE. THEY WANT TO SEE YOU."

UP THERE THEY SAYS, "YOU'RE GOING TO WORK AS A TIME-KEEPER ON THE SOUTH END." I WAS THE LEADER OF THE PROGRESSIVE CLUB. SO THEY PICKED ME OUT OF THE WHOLE BUNCH, AND INSTEAD OF GIVING ME A SHOVEL AND WHEELBARROW, THEY MADE ME TIMEKEEPER. A SINGLE MAN - WHO GOT 25 CENTS AN HOUR - WOULD WORK ONE DAY A WEEK. A MARRIED MAN WOULD WORK TWO OR THREE DAYS A WEEK, DEPENDING ON THE SIZE OF HIS FAMILY. BUT ME BEING A TIMEKEEPER, I WAS REQUIRED TO BE THERE EVERY DAY. I HAD TWO CHILDREN. I WORKED

THERE UP UNTIL ABOUT TWO WEEKS AFTER THE BANK HOLIDAY. IN THE MEANTIME, I WAS TRANSFERRED FROM THE SOUTH END TO THE WEST END. TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE JOB SHUT DOWN, I WAS CALLED IN BY THE BOSS, WHO TOLD ME THAT LEO SCHAEFFER WANTED TO SEE ME. I WENT IN TO SEE HIM. HE WAS RUNNING A ONE-MAN GRAND JURY, INVESTIGATING WELFARE FRAUDS. "LLEWELLYN," HE SAYS, "YOU'RE CHARGED WITH DEFRAUDING THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT. ARE YOU GUILTY?"

"NO, I NEVER DEFRAUDED ANYBODY IN MY LIFE."

"YOU CAME AND ASKED FOR WELFARE AID AND YOU WERE DENIED IT BECAUSE YOUR RESIDENCE HERE WASN'T LONG ENOUGH. YOU WERE REFUSED."

"THAT'S RIGHT."

"YOU WENT OUT TO ANOTHER STATION OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT AND YOU TOLD THEM THAT YOU HAD LIVED HERE FIFTEEN MONTHS."

"THAT'S TRUE; THAT WAS A LIE."

"WELL, WHY DID YOU LIE? YOU DEFRAUDED THE CITY," HE SAYS, "OF APPROXIMATELY \$84 IN WELFARE. I'LL GIVE YOU 24 HOURS TO PAY IT BACK OR I'M GOING TO SLAP YOUR ASS IN JAIL."

I SAYS, "YOU CAN SLAP ANYTIME YOU WANT TO. I'M NOT PAYING IT BACK. I HAVEN'T GOT IT TO PAY BACK, AND IF I DID, I WOULDN'T PAY IT BACK."

AS A RESULT, I WAS CUT OFF FROM THE JOB. HOWEVER, WE HADN'T GOTTEN OUR CHECKS ANYHOW. WE HAD ABOUT THREE WEEKS' PAY COMING, BUT THE BANKS CLOSED DOWN AND THERE WAS NO MONEY AVAILABLE UNTIL FINANCES WERE AVAILABLE AGAIN.

A WEEK OR SO AFTER I WAS DISCHARGED, THEY CLOSED THE WHOLE JOB DOWN ANYHOW, AND SENT EVERYBODY BACK TO WELFARE, INCLUDING MYSELF. WHEN THE BANKS OPENED UP, THEY TOLD US ALL TO COME DOWN TO THE CITY HALL TO GET OUR CHECKS. I WENT OVER TO GET MY CHECK, AND THEY SAID, "YOUR CHECK IS UP IN SCHAEFFER'S OFFICE. YOU GO UP AND ENDORSE IT, AND THEY'LL TAKE OUT WHAT YOU OWE THE CITY AND GIVE YOU THE DIFFERENCE."

I WENT UP TO SEE SCHAEFFER. HE SAID, "YOU GOING TO ENDORSE IT?" I SAID, "NO." SO I GOT HOLD OF AN ATTORNEY DOWNTOWN, LARRY DAVIDOW, WHO WAS ACTIVE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND HE CALLED SCHAEFFER AND SAID, "EITHER YOU GIVE THAT MAN HIS WAGES, OR I'M SUING THE CITY OF DEARBORN." THEY CALLED ME BACK OVER AND HANDED ME MY CHECK. HOWEVER, I GET A NOTICE TWO WEEKS LATER FROM THE PROBATION DEPARTMENT READING THAT I HAD VIOLATED MY PROBATION. I WENT OVER AND ASKED THEM WHAT IT MEANT. THEY SAID, "YOU'RE ON PROBATION."

"WHO PUT ME ON PROBATION?"

"SCHAEFFER PUT YOU ON PROBATION."

"HOW COULD SCHAEFFER PUT ME ON PROBATION WITHOUT A HEARING?"

"WELL, YOU'RE ON PROBATION ANYWAY."

"WELL, YOU CAN STICK THAT THING UP YOUR REAR END -- I'M NOT ON PROBATION. I HAVEN'T HAD A TRIAL, AND I DON'T INTEND TO REPORT TO HIS OFFICE."

THEN I HAD TO GO BACK AND APPLY FOR WELFARE, WHICH I GOT.

IN THE MEANTIME, OVER ON THE SOUTH END WARM DAYS CAME ALONG, AND THE BOATS WERE STARTING TO RUN, AND THEY CAME OVER THERE LOOKING FOR SAILORS. I SAID I WAS A SAILOR. THE ONLY SAILING I HAD EVER DONE WAS ON THE MONONGAHELA RIVER BECAUSE MY GRANDDAD HAPPENED TO BE AN OLD RIVER CAPTAIN AND I SAILED WITH HIM ON TOW BOATS TAKING COAL FROM THE MINES. THE FIRST BOAT THEY PUT ME ON WAS THE EDGEWATER. WE LEFT HERE WITH A LOAD OF SALT FROM THE SALT MINES ACROSS THE ROUGE, TOOK IT ACROSS CANADA AND DOWN THROUGH THE OLD NEW YORK BARGE CANAL, HUDSON RIVER, DOWN AROUND THE STATUTE OF LIBERTY TO MARTIN'S HOOK, PENNSYLVANIA, WHERE WE DELIVERED THE SALT TO A CHEMICAL COMPANY. THEN WE WENT TO PHILADELPHIA TO PICK UP A LOAD OF SUGAR, WHICH WE BROUGHT BACK TO CLEVELAND. THEN WE CAME BACK TO DETROIT. THEN THEY PUT ME BACK IN THE PLANT. THAT WAS IN 1933; I WAS THEN 28 YEARS OLD.

I WORKED IN THE PLANT ON THE PISTON JOB FOR TWO OR THREE WEEKS, WHEN THEY CAME OVER TO THE HOUSE AND TOLD ME TO GET MY CLOTHES AND GO ON THE TUG "BUTTERCUP." I SAID, "I DON'T WANT TO GO SAILING; I'VE GOT A JOB IN THE PLANT." "YOU EITHER GO SAILING ON THE 'BUTTERCUP', OR YOU HAVEN'T GOT A JOB NO PLACE."

MY WIFE WENT TO THE HOSPITAL. I HAD TO LEAVE HER A

NOTE.

IN THE PLANT I WAS GETTING 50 CENTS AN HOUR, \$4.00 A DAY; AND THEY WERE TAKING \$12.50 EACH TWO WEEKS OFF MY PAY FOR THE HOSPITAL BILL. THE \$40 BILL I WAS SUPPOSED TO PAY ACTUALLY ENDED UP AT \$149. AT THE HOSPITAL THEY SAID NO ONE HAD ANY AUTHORITY TO SAY IT WOULD COST ONLY \$40. IT WAS

GENERALLY KNOWN AT THE TIME THAT YOU COULD MAKE THIS ARRANGEMENT TO CHECK OFF HOSPITAL BILLS BY MAKING AN ARRANGEMENT THROUGH THE SOCIOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

ON THE BOATS I MADE \$70 A MONTH, AND MY BOARD. TWELVE HOURS A DAY, SIX HOURS ON AND SIX HOURS OFF. I WAS PAID \$35 EACH TWO WEEKS, LESS \$7.50 FOR THE HOSPITAL BILL, A NET OF \$27.50, OR \$13.75 A WEEK.

AFTER I LEFT THE "BUTTERCUP", THEY PUT ME ON THE HENRY FORD II UNTIL THEY LAID IT UP AT THE END OF THE YEAR. THE "BUTTERCUP" WAS USED TO PULL BARGE LOADS OF FORD CARS DOWN TO THE BUFFALO PLANT, WHICH WAS AN ASSEMBLY PLANT, BUT WASN'T OPERATING. WE HAULED COAL FROM TOLEDO ON THE WAY BACK.

WHEN THE HENRY FORD II WAS LAID UP, THEY GAVE ME A JOB SCRAPING THE HULL. THEY WOULD COME TO US AND TELL US TO HURRY UP. WE SAID, "WHAT'S THE RUSH. YOU CAN'T USE THE BOAT UNTIL NEXT YEAR."

"YOU GOT TO HURRY UP AND GET THE JOB DONE, BECAUSE WE HAVE GOT TO LAY YOU OFF."

WHEN I WAS LAID OFF, I WENT BACK TO THE PLANT AGAIN, WHERE I WORKED UNTIL MAY 19, 1937. MEANWHILE, I WAS BUSY ORGANIZING THE WORKERS INTO THE AUTO WORKERS UNION, SIGNING WORKERS UP IN THE PLANT AND OUT OF THE PLANT. I BECAME A MEMBER EARLY IN 1937 OR LATE IN 1936. I BECAME ACTIVE IN TRYING TO SIGN UP FORD WORKERS DOWN AT THE WEST SIDE LOCAL OFFICE ON MICHIGAN AND JUNCTION. I MUST HAVE SIGNED UP 75 OR 100 MEN.

WE HAD MEETINGS AT THAT TIME OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE ACTIVE IN ORGANIZATIONAL WORK. WE DIDN'T HAVE MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS BECAUSE WE DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER ALL THE PEOPLE WE WERE SIGNING UP WERE GOOD PEOPLE OR NOT. WE TOOK A CHANCE WITH THE PEOPLE WHO WERE ACTIVE IN BRINGING NEW MEMBERS IN. IN THE MEANTIME, I HAD TALKED UNION IN THE HOTELS AND BARS IN THE SOUTH END UNTIL I CAME TO WORK ON THE MORNING OF THE 19TH OF MAY. I WAS WORKING ON THE AISLE WHERE THE STAR MENS' (SUPERVISION) TIME CARD RACK WAS. MY JOB WAS CHECKING CRANKSHAFTS.

RAY CROSSETT, IN CHARGE OF PRODUCTION INSPECTION, CAME TO ME ABOUT 7 O'CLOCK AND SAID, "NOW DON'T LOOK LIKE YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT I'M TELLING YOU, BUT THEY JUST HAD ME UP IN THE OFFICE AND TOLD ME I'VE GOT A CIO ORGANIZER DOWN HERE I'VE GOT TO GET RID OF. I ASKED THEM WHO IT WAS, AND THEY SAID LLEWELLYN. I SAID, LLEWELLYN DOESN'T WORK FOR ME, HE WORKS FOR MR. NORRIS. SO WATCH YOUR STEP."

SO NORRIS COMES IN, RINGS HIS CARD, SAYS, "HOW ARE YOU? HOW'S EVERYTHING THIS MORNING?" I EXPLAINED TO HIM WHAT WAS TAKING PLACE, THAT I WAS GETTING SOME BAD CRANKS. HE SAYS, "DON'T LET THEM GET OVER INTO THE MOTOR ROOM." I SAYS, "I'LL DO THE BEST I CAN." AND HE LEFT. TEN MINUTES LATER HE WAS BACK ON THE JOB. "WHAT THE HELL IS GOING ON HERE," HE SAYS, "YOU GOT THE MOTOR LINE TIED UP. ARE YOU THROWING ALL THE CRANKS OUT?"

"NO, NOT MANY CRANKS HAVE BEEN THROWN OUT."

"YOU GOT TO WATCH YOUR STEP; WE CAN'T PUT UP WITH THIS."

"OK," I SAYS. HE WALKS AWAY. WATCHES ME. THIS KEEPS

UP UNTIL ABOUT 10 O'CLOCK AND HE COMES OVER AND SAYS, "I'VE GOT TO TAKE YOU OFF THE JOB. YOU'RE DOING TOO MUCH TALKING AROUND HERE TO SUIT ME. YOU'RE NOT TAKING CARE OF YOUR WORK. I'M GOING TO SEND YOU TO THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE; THEY CAN PLACE YOU SOMEPLACE ON THE LINE."

WE WENT BY MY OWN TIME RACK AND HE SAYS, "RING OUT YOUR CARD." I SAYS, "IT WON'T BE HARD TO FIND BECAUSE THE TIMEKEEPER PICKED UP THE CARDS EXCEPT MINE." I PICKED IT UP, RUNG IT OUT AND HANDED IT TO HIM. HE TOOK ME TO HIS OFFICE, WROTE OUT A SLIP, HANDED IT TO A COUPLE OF SERVICE MEN, AND THEY TOOK ME UP TO THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE. THE GUY IN THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE SAYS, "WHAT'S THE MATTER - TALKING TO THE GUYS AND KEEPING THEM FROM WORKING?" I SAYS, "NOPE."

"COME BACK IN A COUPLE OF DAYS AND I'LL SEE IF I CAN FIND SOMETHING FOR YOU," HE SAYS. THAT WAS MR. MILLER.

SO I CAME BACK IN A COUPLE OF DAYS, BUT OF COURSE THEY DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR ME. "IF WE NEED YOU, WE'LL SEND FOR YOU." SO THAT WAS THE END OF ME IN THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY.

A WEEK LATER WHEN THE BATTLE OF THE OVERPASS OCCURRED, I WAS ASSIGNED TO MILLER ROAD AND DIX. I HAD AN OLD '27 FORD CAR, WHICH I DROVE UP THERE, GOT OUT AND DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS TO WORKERS WHO WERE WALKING TO WORK. I GOT RID OF ABOUT TEN OR FIFTEEN LEAFLETS WHEN A CAR PULLED UP AND FOUR PEOPLE JUMPED OUT WITH JACK HANDLES AND WORKED ME OVER. THEN THEY PICKED ME UP, CARRIED ME OVER TO MY OWN CAR AND THREW ME IN IT. I WASN'T KNOCKED OUT, SO I IMMEDIATELY GOT OUT OF THERE, WENT TO A DOCTOR AND GOT PATCHED UP. LATER I MADE MY REPORT,

AS THE OTHERS DID, BEFORE THE GRAND JURY WHICH INVESTIGATED THE RIOT.

~~THEN I WAS ASKED BY HOMER MARTIN TO GO TO WORK FOR THE UNION. I WAS ASSIGNED TO WORK WITH THE FORD GROUP.~~ AFTER THAT, ASIDE FROM A COUPLE OF TIMES IN DEARBORN WHEN A CAR FULL OF GUYS WOULD FORCE ME OVER TO THE SIDE OF THE ROAD AND WORK ME OVER, I NEVER HAD TOO MUCH TO HAPPEN TO ME. SEVERAL TIMES IN DEARBORN BARS, WHEN I WAS BUYING DRINKS AND TALKING UNION TO FORD GUYS, SLAMMER _____, A POLICE INSPECTOR, WOULD WALK IN AND SAY, "WHAT THE HELL YOU TRYING TO DO - START A RIOT IN HERE; GET THE HELL OUT," AND RUN ME OUT OF THE BAR. THEN I WOULD GO DOWN TO ANOTHER BAR, BUT I WOULDN'T BE THERE VERY LONG WHEN THEY WOULD COME IN AND RUN ME OUT OF THERE. I HEARD LATER FROM FORMER POLICEMEN THAT THEY HAD BEEN GIVEN ORDERS BY BROOKS, THE DEARBORN POLICE CHIEF, TO DO ANY GOD DAMN THING THEY COULD TO MAKE IT MISERABLE FOR ME.

~~I WORKED FOR MARTIN UNTIL THE SPLIT, WHEN I WENT OVER TO THE GIO GROUP. THE SPLIT CAME BECAUSE OF HIS DEALINGS AND MANEUVERING WITH GILLESPIE AND BENNETT OF THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY.~~

THERE WAS ONE ORGANIZATION STARTED IN FORD AS THE "FORD BROTHERHOOD", AND ANOTHER ONE AS THE "LIBERTY LEGION". THE LATTER WAS THE ONE THAT LEO SCHAEFFER, THE DEARBORN JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, HAD CHARGE OF. THIS WAS THE ONE THAT THE NLRB TRIAL EXAMINER RULED WAS STRICTLY A COMPANY-UNION. THAT WAS IN THE ST. LOUIS CASE. AS FAR AS THE FORD BROTHERHOOD WAS

CONCERNED, WE WERE ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF THAT VERY WELL. THEY MADE THE MISTAKE OF SENDING OUT MIMEOGRAPHED CARDS FOR ADMITTANCE TO A MEMBERSHIP MEETING. SO WE MADE UP COPIES AND PASSED THEM OUT TO OUR OWN PEOPLE. OUT OF 300 PEOPLE AT THE MEETING, 200 WERE OUR MEN. AS SOON AS HE OPENED UP THE MEETING, WE MOVED FOR THE ELECTION OF A NEW CHAIRMAN. THE NEW CHAIRMAN WAS ELECTED, AND THEN WE MOVED THAT THE FORD BROTHERHOOD BE DISBANDED AND THAT WE JOIN THE UAW. THAT WAS IN THE LATTER PART OF '37 OR EARLY '38. AFTER THAT IT DIDN'T FUNCTION ANY LONGER, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULDN'T TURN THE BOOKS OVER TO THE GUY WHO WAS ELECTED.

THEN WE HAD THE LIBERTY LEGION. GILLESPIE, IN THE MEANTIME, WAS MANEUVERING AROUND WITH MARTIN AND ZIGGY DOBROZYSKI. THEY WERE TRYING TO CONVINCING MARTIN THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE OVER THE LIBERTY LEGION. HOWEVER, WE QUESTIONED THE FACT THAT THE COMPANY WAS NOT WILLING TO SIGN A CONTRACT. ALL THEY WANTED TO AGREE WITH WAS MARTIN. WE WERE OPPOSED TO IT. MARTIN WAS TOLD BY HIS OWN EXECUTIVE BOARD NOT TO MAKE ANY DEALS WITH BENNETT, GILLESPIE, OR ANY ONE ELSE. IF HE WAS TO TALK TO THEM, HE SHOULD HAVE A COMMITTEE WITH HIM. GILLESPIE WAS THE CONTACT MAN. DOBROZYSKI WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE FORD ORGANIZING COMMITTEE UNDER FRANKENSTEIN UNTIL FRANKENSTEIN WAS REMOVED -- THEN HE BECAME THE DIRECTOR. FRANKENSTEIN OBJECTED TO MARTIN'S DEALINGS WITH GILLESPIE AND BENNETT, WHICH WAS WHY HE WAS REMOVED.

I FIRST CAME OF THE OPINION THAT MARTIN WAS NOT ACTING AS A UNION LEADER AFTER THE TRIAL EXAMINER IN THE ST.

LOUIS CASE HAD MADE HIS FINDINGS ABOUT THE LIBERTY LEGION. WE PUT IT IN LEAFLET FORM AND PASSED IT OUT TO THE WORKERS. WE WERE NOT ALLOWED TO PASS OUT LEAFLETS AT THE GATES. THERE WAS A CITY ORDINANCE WHICH PROHIBITED IT, SO WE HAD TO PASS THEM OUT AT INTER-SECTIONS AWAY FROM THE PLANT. I HAD THE LEAFLET PRINTED. AFTER IT WAS PASSED OUT, MARTIN CALLED ME IN AND WANTED TO KNOW WHY WE HAD PASSED IT OUT. HE SAID, "YOU KNOW THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF US TAKING THE LIBERTY LEGION OVER. WHY DO YOU WANT TO DO THESE THINGS? DON'T PUT OUT ANY LEAFLETS UNTIL YOU GET MY OK ON THEM." FROM THEN ON I FELT IT WAS USELESS TO TRY TO WORK WITH MARTIN.

A_BOUT NOVEMBER, 1938, I GOT A CALL FROM ALLAN HAYWOOD, WHO WAS A CIO DIRECTOR FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, AND HE TOLD ME THAT THE LIBERTY LEGION HAD MADE APPLICATION BEFORE THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR A CHARTER. HE ALSO TOLD ME THAT HEARINGS WERE SCHEDULED FOR THE SAME PURPOSE IN PENNSYLVANIA. SO I IMMEDIATELY GOT HOLD OF MARTIN AND ASKED HIM ABOUT GOING THERE TO OPPOSE THE CHARTERS. HE SAID HE THOUGHT IT WAS USELESS, AND HE WOULDN'T OK ANY MONEY FOR ME TO GO OR TAKE ANYBODY WITH ME. THEN I TALKED TO ADDES, AND HE AGREED THAT HE WOULD GET ME THE MONEY SOMEHOW. HE GAVE ME \$100. I TOOK A FELLOW BY THE NAME OF ADAMS WITH ME. HE WAS A FOREMAN IN FORD'S WHO HAD BEEN DISCHARGED BECAUSE HE REFUSED TO SIGN HIS WORKERS UP IN THE LIBERTY LEGION. I ALSO TOOK A FELLOW BY THE NAME OF SMITH, WHO HAD BEEN DISCHARGED FROM FORD BECAUSE HE HAD REFUSED TO JOIN THE LIBERTY LEGION. I ALSO TOOK A GUY BY THE NAME OF ROSCOE STORH, WHO WAS STILL EMPLOYED

IN THE PLANT AND WAS THREATENED WITH DISCHARGE IF HE DIDN'T JOIN THE LIBERTY LEGION.

SO WE PROCEEDED IN MY CAR TO ALBANY, NEW YORK, WITH THE \$100 I GOT FROM ADDES. WE GET DOWN IN ALBANY, AND WE GET UP BEFORE THIS HEARING. THERE WAS QUITE A GROUP OF PEOPLE IN THE ROOM, ALL SITTING TOGETHER TOWARDS THE BACK. THE THREE EXAMINERS ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYONE PRESENT WHO OBJECTED TO THE LIBERTY LEGION RECEIVING A CHARTER. I GOT UP AND I SAID, "I OBJECT."

THEY SAID, "WHO ARE YOUR?" AND I TOLD THEM, "PERCY LLEWELLYN, REPRESENTING FORD LOCAL 600, UAW." THIS WAS A SURPRISE TO SCHAEFFER, WHO OBVIOUSLY HADN'T EXPECTED ANYBODY TO OBJECT. FIRST THEY PUT THE LIBERTY LEGION BOYS ON THE STAND, AND THEY TOLD WHY THEY WERE A LEGITIMATE LABOR ORGANIZATION. THEN I GOT ON THE STAND AND READ WHAT THE TRIAL EXAMINER HAD SAID ABOUT THEM. I SAID THEY WERE A COMPANY-UNION, THAT THEIR ATTORNEY AND THE MAN WHO WAS ORGANIZING THEM WAS JUSTICE OF THE PEACE IN THE CITY OF DEARBORN. I POINTED OUT THAT EVERYBODY BELONGED TO IT FROM SUPERINTENDENTS DOWN, SO NOBODY COULD DEFINE HOW YOU WOULD TAKE A GRIEVANCE UP. I PUT ADAMS AND SMITH ON THE STAND FIRST. THEN I PUT ROSCOE STORH, AN OLD IWW, ON THE STAND. THEY ASKED HIM HIS NAME. HE SAYS, "ROSCOE STORH."

"WHERE ARE YOU EMPLOYED AT?"

"I HAD A JOB AT THE ROUGE PLANT WHEN I CAME DOWN HERE. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER I'LL HAVE ONE WHEN I GET BACK OR NOT."

WE RECESSED FOR LUNCH. WE STARTED OUT, AND ONE OF THE FELLOWS IN THE BACK OF THE ROOM CAME UP TO ME AND SAID, "LLEWELLYN, I WANT TO CONGRATULATE YOU. WE'RE FROM THE NEW YORK STATE

FEDERATION OF LABOR. WE NEVER SAW SUCH A WONDERFUL JOB IN ALL OUR LIVES AS YOU DID UP THERE. THEY'LL NEVER GET A CHARTER."

WE CAME BACK IN THE AFTERNOON, AND THE CHARTER WAS DENIED, AND THEY EVEN CANCELLED THEIR APPOINTMENT FOR HEARING IN PENNSYLVANIA. THERE WAS A BIG STORY ABOUT IT IN THE "ALBANY STANDARD". THAT WAS PART OF THE SPLIT WITH MARTIN BECAUSE WE WENT OVER HIS HEAD.

THIS WAS RIGHT BEFORE THE SPLIT, AND JUST BEFORE THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CIO. THE SPLIT WAS IN JANUARY 1939.

WHEN THE SPLIT CAME, I WAS STILL ON MARTIN'S STAFF. WE WENT DOWN FROM APPROXIMATELY 15,000 MEMBERS IN THE SUMMER OF 1937 TO 78 IN AUGUST 1938, WHEN WE GOT OUR CHARTER. WE ASKED FOR A CHARTER BECAUSE WE THOUGHT THAT THE ONLY WAY WE COULD ORGANIZE THE PLANT WOULD BE TO GET THE FORD WORKERS INTERESTED IN THEIR OWN ORGANIZATION. THERE WAS TOO MUCH POLITICAL BICKERING AMONG THE PEOPLE AT THE TOP, AND THE WORKERS WERE DROPPING OUT AND BEING FIRED AND NOBODY WAS LOOKING OUT FOR THEM.

SO THEY GAVE US A CHARTER, AND WE HAD ABOUT 250-300 PEOPLE WHEN THE SPLIT CAME. I'LL NEVER FORGET THE TIME OF THE SPLIT, BECAUSE IT WAS ON A SATURDAY THAT I CAME INTO THE OFFICE ON MICHIGAN AVENUE AND A COUPLE OF BOYS FROM KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS WERE THERE. THEY SAID, "LLEWELLYN, WE'D LIKE TO SEE YOU."

"OK."

"WE WANT YOU TO GO WITH US."

"ALL RIGHT."

"WE'RE GOING DOWN TO SEE MARTIN. WE WANT YOU ALONG."

SO WE WENT DOWN TO MARTIN'S OFFICE IN THE GRISWOLD BUILDING. MARTIN WAS TIED UP AND COULDN'T SEE US, SO I WENT INTO ANOTHER ROOM ALONG WITH THE OTHER PEOPLE: ONE WAS JACK SWIFT, ANOTHER WAS A TALL NEGRO BOY FROM CLEVELAND WHO THEY CALLED "HONEY BOY" EVANS, AND ANOTHER FELLOW WHOSE NAME I CAN'T REMEMBER. SO THEY GOT ME IN A ROOM AND THEY SAID, "LLEWELLYN, WE KNOW EVERY MOVE YOU'VE MADE. EVERY TIME YOU STOPPED AT THE WEST SIDE LOCAL TO SEE WALTER REUTHER, WE KNEW IT. YOU HAVEN'T MADE ONE MOVE WE DON'T KNOW. THE FORD SERVICE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN TAILING YOU AND REPORTING TO US. THEY'RE GOING TO BE OUR BOYS. AND YOU'VE GOT TO GO ALONG WITH US."

"WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT," I SAY.

"WELL," HE SAYS, "MR. MARTIN HAD MADE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY THAT ALL THE WORKERS LAID OFF ON ACCOUNT OF UNION ACTIVITIES ARE GOING TO BE TAKEN BACK. BUT THEY HAVE GOT TO PLEDGE THEIR SUPPORT TO MARTIN BEFORE THEY CAN GET BACK. THE LIBERTY LEGION IS GOING TO DISBAND AND BECOME PART OF THE UAW. WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO CONTROL, NOT ONLY THE WORKERS IN THE ROUGE PLANT, BUT ALL THE OTHER FORD PLANTS AS WELL. COME THE NEXT CONVENTION WE'RE GOING TO HAVE ENOUGH DELEGATES TO GET RID OF REUTHER AND FRANKENSTEEN, AND ALL THESE OTHER BASTARDS."

SO I SAYS, "PRETTY GOOD. HOW'D YOU DO IT?"

"YOU GOT TO GO ALONG. IF YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOOD FO YOU, YOU'LL GO ALONG."

I SAYS, "WELL, I'LL SEE." I LEFT THERE AND I THOUGHT "WHAT THE HELL AM I GETTING INTO." I WAS LIKE IN A TRANCE. I ACTUALLY COULDN'T BELIEVE THE THINGS I HAD BEEN TOLD. I WONDERED WHERE I WOULD GO FOR ADVICE. SO I STOPPED IN ON OLD DAD DAVIDOW, WHO AT THAT TIME WAS THE ATTORNEY FOR THE UNION. I HAD HAD A LOT OF RESPECT FOR LARRY IN THE PAST, SO I WENT TO HIM AND I TOLD HIM. "WELL," HE SAYS, "I'D ADVISE YOU TO DO WHATEVER MARTIN WANTS TO BE DONE." I STILL DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, SO I WENT TO ADOLPH GERMER, WHO THEN HAD CHARGE OF THE CIO OFFICE HERE, TOLD HIM MY STORY AND SAID, "WHAT THE HELL WILL I DO."

HE SAID, "IF I WAS YOU, I WOULDN'T EVEN FOOL WITH THESE GUYS. LET ME GET HOLD OF MR. LEWIS. MAYBE IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA FOR YOU TO GO DOWN TO WASHINGTON OR PITTSBURGH AND TALK TO HIM. IN THE MEANTIME, STAY CLEAR OF THOSE GUYS. DON'T ATTEND THE MEETING TOMORROW."

THERE WAS A MEMBERSHIP MEETING SCHEDULED FOR THE NEXT DAY, SUNDAY, AND THEY WERE SENDING OUT TELEGRAMS TO ALL THE GUYS WHO HAD BEEN LAID OFF. THAT NIGHT I GOT HOLD OF THE SECRETARY, TOOK HIM OUT TO A RESTAURANT AND TALKED TO HIM ABOUT IT. "PAUL," I SAYS, "I HAVEN'T TALKED TO ANYBODY IN THE LOCAL ABOUT THIS, BUT I THINK MAYBE I CANTRUST YOU." I TOLD HIM I HAD TALKED TO DAVIDOW AND GERMER. SO HE SAYS, "LET'S

GO OUT AND SEE ADDES." SO WE WENT DOWN TO SECOND AVENUE, WHERE ADDES LIVED, AT ABOUT 1 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. HE CALLED GERMER OVER AND GERMER AGAIN ADVISED ME THAT I SHOULDN'T GO TO THAT MEETING THE NEXT DAY, A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE LOCAL. I WENT HOME, AND THE NEXT MORNING CALLED UP AND TOLD THEM I WASN'T FEELING WELL AND WOULDN'T BE OVER TO THE MEETING. THAT WAS ABOUT 9:30 IN THE MORNING; THE MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR TEN. MY WIFE HAD GONE OUT TO THE STORE, SO WHEN I HEARD THE BELL RING, I THOUGHT IT WAS HER COMING BACK. BUT UP THE STEPS CAME THREE PEOPLE, JACK SWIFT, CARL SMITH AND "HONEY BOY" EVANS. I OPENED THE DOOR. "GET YOUR CLOTHES ON, YOU'RE GOING TO THE MEETING."

"I DON'T FEEL LIKE GOING."

"WHETHER YOU FEEL LIKE GOING OR NOT, YOU'RE GOING, BUD."

SO I GOT DRESSED, AND WENT WITH THEM TO THE MEETING. I THOUGHT THE BEST THING I COULD DO, ONCE I WAS THERE, WAS TO PLAY ALONG WITH THEM. THEY GAVE THE REPORT: THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY AND THE UAW WAS GOING TO GET TOGETHER; AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. SO THE BOARD GAVE AN OKAY TO SEND OUT TELEGRAMS TO ALL THESE PEOPLE; CALL THEM IN, CHECK THEM, AND FIND OUT THEIR BACKGROUND. IF THEY WERE WILLING TO PROMISE TO SUPPORT MARTIN, THEY SHOULD GET A JOB. MR. RAUSCH WAS THE GUY ASSIGNED BY THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY. IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD ANY MEN KNOWN OR SUSPECTED OF BEING COMMUNISTS BE RETURNED TO WORK. AND THEY HAD SOME OF THE BOYS TALKING TO THESE GUYS, ASKING QUESTIONS, AND SO FORTH. THEY WERE TOLD TO COME TO A MEETING THAT NIGHT -- SUNDAY NIGHT.

IN THE MEANTIME, I GOT HOLD OF GERMER AND HE SAID, "GO AHEAD AND PLAY ALONG WITH THEM THE BEST YOU CAN." AT THE MEETING, MARTIN WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THERE TO SPEAK. THE PLACE WAS JAMMED. THERE MUST HAVE BEEN THREE OR FOUR HUNDRED PEOPLE THERE WHO HAD LOST THEIR JOBS, BEEN FIRED OR NEVER KNEW WHY THEY HAD BEEN LAID OFF, BLACK-BALLED. MARTIN CAME IN, ALONG WITH TWO OR THREE OF HIS STAFF. HIS SPEECH WAS, "WELL, WE HAVE TAKEN OVER RED SQUARE; WE HAVE STORMED THE BASTILE AND IT IS OURS." HE WAS REFERRING TO LOCAL 155 AND LOCAL 208 OUT ON GRATIOT, WHICH HE REFERRED TO AS THE KREMLIN. (SENTENCE HERE INAUDIBLE) WE'RE GOING TO ORGANIZE EVERY FORD WORKER IN EVERY PLANT IN THIS COUNTRY, IN EVERY GARAGE IN THIS COUNTRY, IN EVERY GAS STATION IN THIS COUNTRY. THE HIGHWAYS AND BY-WAYS, THEY WILL BE MEMBERS OF THE UAW. COME THE NEXT CONVENTION WE WILL SHOW THEM WHO CONTROLS THE AUTO WORKERS." OF COURSE, THESE PEOPLE THOUGHT THEY WOULD GET THEIR JOBS BACK AND THEY APPLAUDED.

I STAYED WITH THEM A COUPLE OF DAYS. I WANTED THE LIST OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES WE HAD SENT INTO THE NLRB ON COMPLAINTS OF BEING DISCHARGED FOR UNION ACTIVITIES. SO I SAID, "I AM GOING DOWN TO THE LABOR BOARD TO GET A LIST, GIVE ME WHAT YOU HAVE HERE." SO THEY GAVE ME ABOUT 400 NAMES. THAT WAS MY PRETENSE TO GET SOMETHING TO WORK FROM BEFORE LEAVING THERE. THEY WERE WATCHING EVERY MOVE I MADE. I WENT TO THE NLRB, AND I TOLD HAROLD CRANEFIELD, WHO WAS BOARD ATTORNEY AT THE TIME, AND FRANK BOWEN. HE SAID, "I'LL GET YOU A ROOM."

HE CALLED UP AND HE HAD DICK LEONARD, GEORGE ADDES, AND SOME OTHER BOARD MEMBERS THERE -- I DON'T REMEMBER WHETHER REUTHER WAS THERE OR NOT. I TOLD THEM THE WHOLE STORY AGAIN. THEY ADVISED ME TO TAKE A ROOM IN ONE OF THE HOTELS AND STAY CLEAR. I TOOK A ROOM AND STAYED IN IT FOR TWO DAYS. IN THE MEANTIME, CHARGES WERE MADE AGAINST MARTIN AND THE BOARD MEETING WAS GOING ON. I WAS TO APPEAR BEFORE THE BOARD MEETING. AFTER TWO DAYS THEY BROUGHT ME UP AND I TOLD MY STORY BEFORE THE BOARD MEETING. A FEW DAYS LATER THE SPLIT CAME. IT WAS ON THE 4TH OF JANUARY, 1939, THAT THESE BOYS CAME IN FROM KANSAS CITY AND TOOK ME DOWN TO SEE MARTIN.

I THINK ALL OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES PRIOR TO THAT TIME WERE HIRED BY MARTIN.

ABOUT THE JOB SELLING IN FORD, I KNOW ONLY WHAT WORKERS HAVE TOLD ME. IN SOME CASES THE FOREMAN WOULD COME TO THEM AND SAY, "YOU GIVE ME FIFTY DOLLARS OR SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS, AND I CAN KEEP YOU WORKING DURING A LAYOFF." IN OTHER CASES, WHERE THE WORKERS WERE LAID OFF, THEY WOULD GO OUT AND TELL THEM HOW MUCH IT COST TO GET A JOB, AND PROCEED TO GET THEM JOBS. A LOT OF THEM ADMITTED AFTER THE UNION CAME IN THAT THEY PAID FOR THEIR JOBS BUT THEY WOULD NEVER ADMIT IT BEFORE.

DURING THE TIME WHEN I WAS WORKING IN THE PLANT AND SIGNING UP MEMBERS, I ACCOUNT FOR THE FACT THAT THE SERVICE DEPARTMENT DID NOT CATCH UP WITH ME SOONER BY THE FACT THAT WHEN I TALKED TO PEOPLE I WATCHED THEM VERY CAREFULLY WHILE I WAS TALKING. I TOOK CARE OF MY JOB AND TRIED TO DO MY WORK

RIGHT. IN FACT, I RECEIVED TWO 5-CENT PER HOUR INCREASES WITHIN THREE WEEKS OF THE TIME I WAS DISCHARGED. I WOULD NEVER GO TO ANYBODY UNLESS I FELT THAT HE WAS A WORKER WITH PROBLEMS. I WOULD TALK TO HIM ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN FLINT, AND THEN GET AROUND THE POINT WHERE I COULD SAY, "WELL, WE SHOULD BE MEMBERS OF THE UNION." I WAS ACTIVE IN ORGANIZING FROM FEBRUARY OR MARCH UP UNTIL I WAS FIRED IN MAY. MY BROTHER WAS DISCHARGED. HE NEVER ORGANIZED A GUY IN HIS LIFE, BUT HE WAS DISCHARGED BECAUSE HE HAPPENED TO BE MY BROTHER.

AT ONE TIME FRANKENSTEEN AND ZIGGY DOBROZYNSKI TOLD ME THAT THEY HAD A PERSON ON THE PAY ROLL OF THE UNION WHO WAS GIVING THEM INFORMATION FROM FORD SERVICE DEPARTMENT, AND THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO FIND OUT WHO WERE THE STOOL PIGEONS AND SPIES. HE ACTUALLY WORKED FOR THE SERVICE DEPARTMENT. HIS NAME WAS REIMER. REIMER, OUTSIDE OF WORKING AT FORD'S FOR PART OF THE INSIDE SERVICE GROUP -- ACCORDING TO HIM -- WAS AN ARTIST AND HAD A LITTLE STUDIO DOWNTOWN, NOT FAR FROM THE UNION HEADQUARTERS. MANY TIMES HE ASKED ME TO COME UP THERE AND OFFERED ME WHISKEY, AND EVEN OFFERED TO ARRANGE IT IF I WANTED A WOMAN -- HE WAS INTERESTED IN A DANCING SCHOOL THERE ALSO. I ALWAYS SUSPECTED HIM, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE ON THE PAY ROLL OF FRANKENSTEEN AND GIVING THEM INFORMATION OF THE FORD SERVICE DEPARTMENT. I THOUGHT HE WAS PROBABLY TAKING INFORMATION BACK TO THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY. LATER I HAPPENED TO RUN INTO HIM OVER AT THE DEARBORN POLICE DEPARTMENT. EVERY TIME THEY WOULD FIND A STICKER "ORGANIZE FORD", THEY WOULD PICK ME UP. SOME OF THE BOYS HAD MADE A MISTAKE ONE MORNING

AND GONE OUT TO THE CORNER OF GREENFIELD AND FORD ROADS, TO THE OLD HOMESTEAD WHERE MR. FORD WAS BORN, GOT INSIDE THE FENCE AND STUCK ONE WHOLE WALL WITH SIGNS "ORGANIZE FORD". NATURALLY, THEY CAME OUT AND GOT HOLD OF ME AND ASKED ME WHY IT WAS DONE. I HAD TO ADMIT I DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT IT -- THEY HAD DONE IT WITHOUT ME KNOWING IT. BUT I WAS STILL ACCUSED OF IT. SO ONE OF THESE TIMES, COMING OUT OF POLICE HEADQUARTERS, I RAN INTO REIMER GOING IN. SO IMMEDIATELY HE RUNS DOWN TO HEADQUARTERS AND SAYS, "IF YOU EVER SEE ME IN DEARBORN, DON'T LET ON YOU KNOW ME BECAUSE I DON'T WANT THEM PEOPLE TO KNOW WHAT I'M DOING."

I WENT TO FRANKENSTEEN AND SAID, "I DON'T TRUST THAT GUY. I THINK HE IS TAKING THE LISTS OF GUYS YOU GIVE HIM TO CHECK TO SEE IF THEY ARE STOOL PIGEONS AND HE IS TURNING THEM IN TO FORD SERVICE, AND THEY ARE FIRING THEM." BUT I COULDN'T EVER CONVINCED FRANKENSTEEN OR DOBROZYNSKI THAT THIS WAS TRUE, UNTIL THE PLANT HAD BEEN ORGANIZED AND THE WHOLE SPY SYSTEM WAS UNCOVERED IN THE NLRB HEARINGS. REIMER THEN CAME FORWARD, AND ADMITTED IT, AND WROTE A STORY HIMSELF IN ONE OF THE NEW YORK PAPERS ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES AS A SPY AND HOW THE UNION WAS PAYING HIM AND THE COMPANY WAS PAYING HIM, BUT HE WAS ACTUALLY WORKING FOR THE COMPANY. OUTSIDE OF THAT, I KNOW OF NO PERSON WHOM I COULD SAY WAS A SPY. AS A MATTER OF FACT, WHEN I WAS PRESIDENT OF LOCAL 600, MR. GRANT AND I WENT TO WASHINGTON AND TALKED WITH PHIL MURRAY ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SETTING ASIDE TEN OR FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS TO HIRE SPECIAL INVESTIGATORS TO INVESTIGATE OUR COMMITTEEMEN TO FIND

OUT WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE GOOD PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD, AND HE CALLED R. J. THOMAS IN, BUT THEY NEVER DID A THING. AS FAR AS I KNOW, NOBODY HAS EVER BEEN INVESTIGATED. THIS FELLOW SANTWIRE, WHO HAS COME UP AS AN INFORMER, HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE WORKER IN THE PLANT, ALWAYS TRYING TO BEAT THE "RIGHT WING" CANDIDATES. PROBABLY THERE ARE MORE LIKE HIM. I HAVE NEVER HAD ANY OCCASION TO QUESTION ANYBODY.

IF ANYBODY ASKED ME IF I KNEW ANYBODY WHO WAS A COMMUNIST, I WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO SAY THAT I DID, EXCEPT FROM HEARSAY. WE NEVER PAID THAT MUCH ATTENTION, BECAUSE IN THOSE DAYS IT WASN'T A QUESTION OF WHAT YOUR POLITICAL IDEOLOGY WAS, IT WAS A QUESTION OF WHETHER YOU WERE GOING TO STICK TOGETHER AND GET A UNION. YOU HAD TO WORK WITH EVERYBODY; YOU COULDN'T TAKE TIME OUT TO QUESTION THEM.

BILL MCKIE WAS ONE OF THREE FELLOWS WHO WORKED FOR ME. THEY WERE PAID \$10 A WEEK FOR EXPENSES TO SIGN FELLOWS UP IN THE UNION. THIS WAS WHEN I WAS PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF, WORKING OUT OF MY OFFICE AT LOCAL 174. ~~AFTER THE MARTIN SPLIT, HE HELD THE BANK BUILDING WITH ALL THE RECORDS. WE HAD TO GO UP THERE ONE MORNING AND BREAK IN AND CALL A SAFE CRACKER (LEGITIMATE) TO BURN A HOLE IN THE SAFE SO WE COULD GET THE RECORDS OUT AND TAKE THEM DOWN TO THE 174 OFFICE.~~

THE COMPANY SENT ME A CARD TO REPORT BACK TO WORK ABOUT THE TIME THAT THE CINCINNATI COURT OF APPEALS UPHELD THE NLRB ORDER. I TOLD LEONARD, WHO WAS THE FORD DIRECTOR, THAT I HAD RECEIVED A CARD AND THAT I COULD DO MORE GOOD BACK IN THE PLANT

THAN I COULD ON THE STAFF. BUT, I SAID, "SOMEBODY HAS TO HANDLE THIS, SO GET ME A GIRL TO WORK HERE IN THE OFFICE DURING THE DAY AND I'LL COME DOWN AT NIGHT AND YOU CAN PAY ME THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT I'LL BE GETTING AT FORD'S AND MY REGULAR SALARY." SO I TOOK MY CARD TO THE COMPANY, AND MR. MILLER SAID, "WELL, WHERE DO YOU WANT TO WORK?" I SAID, "THE SAME PLACE I CAME FROM." HE SAYS, "WOULDN'T YOU RATHER WE'D PUT YOU IN ANOTHER PART OF THE PLANT." I SAYS, "NOPE. I WAS FIRED OUT OF THE MOTOR BUILDING, AND I'M GOING TO GO BACK TO THE MOTOR BUILDING." THIS WAS IN THE LATE SUMMER OR EARLY FALL OF 1939, I BELIEVE.

SO I WENT BACK TO THE MOTOR BUILDING, AND I HANDED MR. NORRIS MY TIME CARD. "HOW THE HELL DID YOU GET BACK," HE SAYS. "DON'T ASK ME," I SAYS, "I DON'T KNOW WHETHER UNCLE SAM ORDERED ME BACK OR WHAT, BUT I'M BACK."

"WELL, IF YOU'RE GOING TO WORK, YOU CAN GO TO WORK ON THE PISTON JOB." "OKAY."

SO I'M WORKING ON THE PISTON JOB AS INSPECTOR. I STARTED THERE ON ONE DAY AND THE NEXT DAY THEY BROUGHT IN FOUR NEGROES. THE COMPANY PLACED TWO OF THEM ACROSS FROM ME AND ONE ON EACH SIDE OF ME. APPROXIMATELY 18 OR 20 PEOPLE WORKED IN THIS CRIB. IT WAS AN AIR-CONDITIONED CRIB, IN WHICH THE PISTONS CAME THROUGH AT A CERTAIN TEMPERATURE TO BE CHECKED. IT WAS THE BEST THING THE FORD COMPANY EVER DID SO FAR AS GETTING THE UNION ORGANIZED, BECAUSE WHEN THAT HAPPENED I SIGNED EVERY GUY IN THERE INTO THE UNION.

AT THAT TIME THEY HAD THE NAVAL BARRACKS AT THE ROUGE, AND THEY USED TO BRING THE BOYS THROUGH THE PLANT TO SHOW THEM THE VARIOUS OPERATIONS. THESE NEGROES MUST HAVE BEEN THERE ABOUT A WEEK OR SO. THEY DIDN'T BOTHER ME -- AS A MATTER OF FACT, I EVEN SIGNED ONE OF THEM UP IN THE UNION. ONE OF THEM, I KNOW, DIDN'T KNOW WHY HE WAS SENT OVER THERE. TWO OF THEM WERE HIRED DIRECTLY FROM THE OUTSIDE AND TWO OF THEM WERE TRANSFERRED FROM THE CRANKSHAFT DEPARTMENT. SO ONE MORNING, I WAS WORKING THERE AND BENNETT COMES OVER. HE WALKS IN THE PLANT, COMES UP TO THESE COLORED GUYS, AND SAYS, "WHO IN THE HELL SENT YOU GUYS IN HERE. GET OUT! GET OUT! WELL, THE COLORED GUYS DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO. BENNETT SAYS, "WHERE THE HELL IS AL SMITH." THEN HE GOES OVER AND GETS AL SMITH, THE SUPERINTENDENT, AND BALLS HIM OUT: "WHO ORDERED THESE PEOPLE IN HERE?" HE NEVER SAID A WORD TO ME, OR ANYBODY ELSE EXCEPT THE SUPERINTENDENT. SO THEY TOOK THE NEGROES OUT. THAT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT ANY NEGRO EVER WORKED ON INSPECTION AND IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT ANY NEGROES EVER WORKED INSIDE AN AIR-CONDITIONED ROOM.

LATER ON, AFTER THE PLANT WAS ORGANIZED, AND WE HAD DEALING WITH BENNETT ON GRIEVANCES, I ASKED HIM, "HARRY, THERE'S SOMETHING I WANTED TO ASK YOU. THE TIME YOU CAME OVER IN THE MOTOR BUILDING AND RAN THOSE NEGRO GOYS OFF THE JOB, WHY THE HELL WAS THAT DONE?" HARRY SAYS, "WELL, I'LL TELL YOU. SOME SENATOR OR CONGRESSMAN WROTE ME A LETTER." HE HAD GOTTEN WORD THAT THESE FELLOWS WERE WORKING IN THERE. HE WOULD NEVER ADMIT THAT I WAS INVOLVED. BUT APPARENTLY SOMEBODY FROM THE

SOUTH HAD WRITTEN TO THE COMPANY CONDEMNING THEM FOR HAVING THESE NEGROES WORKING IN THE AIR-CONDITIONED ROOM WITH WHITE PEOPLE.

I WORKED IN THE PISTON DEPARTMENT THREE OR FOUR MONTHS, AND DURING THIS TIME THIS FELLOW NORRIS WOULD COME UP EVERY DAY AND PICK ON ME. WHEN I THREW SCRAP OUT, I PUT A SECRET MARK ON IT SO I COULD RECOGNIZE IT AGAIN IF IT EVER CAME BACK. HE WOULD COME OVER EVERY DAY WITH TWO OR THREE PISTONS WHICH HE HAD CAUGHT OFF THE MOTOR LINE AND ACCUSE ME OF LETTING EVERYTHING GO THROUGH. I WOULD LOOK AT THEM, SEE MY MARK, AND SAY, "I THREW THEM OUT ONCE."

"IF YOU THREW THEM OUT, HOW DID THEY GET OVER THERE?"

"YOUR STOOL PIGEON BROUGHT THEM TO YOU. YOU DIDN'T PICK THEM OFF THE LINE."

"WHO'S MY STOOL PIGEON?"

"THAT'S ALL RIGHT. I KNOW WHO IT IS."

AFTER BENNETT CHASED THE NEGROES OUT, THEY DIDN'T PUT ANYBODY IN THEIR PLACE TO HELP ME. THE PISTONS WOULD PILE UP AND HE WOULD BE COMING OVER THERE ALL THE TIME TO TELL ME I WASN'T DOING MY WORK RIGHT. HE KEPT THAT UP, AND HE SAID TO ME, "YOU KNOW, THERE ARE A LOT OF GUYS OUT ON MILLER ROAD WHO WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THIS JOB."

"WELL, YOU SON-OF-A-BITCH, SUPPOSE YOU GO OUT AND BRING THEM IN. THERE'S ENOUGH WORK IN HERE FOR ALL OF US."

SO I WAS FIRED AGAIN. I WAS OUT THEN UNTIL THE SUPREME COURT ORDERED US BACK IN JANUARY 1941. IN THE MEANTIME, I WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE BUILDING. THAT'S WHEN WE SET UP THE COMMITTEES. BESIDES MYSELF, THE FIRST COMMITTEEMAN IN THE

MOTOR BUILDING WAS CARL STELLATO, PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL UNION NOW. HE WORKED ON THE PISTON JOB, AND I WORKED AS AN INSPECTOR ON THE SAME JOB. WE HAD THE BUILDING ORGANIZED 95 PERCENT. THEY STARTED SHOVING THE BOYS AROUND. HE WENT UP TO TRY TO DISCUSS A GRIEVANCE WITH THE FOREMAN, AND THEY FIRED HIM. I WENT TO HIS RESCUE AND THEY FIRED ME AGAIN. THE BOYS WERE GOING TO WALK OFF THE JOB, BUT WE WEREN'T READY YET SO WE ADVISED THEM TO STAY BACK THERE. WE SAID THINGS WERE GOING TO WORK OUT ALL RIGHT, SO LET'S LET THE WORKERS DECIDE IT. THEY INSISTED THAT THEY WOULD WORK THAT DAY, BUT IF WE WEREN'T BACK BY 10 O'CLOCK THE NEXT DAY, THEY WERE GOING TO STRIKE THE PLANT. I TOLD THEM NOT TO DO IT, BUT TO MAKE A MOTION AT THE LOCAL MEETING THAT NIGHT TO THAT EFFECT. THERE WERE ABOUT 75 OR 80 OF THEM THERE, AND I HAD ONE GUY MAKE THAT MOTION. WE KNEW THAT THERE WERE STOOL PIGEONS IN THE MEETING AND THAT IT WOULD GET BACK TO THE COMPANY. WE KNEW THAT THAT WOULD BE THE ONLY POSSIBLE CHANCE THAT STELLATO AND I WOULD HAVE OF GETTING OUR JOBS BACK. THE NEXT MORNING WE WERE IN THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE AT NINE O'CLOCK TALKING TO JACK BLOTT. JACK WAS QUESTIONING US AS TO WHAT HAPPENED DOWN THERE, MEANWHILE, KEEPING ONE EYE ON THE CLOCK. ABOUT 10 MINUTES TO 10, THEY HAD US BACK IN THE PLANT ON OUR JOBS. WHEN WE CAME BACK THE GUYS ALL LET OUT A BIG WHOOP.

AFTER THAT, AL SMITH, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE BUILDING, CAME TO ME AND SAYS, "DON'T SPEND NO TIME ON THIS JOB. YOU WALK AROUND THE BUILDING AND SEE THAT EVERYBODY IS SATISFIED. I DON'T WANT NO TROUBLE IN THIS PLACE."

"YOU MEAN I WALK ALL AROUND."

"YOU WALK ALL AROUND THIS BUILDING. GO ANY PLACE YOU WANT TO. TALK TO ANYBODY YOU WANT TO. AS LONG AS YOU PROMISE ME THERE WON'T BE ANY TROUBLE."

"THERE WON'T BE ANY TROUBLE."

"I DON'T WANT YOU TO STICK ON THIS JOB. I WANT YOU TO DO THAT."

"OK"

HELL, I WAS SIGNING GUYS UP AT THE RATE OF HUNDREDS A DAY AFTER THAT. I'D GO AROUND AND TALK TO THEM, COME BACK AND WORK TEN MINUTES ON THE JOB AND START OFF AGAIN. I SET UP MY COMMITTEEMEN, MY STEWARDS, AND ALL THE UNION MACHINERY. AT THE NLRB ELECTION I THINK WE WERE CLOSER TO 100 PERCENT THAN ANY BUILDING IN THE ROUGE. THE AFL COULDN'T EVEN GET A MEMBER IN THAT PLACE. MATTER OF FACT, JUST BEFORE THE ELECTION, THE BOYS WERE RUNNING THEM OUT OF THERE.

THERE WERE VERY FEW NEGROES WHO WORKED IN THE FORD PLANT OUTSIDE THE FOUNDRY. IT IS TRUE THAT MR. FORD HIRED MORE NEGROES THAN ANY OTHER COMPANY, BUT I DON'T KNOW OF ANY OF THEM WHO EVER CAME UP TO THE POINT WHERE THEY WERE ABLE TO GET AS MUCH ADVANCEMENT AS THE WHITE FELLOW HAD BEEN ABLE TO GET.

I WOULD SAY THAT THEY WERE GIVEN JOB OPPORTUNITIES MORE THAN AT OTHER PLANTS, BUT THE NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE MOTOR BUILDING AND EVERY OTHER BUILDING HAVE INCREASED SINCE THE UNION HAS COME IN. THERE WERE NEGROES IN THE FORD PLANTS, MORE THAN THERE WOULD BE, PROPORTIONATELY, IN OTHER COMPANIES IN THE SAME JOBS, BUT CONFINED TO THE FOUNDRY AND THOSE TYPE OF JOBS. THERE

WERE VERY FEW IN TOOL AND DIE. THERE WERE NEGROES IN THE MOTOR BUILDING, BUT THEY WERE ALL ON CLEAN-UP JOBS -- JANITOR'S WORK, TAXI WORK, HARD JOBS (ESPECIALLY IN THE CRANKSHAFT DEPARTMENT, WHICH IS A HEAVY JOB). BUT ON OTHER MACHINES, THEY WERE NOT USED. THERE WERE VERY FEW ON THE ASSEMBLY LINES. THOSE WHO WERE ON SUCH JOBS WERE YOUNG AND WELL EDUCATED. TODAY, THE ONLY NEGRO KELLER MACHINE OPERATOR IN INDUSTRY IS IN THE TOOL AND DIE PLANT AT ROUGE. HE CAME UP THROUGH THE UNION. HE'S ON ONE OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE UNION NOW. I DON'T THINK THAT YOU WILL FIND ANY OTHER COMPANY WHERE THEY HAVE GOT IT LIKE THAT. THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION THERE TODAY. THE UNION HAS CONTINUALLY FOUGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION. DURING THE WAR THE UNION PUT UP A FIGHT TO GET EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO WOMEN. IT SEEMED TO BE A POLICY OF SUPERVISION OF THE COMPANY NOT TO ADVANCE NEGROES ABOVE A CERTAIN STAGE. WILLIS WARD CAME IN NOT BECAUSE HE WAS A NEGRO, BUT BECAUSE HE WAS A NEGRO ATHLETE. IT WAS A POLICY OF FORD'S THAT OUTSTANDING ATHLETES WERE GIVEN BETTER OPPORTUNITIES FOR JOBS THAN ORDINARY PERSONS. I DON'T THINK THAT WARD HAD THE AUTHORITY TO DO THE JOB OF PROTECTING THE NEGROES. I THINK THAT ALL OF THEM WERE AFRAID. I THINK BENNETT WAS THE PERSON THEY WERE AFRAID OF. ALL POLICIES CAME DOWN FROM BENNETT.

I THINK THAT BENNETT HAD A GOOD BIT OF POWER THAT WAS GIVEN TO HIM TO USE HIS OWN JUDGMENT ON. I KNOW OF ONE OCCASION ON WHICH PAUL STE. MARIE AND I INSISTED ON GETTING BACK PAY PAYMENTS MADE BEFORE CHRISTMAS, IF WE POSSIBLY COULD, WHERE THEY

WERE CONTINUALLY HOLDING THEM UP. PAUL MADE AN APPOINTMENT WITH EDSSEL FORD. WE MET MR. FORD AND HE SAID, "DID YOU CONTACT MR. BENNETT'S OFFICE?" WE SAID, "WE TRIED TO CONTACT MR. BENNETT'S OFFICE." IT LEFT THE IMPRESSION WITH US THAT WE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING A MEETING WITH MR. FORD ONLY BECAUSE SOMEHOW IT GOT AROUND MR. BENNETT'S OFFICE TO MR. FORD. EDSSEL FORD WAS VERY FAIR IN TALKING TO US AND HE SAID THAT HE WOULD DO ANYTHING HE COULD TO SEE THAT OUR GRIEVANCE WAS ACTED UPON, AND HE COULD SEE NO REASON WHY THE BACK PAY SHOULD NOT BE PAID BEFORE CHRISTMAS. AND IT WAS DONE. WHAT MOVES STE. MARIE MADE IN GETTING AROUND BENNETT'S OFFICE TO MR. FORD, I DON'T KNOW. THAT WAS THE ONLY CONFERENCE WE EVER HAD WITH EDSSEL FORD.

I WAS IN CHARGE OF THE NATIONAL FORD NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE THAT PROPOSED THE UMPIRE AGREEMENT, BUT I WAS PERSONALLY OPPOSED TO IT. I WAS OPPOSED TO IT BECAUSE I FEEL THAT IT IS DOUBLE-TALK ON THE PART OF LABOR LEADERS TO, ON THE ONE HAND, OBJECT TO THE PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD FORCE ARBITRATION; AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, AGREE TO AN UMPIRE SET-UP WHICH IN MY OPINION IS ENFORCED ARBITRATION UPON A LARGE GROUP OF WORKERS. OF COURSE, THEY SAY, "WELL, THE WORKERS VOTED FOR IT. IT'S IN THE CONTRACT." THE WORKERS MAY VOTE FOR AN UMPIRE SET-UP WHICH IS PART OF THE CONTRACT BECAUSE IF THEY TURN THAT DOWN THEY TURN DOWN THE ENTIRE CONTRACT. I WAS OPPOSED TO IT, AND I BELIEVE THERE WERE TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OPPOSED. ONE WAS BILL MCKIE, AND THE OTHER

WAS JIM COUSER. THE REST OF THE COMMITTEE AGREED WITH LEONARD THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN UMPIRE. IT WAS DICK LEONARD'S IDEA ORIGINALLY IN FORD, ALTHOUGH I ASSUME THAT IT MUST HAVE BEEN REUTHER'S BEFORE THAT, BECAUSE LEONARD AND REUTHER WERE PRETTY CLOSE TOGETHER AT THAT TIME AND THE ONLY OTHER PLACE THEY HAD AN UMPIRE WAS GENERAL MOTORS. THE GENERAL MOTORS RANK AND FILE DIDN'T LIKE IT, AND WITH THE FORD CONTRACT HAVING THINGS THAT THE GENERAL MOTORS AGREEMENT DID NOT HAVE, IT WAS A POLITICAL STUMBLING BLOCK TO WALTER AND HE THOUGHT THAT HE SHOULD EXTEND THE UMPIRE SYSTEM TO FORD. WE WERE HAVING A LOT OF STRIKES HERE AND THERE, AS WE ALWAYS DO, AND THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD HELP THAT SITUATION.

WE WERE IN WASHINGTON DISCUSSING THE CONTRACT BEFORE SHULMAN, WHO WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE WAR LABOR BOARD PANEL. THE UMPIRE QUESTION WAS RAISED, AND THE COMPANY TURNED IT DOWN COMPLETELY. THEY WOULDN'T HAVE ANYTHING TO ^{DO} WITH AN UMPIRE. CAPIZZI WAS HEADING THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE COMPANY. WE CAME BACK AND WE GO INTO BENNETT'S OFFICE TO SIGN THE COMPLETED CONTRACT. BENNETT SAYS, "WELL, DID YOU GUYS GET EVERYTHING YOU WANTED?"

LEONARD SAYS, "NO."

"WELL, WHAT DIDN'T YOU GET?"

"WELL, ONE THING WE WANTED WAS AN UMPIRE."

"WHAT THE HELL IS AN UMPIRE? IS THIS A BALL GAME OR SOMETHING?"

SO LEONARD EXPLAINED TO BENNETT THAT AN UMPIRE IS A GUY

TO WHOM YOU REFER A GRIEVANCE THAT YOU CAN'T GET TOGETHER ON, AND HE DECIDES WHICH SIDE IS RIGHT AND THAT'S IT. BENNETT TURNS AROUND TO HIS NEGOTIATORS AND SAYS, "WHAT THE HELL'S WRONG WITH THAT. HOW COME YOU GUYS DIDN'T GIVE THEM AN UMPIRE. WELL, GIVE 'EM AN UMPIRE TOO." SO WE GOT AN UMPIRE.

WE DISCUSSED VARIOUS PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE UMPIRES:

SENATOR PRENTIS BROWN, JIM DEWEY, AND OTHERS; THE COMPANY THREW ALL THESE NAMES AT US. THEN LEONARD SPOKE UP AND SAID, "YOU KNOW, I THINK IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO HAVE THIS FELLOW SHULMAN."

I THINK THERE IS NO MORE FAIR UMPIRE IN THE BUSINESS THAN SHULMAN, BUT I STILL THINK THAT THE IDEA IS WRONG. I TAKE THE SAME POSITION THAT MR. LEWIS DOES. LEWIS SAYS, "I'M NOT SITTING AROUND A TABLE BARGAINING COLLECTIVELY WITH THE OWNERS OF INDUSTRY, COMING TO AN AGREEMENT, AND THEN HAVE SOME COLLEGE PROFESSOR TELL US WHAT THE HELL WE AGREED TO."

THERE ARE ARBITRATORS IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE MINE WORKERS, BUT THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE ARBITRATOR CAN ONLY MAKE A DECISION UPON THOSE MATTER NOT COVERED BY THE CONTRACT. IN OUR CASE THE ARBITRATOR MAKES DECISIONS ONLY ON THOSE MATTERS THAT ARE COVERED BY THE CONTRACT. I'VE SAID THIS BEFORE, AND I'LL SAY IT UNTIL SOMEONE CAN PROVE DIFFERENTLY TO ME: ALL THE UMPIRE SYSTEM DOES IS TAKE GUYS OFF THE SPOT. POLITICALLY, A UNION COMMITTEEMAN OR STEWARD WANTS TO BE TAKEN OFF THE SPOT. ALSO, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, THE LABOR RELATIONS PEOPLE LIKE TO BE TAKEN OFF THE SPOT. SO THEY CONTINUE TO REFER THINGS TO WHAT WE CALL "THE GREAT

WHITE FATHER", WHO MAKES THE FINAL DECISION ON MATTERS WHICH SHOULD BE SETTLED HONESTLY, ACROSS THE TABLE. THE UMPIRE IS JUST A BUFFER. HE ALWAYS SAYS "I'LL GIVE YOU SOMETHING HERE, AND YOU SOMETHING THERE." IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE SAME AS IN ANY OTHER ARBITRATION PROCEEDINGS, YOU NEVER END UP WITH THE FULL CREDIT THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE BUT A COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT.

COMMITTEEMEN ARE ELECTED POLITICALLY. FELLOW COMES UP TO HIM, HE'S GOT A LOT OF FRIENDS, AND HE SAYS HE'S GOT A GRIEVANCE. INSTEAD OF THE COMMITTEEMAN SAYING TO HIM: "BUD, YOU JUST HAVEN'T GOT A GRIEVANCE," HE WANTS TO HELP THIS FELLOW. HE SAYS, "OK, WE'LL TAKE IT UP", KNOWING HIMSELF THAT HE DOESN'T HAVE A GRIEVANCE. INSTEAD OF BEING MAN ENOUGH TO COME OUT AND TELL HIM SO, THE COMMITTEEMAN TAKES IT UP TO LABOR RELATIONS. THEY TURN IT DOWN, AND IT GOES TO THE REVIEW BOARD, AND EVENTUALLY TO THE UMPIRE. ALL ALONG THE WAY EVERYBODY WANTS TO BE TAKEN OFF THE SPOT AND LET THE OTHER GUY MAKE THE DECISION. OF COURSE, THE GRIEVANCE IS DENIED BY THE UMPIRE. THE DECISION GOES BACK DOWN THE LINE AND THE COMMITTEEMAN GOES TO HIS BUDDY AND PUTS HIS ARMS AROUND HIM AND SAYS, "I DID EVERYTHING I COULD FOR YOU. IT ISN'T MY FAULT. I FOUGHT FOR YOU." POLITICALLY, HE IS SAVED. THE SAME THING CAN WORK IN REVERSE. A COMMITTEEMAN TAKES UP A LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCE WITH LABOR RELATIONS. THE LABOR RELATIONS MAN KNOWS THAT IF HE GRANTS IT, IT MAY SET A PRECEDENT FOR A LOT MORE. HE SAYS, "HELL, I'M ON A HOT SPOT. I'M JUST WORKING HERE FOR CUMMINS OR BUGAS. I'M NOT GOING TO

STICK MY NECK OUT ON THIS THING." SO HE DENIES IT, AND AGAIN IT GOES UP TO THE UMPIRE. THE UMPIRE MAKES A DECISION IN FAVOR OF THE WORKER, AND THE LABOR RELATIONS MAN IS OFF THE SPOT. THAT ISN'T HONEST BARGAINING. THE HONEST BARGAINING IS GONE, AND ALL YOU HAVE AGREED TO IS RULES OF PROCEDURE. IT ISN'T LIKE THE OLD DAYS IN WHICH THE LOCAL WOULD CALL A MEETING AND THE PLANT COMMITTEE WOULD GET UP AND REPORT, "ON GRIEVANCES SO AND SO, IT IS OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT THEY BE WITHDRAWN. ON ANOTHER GRIEVANCE WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING WE CAN; WE THINK THIS IS A GOOD GRIEVANCE; WE DON'T THINK IT IS WORTH A STRIKE, BUT WE DO THINK IT WARRANTS ARBITRATION." THEN WE GO TO ARBITRATION ON THAT PARTICULAR GRIEVANCE. OR IF YOU HAVE A GRIEVANCE ON WHICH YOU THINK YOU'RE RIGHT, BUT YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE THE CHANCE OF AN ARBITRATOR NOT GIVING YOU THE FULL VALUE OF YOUR GRIEVANCE BY A COMPROMISE, THEN YOU GO TO THE LOCAL MEMBERSHIP AS AN OFFICER OF THE UNION AND ASK POWER TO NEGOTIATE IT OR CALL A STRIKE. YOU CAN'T DO THAT UNDER AN UMPIRE SET UP. YOU PAY FOR THEM, BUT YOU ALSO PAY AN UMPIRE TO TELL YOU WHETHER OR NOT YOU HAVE A GRIEVANCE. YOU SHOULD KNOW YOURSELF, BUT IF YOU DON'T KNOW, YOUR LEADERS CERTAINLY SHOULD BE QUALIFIED TO TELL YOU.

I TOLD GEORGE TAYLOR, WHO WAS THEN CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD, THAT I WOULD NOT OPPOSE THE UMPIRE SYSTEM UNDER WAR CONDITIONS. UNDER THE "NO STRIKE" PLEDGE AT THAT TIME, I REFUSED TO ARGUE THE POINT. I WOULD BE FOOLISH TO SAY THAT I AM IN FAVOR OF THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE, AND THEN GET UP IN

A MEMBERSHIP MEETING AND SAY THAT I AM OPPOSED TO IT IN NORMAL TIMES.

IT'S HARD TO GET A STRIKE UNDER THE STRIKEABLE ISSUES IN ORDER TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE COMPANY WITH RESPECT TO OTHER QUESTIONS. UNDER THE PRESENT SET UP THE WHOLE LOCAL UNION HAS TO VOTE FOR SUCH A STRIKE. IN THE FORD PLANT TODAY IT IS DIFFICULT TO CALL A SUCCESSFUL STRIKE. THE ONLY STRIKE WE HAVE HAD WAS IN THE DEARBORN ASSEMBLY PLANT OVER THE SPEED-UP QUESTION. EVERYBODY VOTED TO SUPPORT THEM. NOTHING WAS GAINED, HOWEVER. WE'VE HAD A LOT OF WILDCAT STRIKES. I DON'T THINK ANYBODY IN THE LOCAL 600 OFFICE WOULD PERMIT A STRIKE UNLESS IT INVOLVED A REAL ISSUE WHICH INVOLVED A LOT MORE PEOPLE. IF IT GET TO A SITUATION WHERE YOU HAVE GRIEVANCES PILING UP IN ALL UNITS, THEN YOU COULD HAVE A PRETTY SUCCESSFUL STRIKE. BUT ONE GROUP OF PEOPLE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY ARE DENIED THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONTRACT, FINDS IT A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY TO GET STRIKE AUTHORIZATION.

WITHOUT AN UMPIRE, AND WITH HONEST LEADERSHIP ON BOTH SIDES, I WOULD SAY THAT THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN YOU WOULD HAVE LESS DISCONTENT THAT WE HAVE NOW. AS IT IS NOW, THERE ARE MORE GRIEVANCES GO IN THAN THE UMPIRE CAN HANDLE. WE'VE HAD 2400 IN THE LAST YEAR GO TO THE UMPIRE FROM THE ROUGE ALONE.

YOU WOULD HAVE MORE BARGAINING POWER WITHOUT THE UMPIRE SET-UP.

IN THE WAR YEARS ALL TYPES OF PEOPLE WERE HIRED. PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER WORKED FOR A LIVING, BUT WHO, FOR THE PURPOSE OF TRYING TO KEEP OUT OF MILITARY SERVICE, AND OTHERWISE,

FELT THAT THE BEST THING THEY COULD DO WAS TO GET INTO A DEFENSE PLANT. A LOT OF THEM DIDN'T WANT TO WORK AND WERE IRRESPONSIBLE. THEY WERE THE PEOPLE WHO, IN MY OPINION, CAUSED MORE OF THE DISTURBANCES THAN ANY OF THE OLD-TIME PEOPLE. ALONG WITH THAT, YOU HAD PEOPLE WITH NO KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR RELATIONS: CAR SALESMEN, FOOTBALL PLAYERS, ATTORNEYS WHO HAD NEVER DEALT WITH LABOR RELATIONS -- THAT'S THE TYPE OF PEOPLE WHO WERE HANDLING LABOR RELATIONS IN FORD.

I THINK TODAY THAT THEY HAVE A SMART STAFF OF LABOR RELATION PEOPLE OVER AT THE ROUGE. WITH THEM I THINK WE WOULD BE JUST AS FAR AHEAD, IF NOT FARTHER, WITHOUT AN UMPIRE.

THE TROUBLE WITH THE GENERAL MOTORS OR CHRYSLER SCREENING APPARATUS OF THE UAW IS THAT TOO MANY TIMES THE GRIEVANCES ARE DISPOSED OF ON THE BASIS OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE ONLY SUCH PROCEDURE THAT WOULD WORK WOULD BE WITH RANK AND FILE MEMBERS PICKED LIKE A JURY -- PEOPLE INTERESTED ONLY AS WORKERS IN THE PLANT, NOT AS PAID STAFF MEMBERS.

I THINK THERE IS MORE OBJECTION TO THE UMPIRE SYSTEM IN GENERAL MOTORS THAN IN FORD. THE UMPIRE SYSTEM IS ALWAYS AN ARGUMENT AMONG GENERAL MOTORS WORKERS.