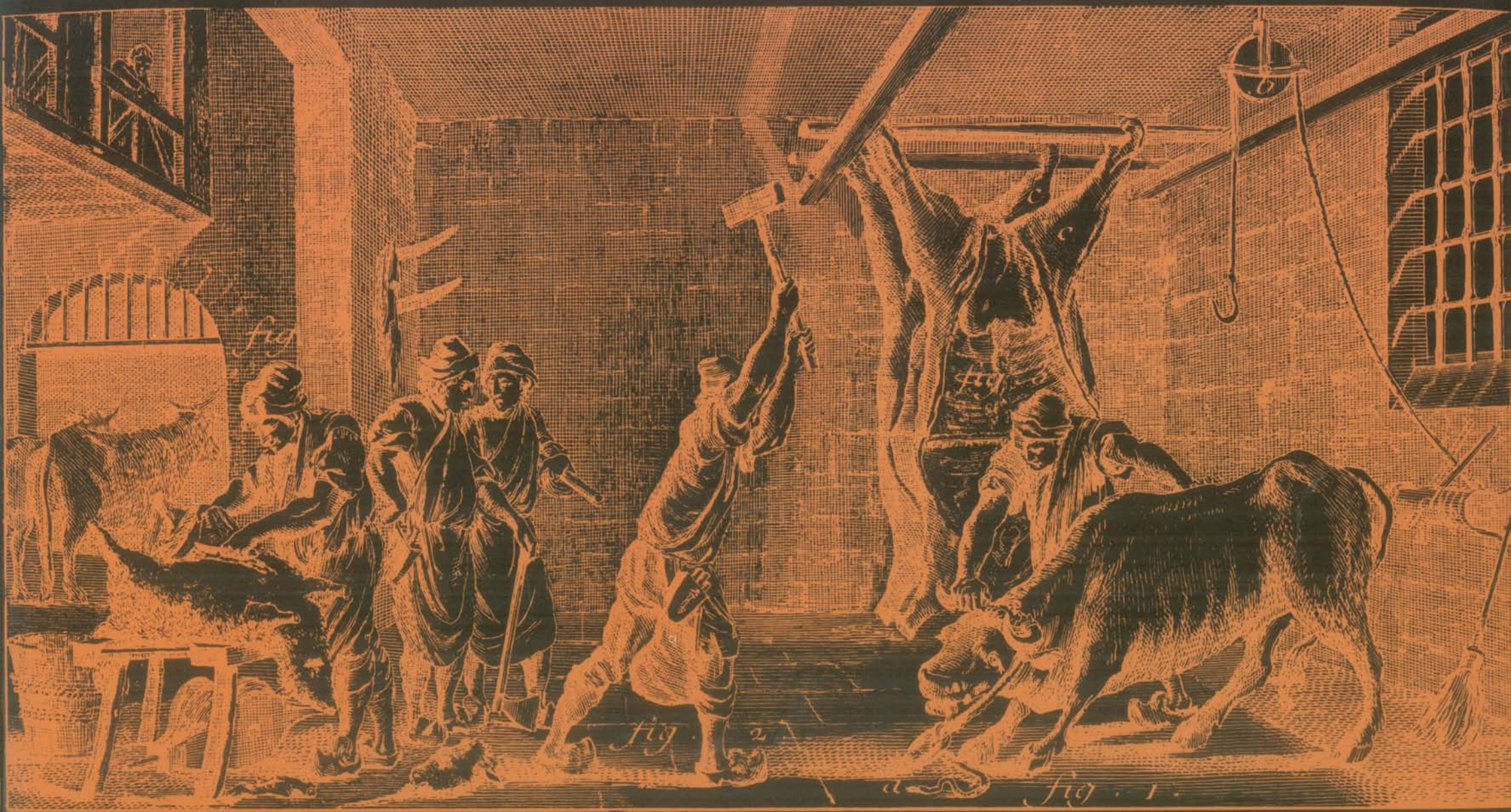




OUT OF THE JUNGLE

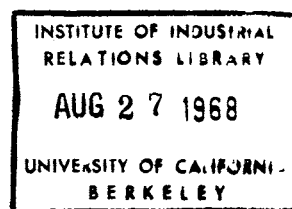


From the Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry, steel plate engraving of butcher in Eighteenth Century France.

By Leslie F. Orear
and Stephen H. Diamond

**OUT OF
THE
JUNGLE**

THE PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE AND EQUALITY



Design by
Leo Tanenbaum

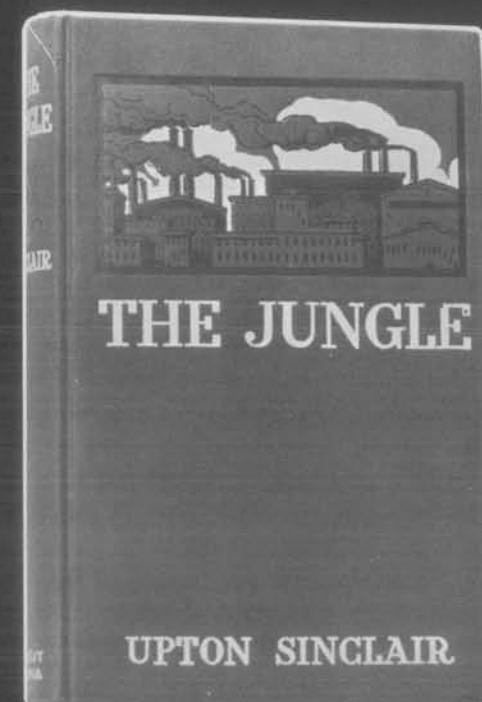
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*Publication of Out of The Jungle
marks the 25th year since
the founding convention of the
United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers,
AFL-CIO, October 16, 1943*

This is the story of a fighting union, born out of the Depression to do battle with the greatest names in the meat packing industry and to pioneer on the frontiers of social concern in the middle years of the 20th century, the United Packinghouse, Food, and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO.

This book is dedicated to Upton Sinclair, author of the turn-of-the-century masterpiece of social exposure, *The Jungle*. Sinclair's career was an attack upon the selfish manipulation of political and economic power by the rich. It was a call to the poor and unrepresented to take up the struggle for Justice, Equality, and Security.

Dedication





Upton Sinclair wrote his book, *The Jungle*, about the anguish and horror of life in Chicago's Packingtown where waves of immigrant workers fought for survival. In that mile square complex of livestock pens and slaughter houses, the destruction and dismemberment of millions of animals was rivalled by the brutalization of masses of working men, women, and children at the hands of petty-tyrant bosses; and by their merciless exploitation in the grip of the newly-made millionaires of the "Meat Trust."

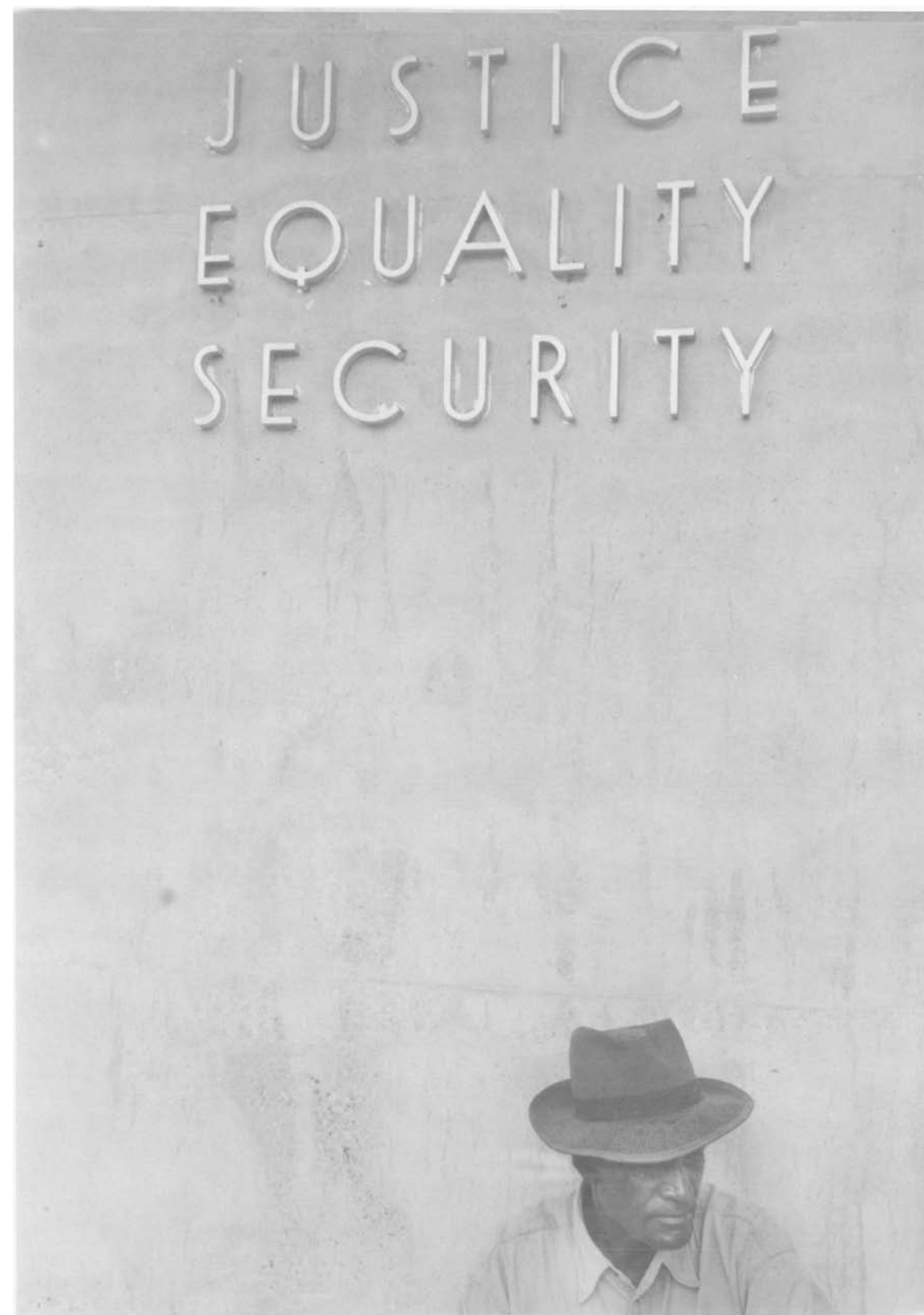
Time after time, the idea of unionism took hold among the packinghouse workers in Chicago and elsewhere throughout the country. Each time the workers' organizations were crushed by the mighty power of employers able to mobilize hungry strikebreakers anxious for work.

The thud of police nightsticks on the heads of pickets was approved by self-righteous, short-sighted citizens, who had come to America in earlier migrations yet who feared and resented the "hunkies," then invading the cities from abroad. Their incomprehensible languages and strange customs were

uncouth in the eyes of the Germans and the Irish who had preceded these newcomers. Their crowded slums were breeding places for drunkenness and crime, a burden upon the charity of the thrifty.

It was not until the mid-thirties that, within this charnal house of death to labor organizations, the union movement finally broke the absolute power of the employers and found the strength, wit and courage to survive. This book is about that struggle. It tells of the background and birth, the turmoil of adolescence, and fruitful maturity of the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, (UPWA).

But it is not merely the story of a particular union in a particular industry. Through these pages the reader will come to know and understand something of the spirit of industrial unionism that swept the country with the birth in 1935 of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). And in these pictures, from past to present, the reader will meet the human beings with hopes and anxieties, and goals and guts like others who have built unions the world over, and for whose fair share the struggle goes on.



... "It was his place to follow down the line the man who drew out the smoking entrails from the carcass of the steer; this mass was to be swept into a trap, which was then closed, so that no one might slip into it. As Jurgis came in, the first cattle of the morning were just making their appearance; and so, with scarcely time to look about him, and none to speak to any one, he fell to work.

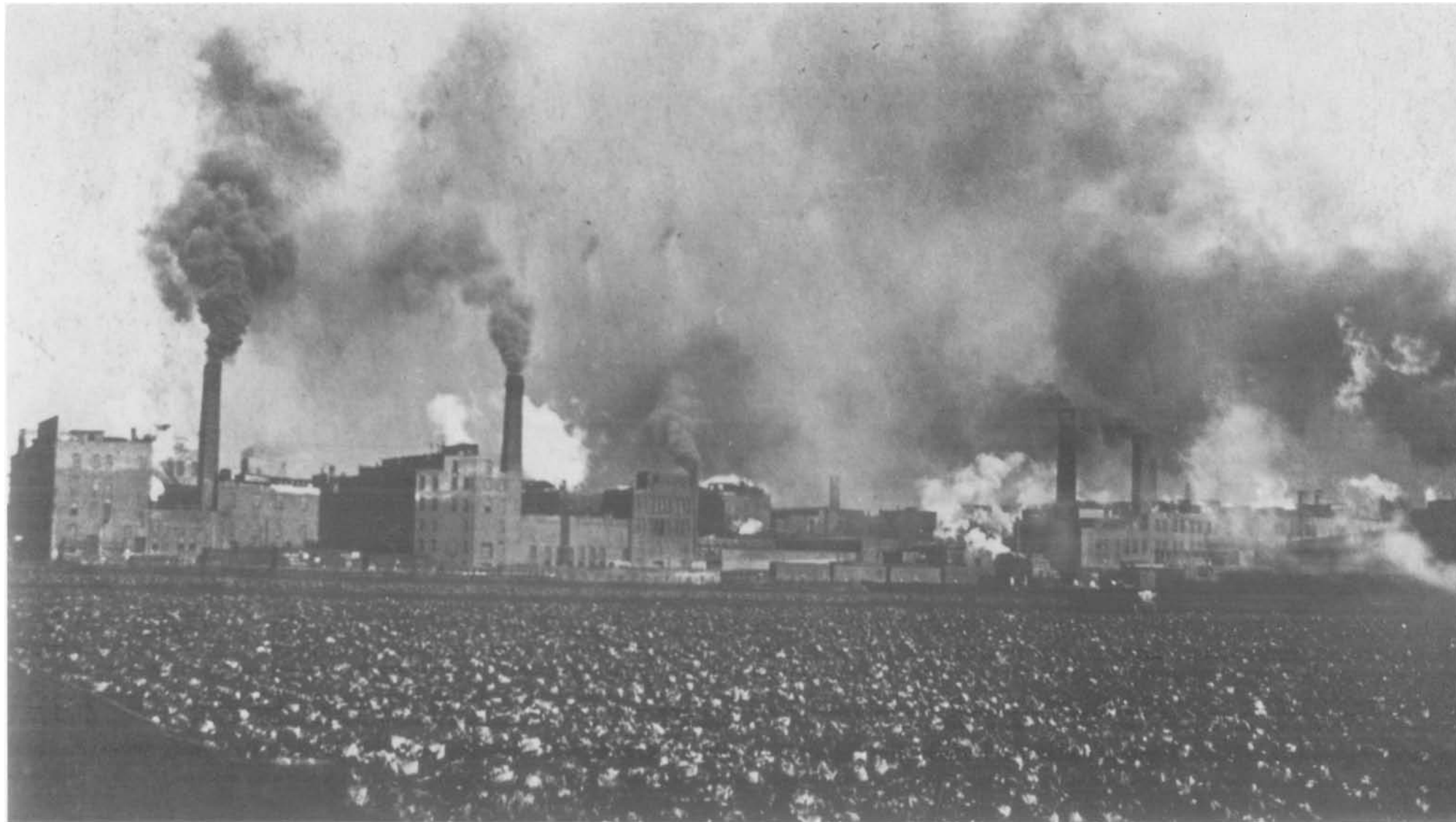
"It was a sweltering day in July, and the place ran with steaming hot blood—one waded in it on the floor. The stench was almost overpowering, but to Jurgis it was nothing. His whole soul was dancing with joy—he was at work at last! He was at work and earning money!"

From THE JUNGLE



"So America was a place of which lovers and young people dreamed. If one could only manage to get the price of a passage, he could count his troubles at an end."

"Great volumes of smoke roll down from the forest of chimneys at all hours of the day and drift down over the helpless neighborhood like a deep, black curtain that fain would hide the suffering and misery it aggravates."



At the time when Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*, women and children were paid five cents an hour. Men made 15 cents, the more skilled butchers slightly more. In 1904, shortly before Sinclair came to Chicago the men had struck for higher pay, but their union, the **Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL**, was crushed after six weeks and hundreds were blacklisted.

EMPLOYERS CRUSHED THE UNIONS ONCE AGAIN IN 1904

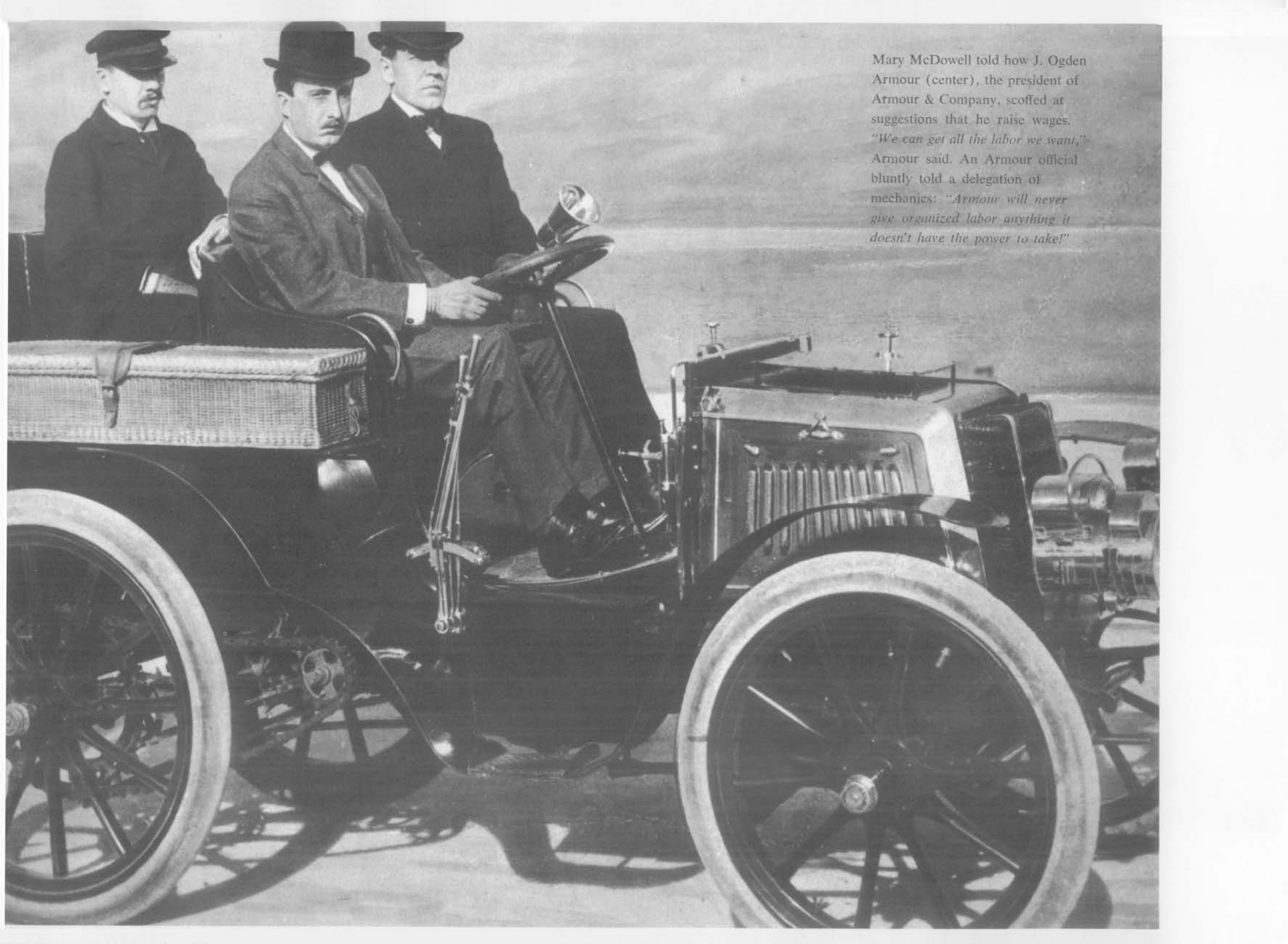
Hardly more than two miles from the stockyards and the starving children were fashionable Hyde Park and Kenwood. The Swift family mansion was in Kenwood.



"To this place there came every day many hundreds of wagon-loads of garbage and trash from the lakefront where the rich lived; and in the heaps the children raked for food there were hunks of bread, and potato peelings, and apple cores, and meat bones, all of it half frozen and quite unspoiled."

The people of Packingtown found few friends to help them in their need for social adjustment and self-fulfillment; but people like Jane Addams and her associate, Mary McDowell, created so-called settlement houses to provide centers for education and social organization. Mary McDowell founded such a center in the "Back of the Yards" section of Chicago.





Mary McDowell told how J. Ogden Armour (center), the president of Armour & Company, scoffed at suggestions that he raise wages. *"We can get all the labor we want,"* Armour said. An Armour official bluntly told a delegation of mechanics: *"Armour will never give organized labor anything it doesn't have the power to take!"*

Even children as young as eight and nine years old worked in the packinghouses, often as doorboys who opened and closed the heavy doors while men trucked product in and out of coolers and work rooms. Among the boy workers in St. Joseph, Mo. in 1904 was Frank Ellis (fourth from left) who grew up to become a general organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and later an International Vice-President of the UPWA.



The Meat Trust was firmly astride the world. Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and what was to become Wilson were secure in their mastery over the workers, over the farmers, over the retailers and the consumers. Their properties were world-wide. Politicians and statesmen were at their bidding.

J. Ogden Armour knew his business. While job-hungry workers gathered each morning at the gates, *Forbes* (The Magazine of Business) listed Armour and Swift among the four Chicagoans within the circle of the nation's 30

richest men. An Armour biographer reported that there was a question whether Armour or Dupont, the explosives manufacturer, had made the most money during World War I.

An available supply of labor to be tapped when needed were the black workers. Negroes made an entry into the industry during the strike of 1894. They were brought in by the trainload during the strike of 1921.

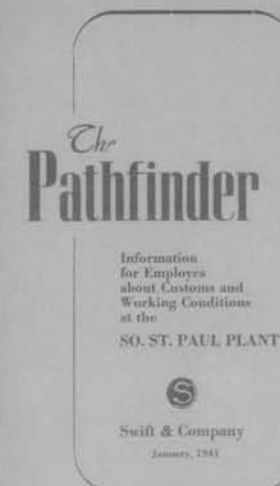


The decade of the 1930 s brought the despair of the Depression and the hope of the New Deal. The symbol of the Depression was the breadline and the hunger march. The symbol of the New Deal was Franklin D. Roosevelt. For the industrial worker, it became John L. Lewis, the leader of the coal miners, and the magic initials of the CIO, the Congress of Industrial Organizations which Lewis headed.

In the Packingtowns of Chicago and dozens of other cities thousands were jobless. Unemployed gathered by the scores at the employment offices each morning to see if they might find work that day. The old and slow were weeded out. The common labor rate in Chicago was 32.5 cents an hour. The "river rate" in cities like Omaha and Kansas City was a nickel less. The female differential was a dime under the men. Work might last only two or three hours in a day—or sixteen. Foremen screamed and cursed. Some sold jobs for a drink of whiskey, or a favor from a lady.

Without organization of their own the workers were firmly in the grip of company unionism through the "Plant Conference Boards" and "independent" unions set up by the employers as dummy instruments to rubber-stamp company policies.

"Go first to your foreman if you want information or are in any kind of trouble. If he cannot or does not give you satisfactory assistance, you always have the right to talk personally with the man in charge of industrial relations. Because of his experience in such work, you can rely upon him to see that your interests are properly served and protected."



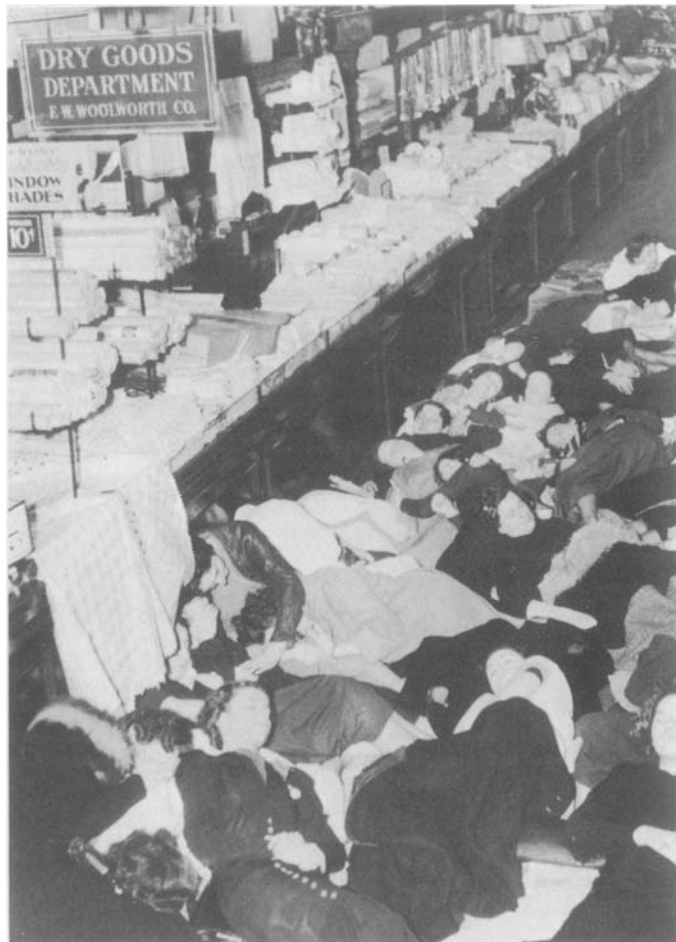


The Republican Party under President Hoover made no serious effort to deal with the disastrous effects of the Depression. Purchasing power in the hands of the people dwindled. Industrial production skidded further. Banks closed and lifetime savings disappeared overnight. Farm mortgages were foreclosed and people drifted aimlessly across the land. Business leadership had failed the country. The people turned to the Democrats and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 for a political solution to their plight. They felt, at last, that government was on their side and at their service.

Congress declared that it was in the national interest to promote collective bargaining and it acted to require employers to recognize and deal with unions representing a majority of employees. Employers were also forbidden to interfere with workers in their right to organize. The author of the law passed in 1934 was Sen. Robert Wagner. Wagner's National Labor Relations Act was called "Labor's Magna Carta." Employers have ever since sought to undermine and subvert the principles of that law.



As early as 1933 the urge to organize swept the little city of Austin, Minn., and its principal industry, the meat packer Geo. A. Hormel. Among Hormel's employees was former packinghouse doorboy and "tramp butcher" Frank Ellis. Under his leadership Austin workers formed the Independent Union of All Workers with ambitions to organize



southern Minnesota into "one big union." On November 11, 1933, the Hormel workers took over the big plant in an early instance of what came to be called the sit-down strike. They held the premises two days, winning a four-cent wage increase for those making 40 to 49½ cents. Higher rated employees got only two cents. The greater compensation allotted to the lower paid was typical of the equalitarian union spirit which distributed more where the need was greatest.

Officers of the Independent Union of All Workers in Austin, Minn., in 1933. Frank Ellis, founder of the IUAW and later Vice-President of the UPWA, is seated fourth from the left. The Austin union became one of the founders of the CIO movement in the meat packing industry.



Encouraged by the Wagner Act's check on the power of the employers, workers began flocking to the banners of industrial unionism raised by the CIO. But the road ahead was rough. Most employers resisted the new CIO unions to the end. Many employers ignored the provisions of the Wagner Act. Although U.S. Steel recognized the CIO

Steelworkers, other steel companies forced the union to strike. On Memorial Day, 1937 police killed ten demonstrators at the gates of the Republic Steel plant in Chicago. They were clubbed and shot without mercy as they fled across the prairie.

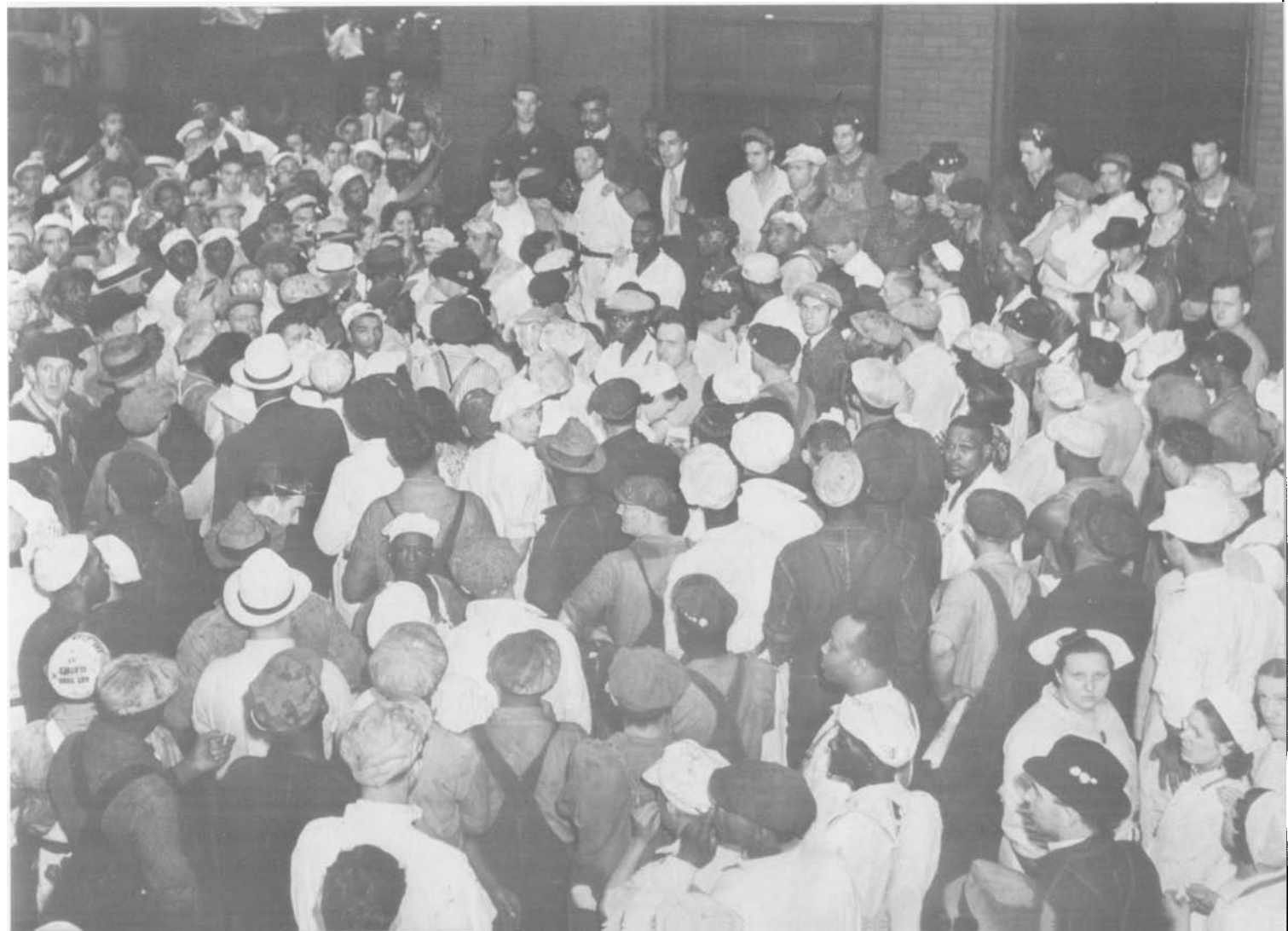
TEN MEN DIED ... SEVEN SHOT IN THE BACK AND THREE SHOT IN THE SIDE





The wildfire of the CIO was sweeping through the meat industry. Almost 2,000 Armour workers in Kansas City staged a sitdown strike of their own when the company demanded too much work from the men in the hide cellar. They held the plant four days. In Chicago, 26-year-old Herb March became

the driving spirit of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC), set up by the CIO. Workers gathered at "CIO Corner" from all over the vast Chicago stockyard region to hear March preach a gospel of rebellion against the indignities and injustices of second-class industrial citizenship.



Armour Yields To Local 347

St. Louis Christmas Party Grand Affair 2500 See Santa Claws

ST. LOUIS, Ill.—The strong Armour plant in its moment during the Christmas season, has been the scene of a grand affair.

St. Joseph Mops Up

Most Depts. 100%

St. Joe, Mo. — Local 767, conqueror of Armour's St. Joe plant by 10 to 1 in the recent Labor Board election, has issued a special invitation to members of Local 232 of Chicago to come up to St. Joe for the January 7th local.

Local 767 will find a fighting spirit that is growing in St. Joe. The stimulus of the overwhelming election result has brought many new members into the ranks of the local.

Van A. Bittner, Chairman of the PWOC, received in donations last week \$1,000 from Local Union of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia, which he promptly turned over to the Sioux City Strikers as a Christmas gift.

Mr. Bittner, national leader of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is swinging the CIO and its 4 millions of members behind the PWOC into a drive to organize the hands of packinghouse workers.

The donation of \$1,000 to the swift strike is an indication of the tremendous reserve which the CIO has in store to help the packers to terms with the PWOC.

Turning over their magnificent donation to Bittner, the mine-

Negro Discrimination Ended at Armour Chgo.

Time Card "Tags" Dropped

CHICAGO, Ill.—Under the slogan, "Stop Discrimination!" the Grievance Committees of Local 347, Armour and Company, have forced the management to stop its practice of marking the time cards of Negro workers with a star.

For many years the company has "tagged" its Negro employees by means of the star in front of the name on the time cards. The local rightly looked upon this as a special form of discrimination and went to work to put an end to it.

PWOC Chief Swings CIO Support

Grievance Committees from each Division lodged their protests with General Superintendent King. King could find no explanation for the stars and was forced to order them taken off.

Officers of the local explain that it may take a couple of weeks for the stars to disappear completely from the entire plant, as it is quite a job to go through the whole payroll and change each name plate on the addressograph machine. Nevertheless, the stars will no longer offend the Negro workers of Armour and Company.

GRIEVANCE ON CHECKS

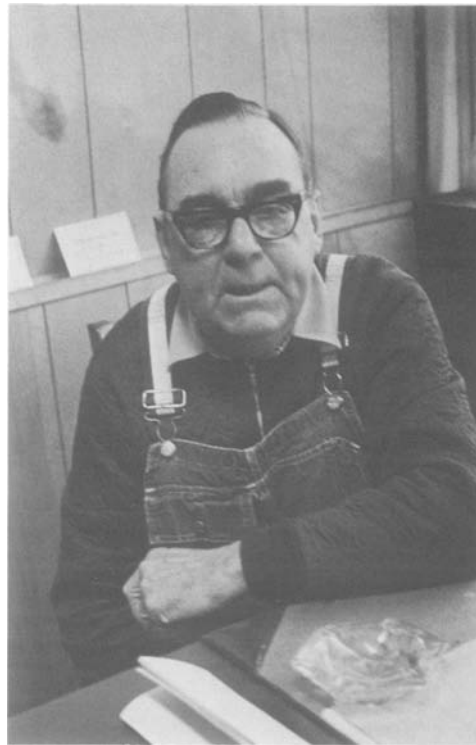
Another major grievance being pushed by the Grievance Committees is the question of a place to cash checks. Union members object to having to make a purchase at the retail market or go out to a tavern to cash their pay checks. In the opinion of the local, if Armour wishes to pay by check, it ought to make arrangements for the employees

The PWOC was not about to substitute simple electioneering for the old-style strategy of organization by confrontation. It perfected the art of the slowdown and the departmental stoppage around grass-roots issues, thus creating both confidence in the power of worker unity and reliance on a rank-and-file style of leadership. Small victories often came from these guerrilla raids against highly complex and interrelated departmental production schedules. The fruits of struggle were sweet. They whetted the appetite while developing the muscle. Workers were fast shaking off moods of fear and hopelessness, scars of the lost strike of 1921.



“The first accomplishment was the bonding together of the different nationalities. They didn’t even speak to one another. At Squires we had the Irish, Italian, Greeks, Portuguese, Polish and others. It was through the organizing committee that they were approached. They were hesitant, at first, because the one didn’t trust the other. It wasn’t hostility, but fear of one another. There was a fear of being discharged to make room for one of the other group.”

WILLIAM HOSFORD



“In those old days the men’s facilities consisted of a long trough. Every few minutes there would be a great gush of water and you’d better not be too close or you’d be swept out to sea!”

FRANK HAROLD



“Nobody got paid to organize. Everybody was an organizer and did his share. To be recognized we had to strike ’em—especially Boston Sausage. That’s where Jesse Prosten got his head split open. Nothing was easy. Chamberlain was the key to the market. Without it you were licked. We skipped our lunch to win Chamberlain. The meaning of union is discipline and unity. Johnny Mitchell and I, we organized the beef houses. It was teamwork, all the way.”

SAM (RED) WEINER

Jake Brya was one of scores of workers who were fired for union activity. The strongest union supporters, men and women who brought leaflets into the locker rooms, who talked to workers about signing up in the union and showed signs of leadership were often discharged on one pretext or another. The union could take such cases to the Labor Board to seek reinstatement and back pay, but the litigation was time consuming and the outcome always uncertain.



SOME LOST THEIR JOBS . . . BUT THE MOVEMENT CARRIED ON



Nevertheless, the organizing work continued. Elections were being won, but the bigger companies blandly ignored the results. Armour refused to sign a contract, or even to negotiate. The union knew it must pursue its confrontation policy—this time on a much bigger scale. It called for a national strike against Armour and summoned delegations from every organized plant to a conference and public mass rally in Chicago. John L. Lewis, himself, would present his formidable person and speak in the tones of an avenging angel.



Union opponents at the Armour plant in St. Joseph, Missouri called the PWOC “a Russian organization coming out of the coal mines and automobile plants,” but PWOC won the election anyway, 473 to 10.



THE HOUR OF CRISIS . . . AND CONFRONTATION



They came by the hundreds, even in special trains. On the platform with Lewis were Don Harris, the youthful director of organization for the PWOC, and assistant director Henry (Hank) Johnson, a Negro whose oratorical powers and confidence did much to weld black and white packinghouse workers into a unity virtually unique at the time. It was a night of nights. Lewis damned the packer-bosses. A Catholic prelate, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, posed for pictures in a symbolic handshake. The moment was all the more dramatic because PWOC was even then under fire by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "communistic." Lewis vowed to marshal support from all the unions of the CIO if the PWOC were forced on strike.





The pressure play was on. War clouds were over Europe. Roosevelt wanted no tie-ups in the meat industry. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins summoned the company to Washington. Reluctantly, President Robert H. Cabell agreed to

negotiate, but only a plant-by-plant basis—and there were 17 plants. The hard decision was taken to settle for recognition. The union had better call it a victory and build its strength, whatever the frustrations. The master agreement would come later.

SECRETARY OF LABOR FRANCES PERKINS

DAILY TIMES, CHICAGO, MONDAY, JULY 17, 1939

5

pledges strike aid kinghouse workers



...ing the Coliseum "to the
ay tribute to their union leader.
TIMES Photos)



Gestures emphasize a point as Lewis ad-
dresses Chicago audience for first time since
formation of the CIO.



Wayne Evans, 11, from
East St. Louis, Ill., finds
union activity fatiguing.

...ent packinghouses were
acking of John L. Lewis
t with them to negotiate

...Swift, Wilson and Cudahy—
e possible strike targets.
olution adopted unanimously
1,400 delegates on the strike
specified the PWOC is

...chago's packingtown, would affect
about 30,000 workers.

FANFARE OF CONVENTION

The Coliseum meeting—with waving banners and flags, stirring music and cheers, delegations marching through the hall, and ovations that lasted many minutes for Lewis and other leading speakers—had all the fanfare and color of a national political convention.

Taking part in the marching
men CIO members of the packing-

...terances of Pope Pius XI. to the
effect that working men have a
right to organize, and declared it

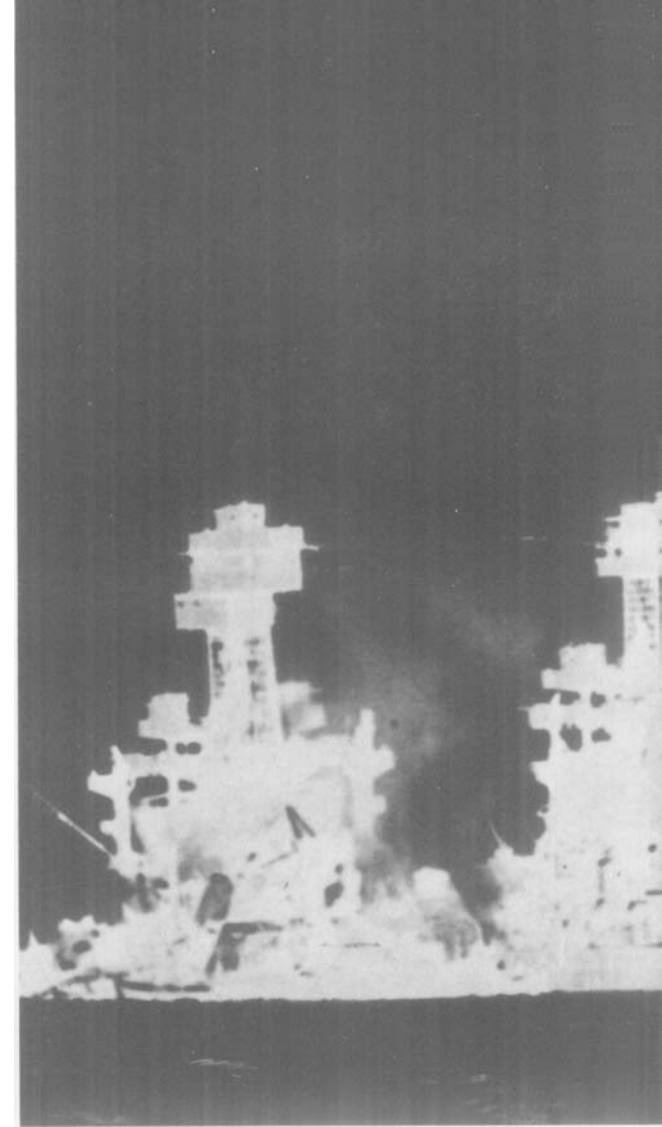
...to be the inalienable right of
workers to have sufficient incomes
(OVER)

IN THE HUB BASEMENT STORE

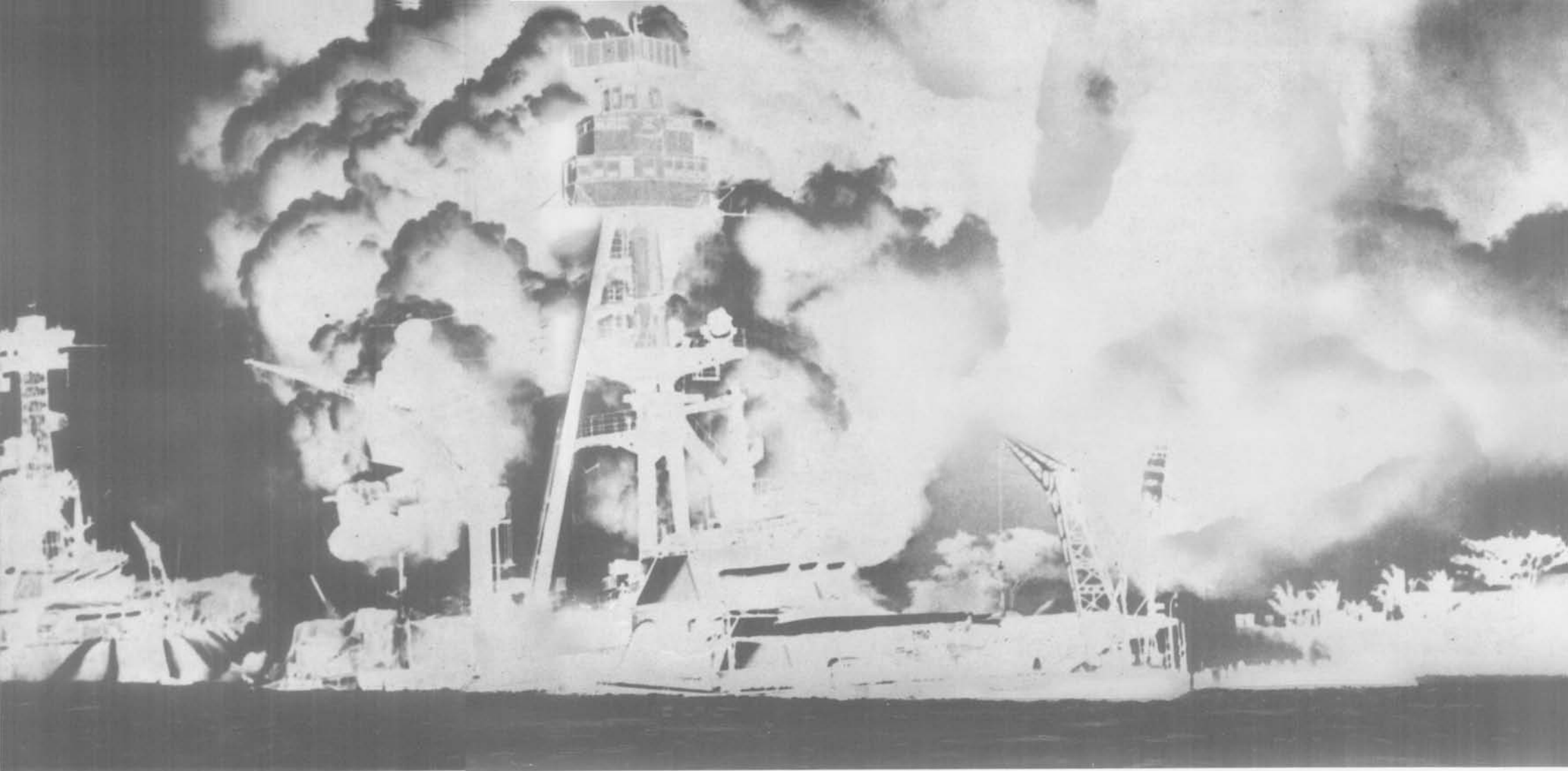


A long and tedious round of negotiations brought significant though modest gains. A year later government pressures forced Armour to take the next step—a master agreement effective August 11, 1941. Swift and Cudahy followed and the union's objective of a nationally uniform standard of wages and working conditions became a realistic possibility. Discharge cases involving union activity were also working their way through the Labor Board and the courts, and many of the early martyrs of the cause were returning to the shops with back pay awards in their hands.

The basic element of successful unionism, UPWA philosophy held, was mobilization of the membership for mass action and the application of “people pressure.” It was felt unwise to place undue reliance on the skills of the negotiator or the expertise of leaders, however valuable both those factors might be. Throughout the years the principle of maximum membership involvement remained the touchstone of the union's tacticians.



The shock waves of Pearl Harbor swept the nation and the workers. Young leaders entered the military service. Women poured into the factories, many taking over jobs until then considered too difficult for women to handle. War bond rallies were attended by high military officers, and unions pledged not to impede production.

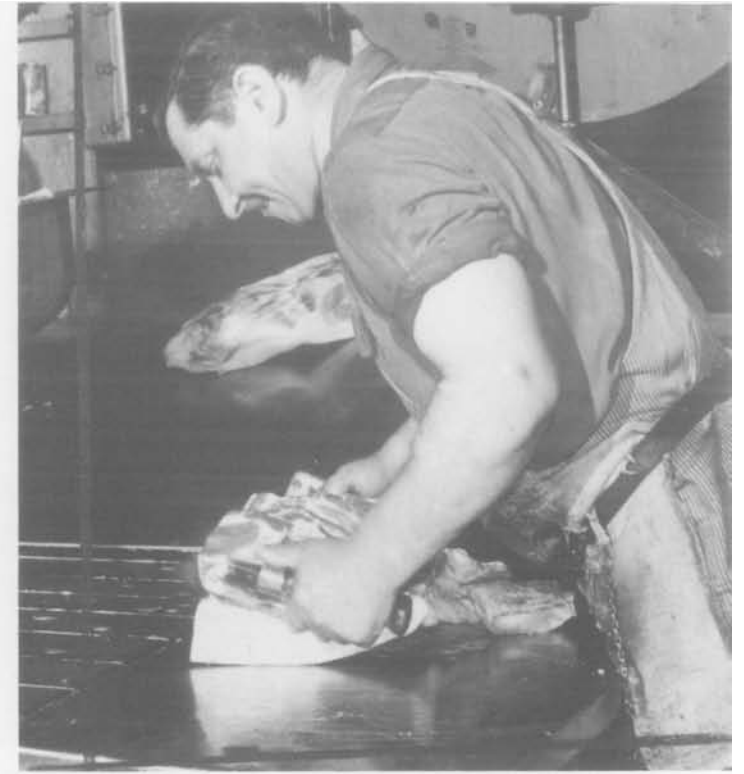


The jubilation felt across the country as workers tasted the first fruits of organization was short-lived. With World War II came the War Labor Board (WLB) designed by the government to administer controls over wages and settle disputes between organized labor and employers. The UPWA was thus to find its bargaining

functions frustrated by the war, its philosophy of militant championship of the workers subverted in the bureaucratic maze of government boards.



STEVE MAUSER



The biggest thing was the seniority. Everybody had his place and the boss couldn't play favorites any more. You even had rights to your regular job. You might get laid off when the season was over, but you knew by the list when it was your turn to go.

The other side of it was that you got your turn to come back. They had to send you a registered letter when it was time to raise the gang. That was really new. You used to have to hang around the employment office every day, or else trust the grapevine to bring you the news that the gang was called back.

Sixty days laid off and your service was broken. That was the old way. Then, you started in again as a new employee. That's why people hardly ever got their week's vacation. With the contract the people got all their service and that was a good thing later on when they began to get pensions.



*There were holidays all right . . .
Christmas, New Year's, Fourth of July
—eight of them. Those were days
off . . . but nobody got paid!
The contract had one big gain.
If you had to work on a holiday you
got double time, the same for
Sunday. Paid holidays didn't come
until later.*



THE UNION IS LAUNCHED . . . ITS OWN CREW AT THE WHEEL

The Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee was officially dissolved and the workers given control of their own organization on October 18, 1943. The workers had long been rebellious under leadership appointed by the CIO. Caucuses sprang up and delegations went to CIO headquarters in Washington. But

officials there argued that the organizational base of the union was not sufficiently secure. In 1943, however, this objection was overcome and the PWOC became the United Packinghouse Workers of America.





The election of officers came after several nights of classical “politicking.” Delegates representing varied trends of political thought, viewpoints on trade union tactics, and personal loyalties buttonholed one another in hotel lobbies and smoke-filled rooms. The CIO representative was Alan Haywood. He threw all his influence into an effort to name a slate with organizational loyalties tied to the CIO “establishment.” Haywood was only nominally successful. The UPWA had rebellion in its lineage and the stage was set for a period of extensive and frequent turnover in the leadership ranks, for some were tested and found wanting.

The committee which drafted the UPWA constitution was deeply committed to rank-and-file democracy and determined

to prevent concentrations of factional and bureaucratic power from sinking roots. In writing the preamble the committee placed emphasis on mutual respect and freedom of expression for the membership. Declared the Preamble to the Constitution:

“We have organized by overcoming these divisive influences and by recognizing that our movement must be big enough to encompass all groups and all opinions . . . In this same spirit of unity we pledge ourselves to work to perpetuate our union and for a world dedicated to the principles of the Four Freedoms: Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear; and to making this truly the Century of the Common Man.”





Wages were frozen and labor had pledged not to strike during the war. For almost two years Washington was the focus of attention as the War Labor Board considered, recommended, reviewed, rejected, reconsidered, referred, and responded to the pressures of unions, packers, politicians, and government administrators.

With their mass meetings and delegations the workers kept reminding the decision makers that their needs for higher wages and improved working conditions were not mere abstractions to be easily dismissed. After 22 months of presentations, protests, persistent lobbying, and waiting for answers, word came at last.

The wage increase was denied, but many valuable “fringe benefits” were ordered. Not the least of the good things in the package was an order directing Judge Cooney of Wilson to sign a contract with the union—his first.

These are some of the gains, many of them completely novel at the time, upon which contract negotiators have continued to build over the years.

Reduction of wage rate differentials between geographical areas.

A real wage classification system and elimination of certain inequities.

Company to furnish tools and a work clothes allowance.

Paid tool preparation and clothes changing time.

Daily computation of piece-rate earnings.

Three weeks of vacation after 15 years.

Maintenance of union membership over the period of the contract.

Binding arbitration of grievances.





THE PACKINGHOUSE WORKER



Vol. 4 — No. 12.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 1945

Entered as second-class matter December 3, 1943, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

ESTIMATED

\$30,000,000

WON BY

UPWA-CIO



Having endured without any general wage increase throughout the war years, a demand was made for 25 cents an hour. The leading meat packers were rigid in their refusal to make any significant counter proposal. A referendum among UPWA members gave a green light for strike action. The UPWA's sister union, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL), also prepared to strike. Meantime, the major packers contented themselves with an offer of four cents an hour. A deadline was set by the two unions. Armour raised its offer but only to 7.5 cents. Not enough! The strike closed 134 plants of 17 meat packing companies on January 16, 1946. It was the dead of winter. Headlines blazed across the country.

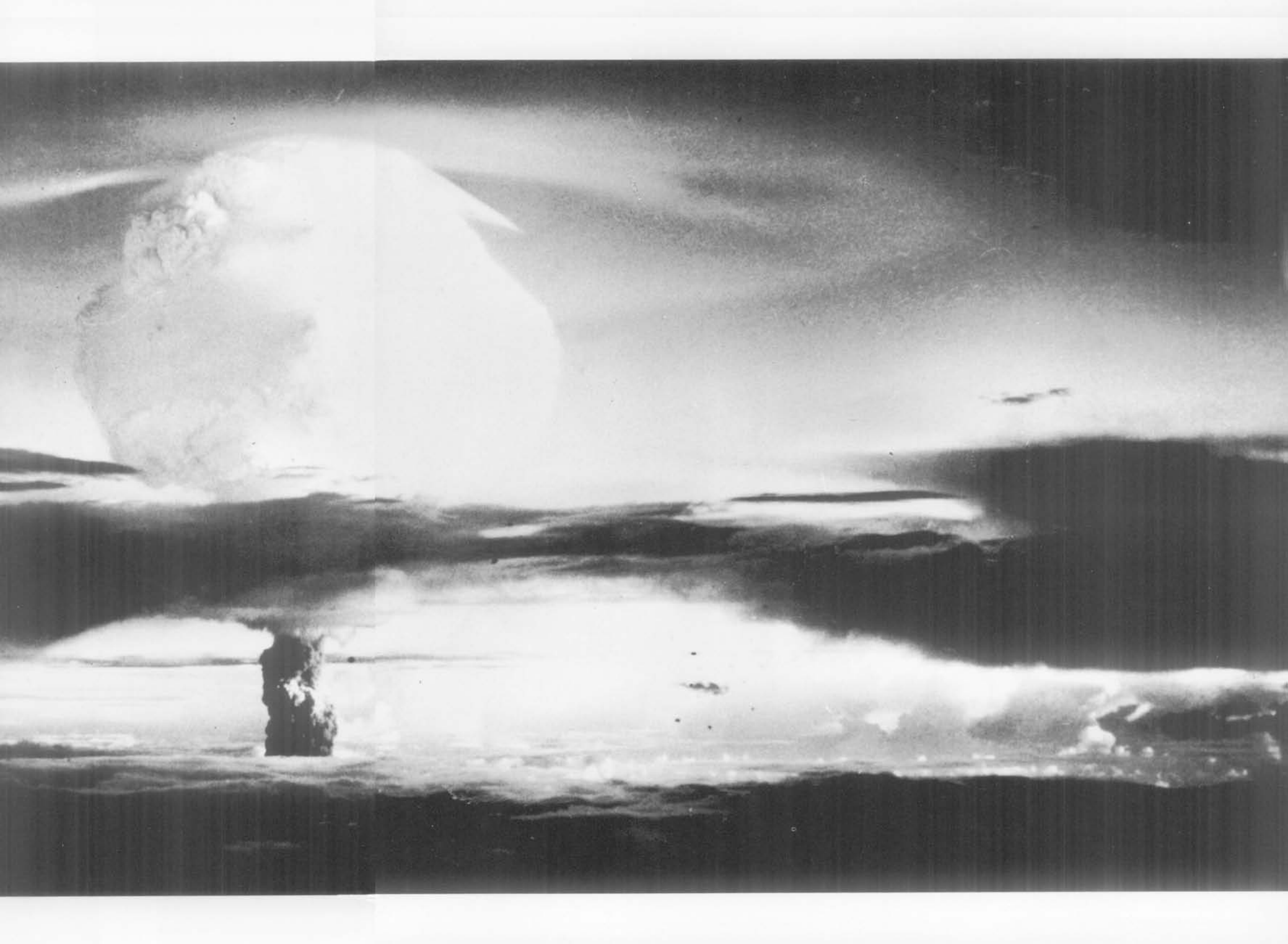
AT WAR'S END A NEW STRUGGLE BEGINS . . .



The mushroom cloud over Hiroshima brought an end to the war, but it unleashed new forces of incalculable consequence to America and the rest of the world. So, too, the end of the war set off a chain reaction of violent events in the world of industrial relations.

The war's end brought a rapid polarization of opposing forces and a period of intense conflict until an era of relative stabilization and coexistence was reached in the 1950s. The balance is broken by periodic trials of strength; and, unnoticed by most, probes are made each day along the border areas where supervisors and workers meet when the whistle blows.







WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED

President Truman exercised his emergency powers to seize the struck plants, but the UPWA strategy committee was wary of governmental boards. What if the government played the packers' game and dilly-dallied





over the wage issue for months? The committee decided to keep the strike going until assured that federal administrators would promptly apply whatever increase its fact-finding panel would recommend. As headlines screamed of union defiance against the government, the tension rose. Hours passed

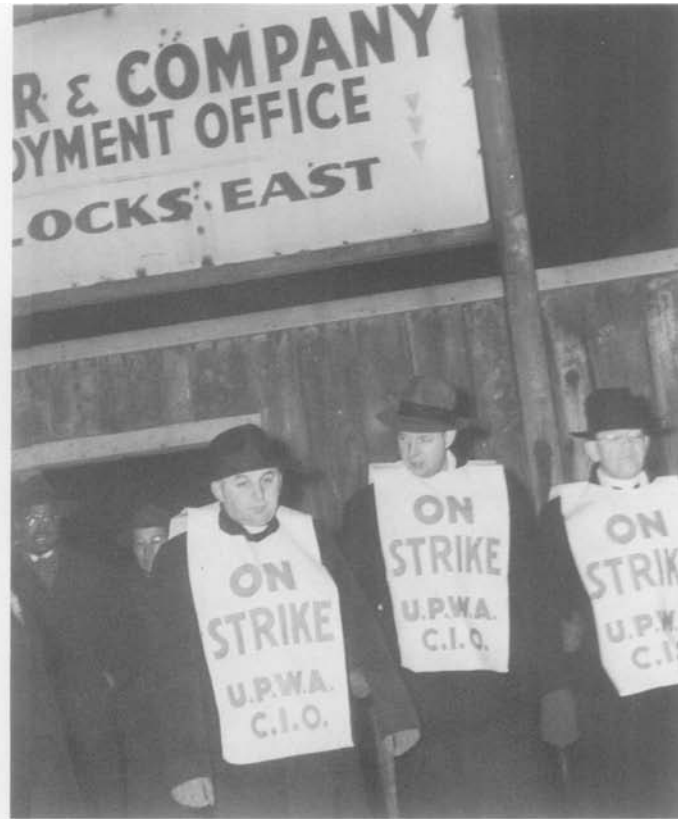


without a reply from Washington. Then came the telegram from Clinton Anderson, the Secretary of Agriculture. It was everything the union wanted. Seizure of

practically the entire packing industry took effect January 26. The subsequent wage increase was 16 cents an hour, almost twice as much as any raise in the history of the industry.



Catholic priests and the head of
the Back of the Yards
Neighborhood Council walked
on picket lines in the union's
support. Father Ondrak, *right*,
had worked at Armour as a boy.



MEANTIME, NORTH OF THE BORDER

In Canada the packinghouse workers had also grown restless under the frustrations of wartime wage restraints. Both the union and the industry realized that the first real test of strength must soon come. The test proved to be the “Reid strike” in 1945. The struggle was precipitated at Canada Packers. The issue was the right of unionists to refuse to work with Reid, an employee who broke ranks during a departmental walkout. The issue was resolved by arbitration,

but not before workers of all packing companies had proved that they could bring the entire industry to a stop. They proved, too, that union members across the country would stick together in disciplined ranks over an issue of principle. The main challenge, however, came in September, 1947, with a 57-day strike against the three leading packing companies, Canada Packers, Swift, and Burns. Led by District Director Fred Dowling the Canadians won ten cents across the board.





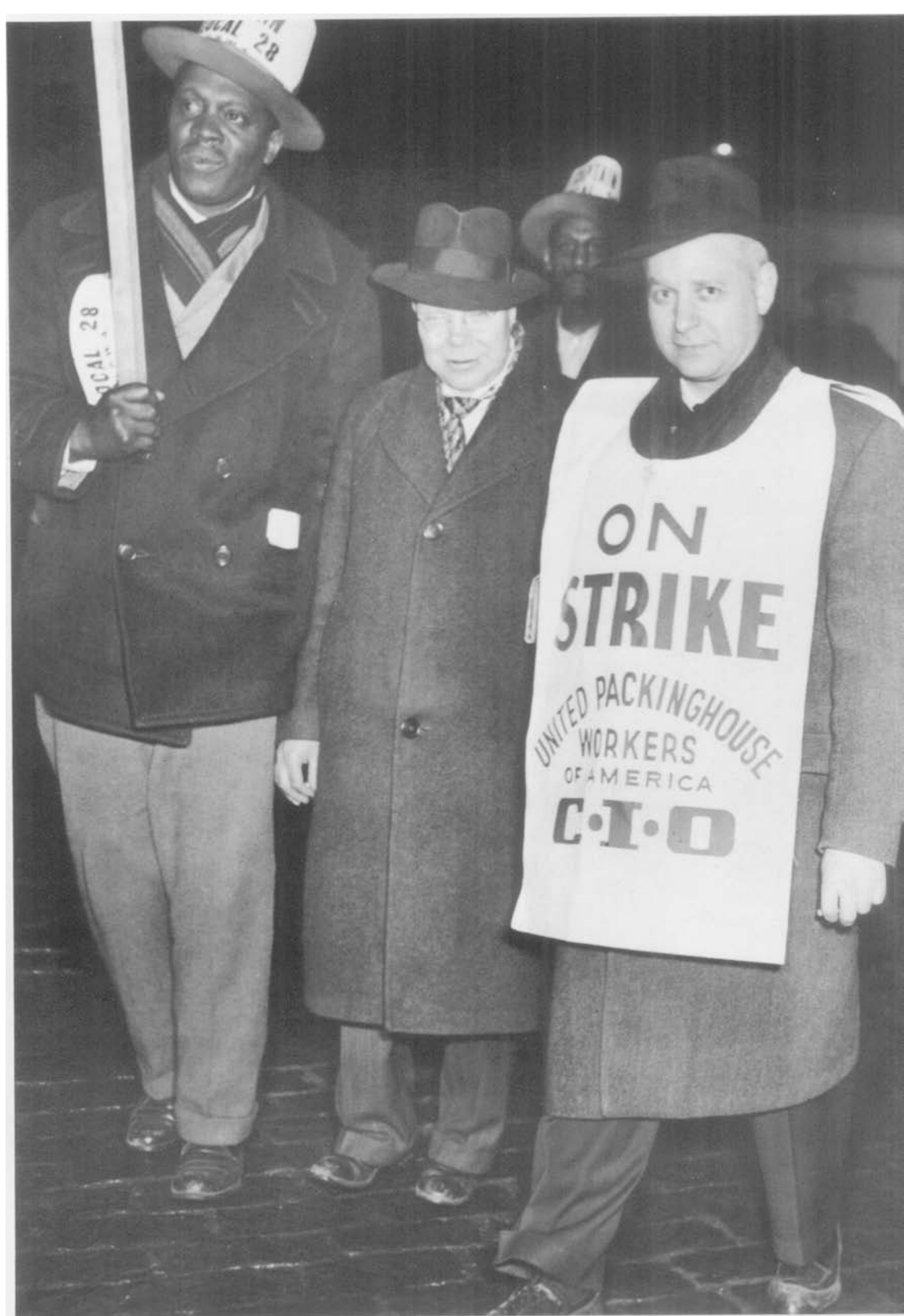
THE BIG STRIKE OF '48

With the abolition of price controls after the war, living costs had risen sharply. All signs pointed to a 15-cent wage increase pattern as auto, steel and other mass production industries entered the second post-war round of negotiations. The big meat packers refused, however, to budge beyond nine cents. Rather than accept what seemed to be a grossly inadequate figure, UPWA chose to go it alone, although other unions had settled. The strike began on March 16, 1948. Still flushed with the success of the 1946 strike, the UPWA members felt invincible. Sixty-five plants belonging to Armour, Swift, Wilson, Cudahy, Morrell and Rath were shut tight.





As the strike began, all was well; but the tensions mounted as the strike wore on. Strikebreakers began to appear and the employers stepped up the offensive.

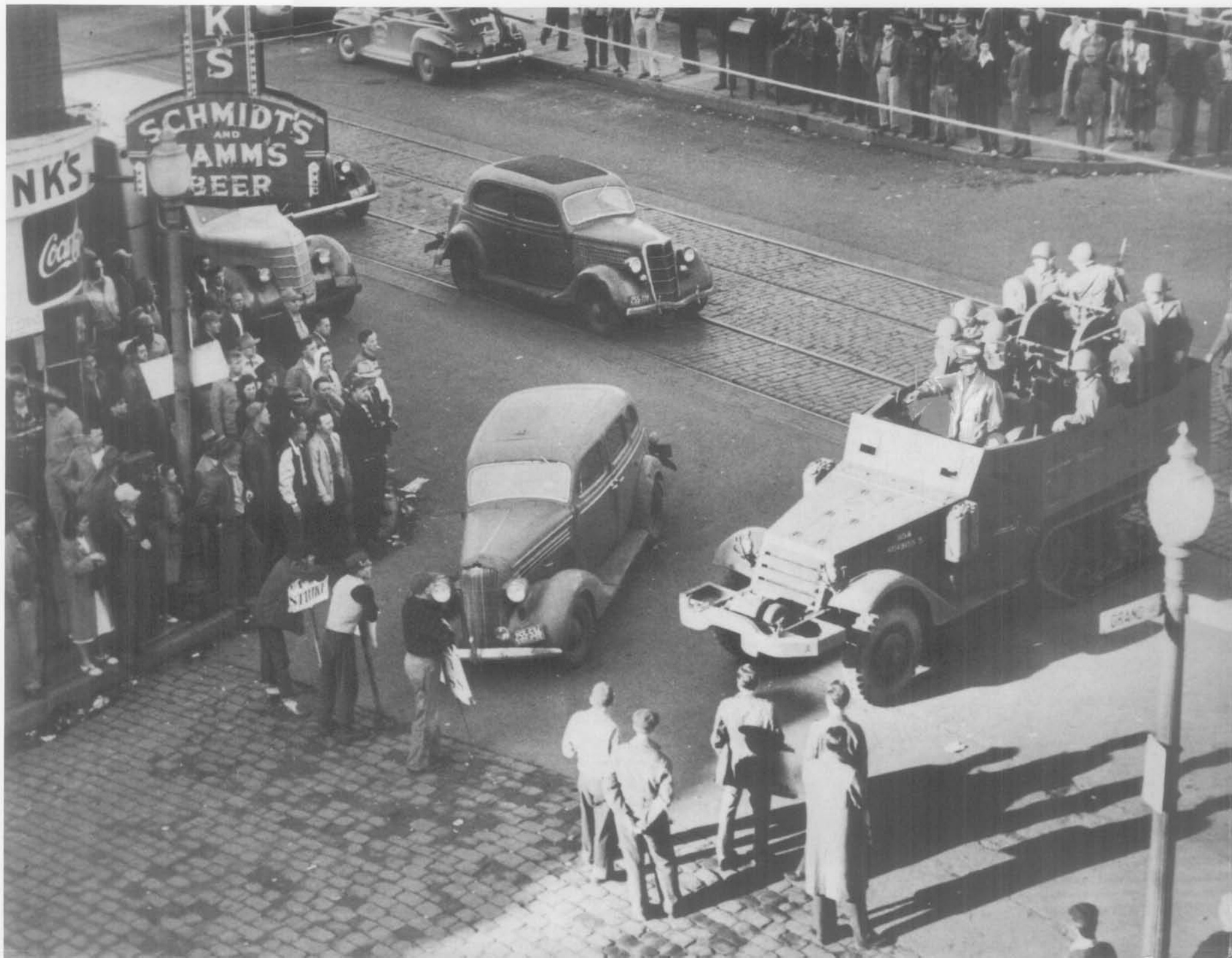


Kansas City, Kans. police invaded the union headquarters and beat unmercifully anyone they found, including a crippled janitor. The city later settled damage suits brought on behalf of the victims.

The level of violence increased. The National Guard broke up picket lines in South St. Paul.

THE WEEKS GO BY AND POLICE CLUBS FLY





THREE WERE MARTYRED ON THE PICKET LINES

A truck ran down striker Santo Cicardo at the Armour soap works in Chicago. He died on the spot. From inside the Armour plant in E. St. Louis, a strikebreaker took a shot at Edward Hucks while he stood lonely picket duty at a railroad gate. Hucks fell dead. At the Rath Packing Co., in Waterloo, Iowa, a strikebreaker pulled a pistol and killed picket William Farrell. There were three funerals, seven hundred arrested, and growing demoralization as the weeks wore on. Strikers found their ranks dwindling in many centers. It was time to call a halt, to learn to live with defeat. The Bosses had made their nine cents stick.





**YET, THEIR UNION
ROSE AS FROM THE DEAD**

BADLY BRUISED . . . BUT MILITANT UNIONISM IS BACK IN BUSINESS!

Thus ended a bitter 67-day strike on May 21. The union was bruised and exhausted, several hundred of its most active members discharged or suspended. One major packer, Wilson & Co., refused to recognize the union any longer. "I'm the steward now," the foreman told returning workers.

The task of rebuilding after the strike seemed overwhelming. Everywhere the union's bargaining rights were under challenge. Yet, every single one of the 22 elections that it was forced to undergo was turned into a victory. The shattered ranks were reunited. The combined scores gave UPWA 13,986 votes to 3,919 opposed.

There were 549 strike-related suspensions and discharges in the Armour, Swift and Cudahy chains, alone. An arbitration victory at Armour opened the door to reinstatement by negotiation, a delicate assignment entrusted to Jesse Prosten of the union's national grievance department. At the conclusion all but 29 were reinstated and a number of those did not desire to return.

With the exception of the five Wilson plants the union was its robust self again within six months. Swift even agreed to a 4-cent raise in October to make it thirteen cents that year, instead of nine. The Labor Board elections at Wilson plants were won decisively. When the busy season began in 1950 a strike ultimatum was served. The company reinstated most of the fired strikers from 1948 and signed a contract equal in all important respects to the standards of the industry.





UNITY OF LABOR HOLDS THE KEY TO PROGRESS.

After years of wasteful and sometimes disastrous feuding, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the UPWA entered into a mutual aid pact in 1953. The Meat Cutters' Patrick E. Gorman and UPWA's Ralph Helstein shook hands to conclude an agreement to engage in joint bargaining wherever possible and to refrain from raiding forays upon one another's membership. Over the years the need for ever-closer bargaining unity has been an impelling force toward merger of the two organizations, an event contemplated seriously in 1956 and on the agenda again in 1968.

The philosophy of militant advocacy of workers' interests has raised the living standards and working conditions of the once-lowlly packinghouse workers to a position of respect and envy. Their contracts contain benefits on a liberal scale equal to or surpassing that of most mass production workers. Many features that have become standard in American industrial relations were truly innovative when negotiated with the meat packers.

This same determination to struggle when called upon has carried other UPWA industrial groups to the limits of their bargaining capacity. Sugar refinery workers have prospered, perhaps even more than their brothers of the packinghouse. Sugar agreements provide a guaranteed annual income of 2,080 hours and such advanced concepts as extended retirement preparation leave.

But economic benefit is not the only function of unionism in the tradition of social reform. In the struggle for a better life there is more at stake than the cry for "more!"

**UNITY IN DIVERSITY... IN AN
EXPANDING INDUSTRIAL SCENE.**

They work with strength and dignity—a dignity earned with sweat and stamina. There are the thousands of job descriptions, time-and-motion standards, badge numbers, and work stations in hundreds and hundreds of workshops. Their faces are young and old, black and white. They are Canadians, Puerto Ricans, Americans. Diversity of backgrounds, diversity of skills, diversity of

opinions are fused as one in the crucible of shared experience.

They share a common cause, a common struggle. They search for a way to fight back—and to fight ahead. They fight back against the implacable machines they tend and the mechanical men they serve, programmed to drain their labor and command their souls. Like a tree with back bent, unable to reach freely to the sun and air, their fibres stiffened under the stress and did not break.



The story of this union is visceral, written by the men and women of humid gut shanties and stinking tank rooms. Their hands slew the steers and linked sausages stretching to infinity. A union's meaning lies in its capacity to turn personal frustration beyond the individual to a larger commitment to the collective good. That response gives life to the automaton gives purpose to the cog in the wheel.

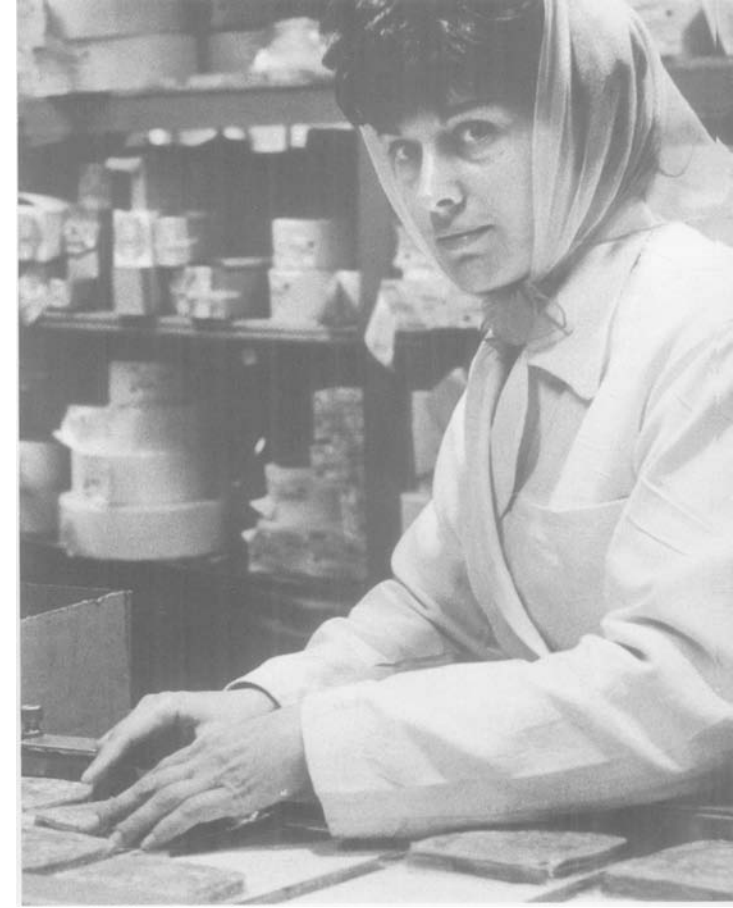
In these men and women we sense the guts and style of a passionate union. Their fights and their deliberations, the endless locker room discussions, conceived the principles and nourish the spirit of a union whose militant commitment to man himself led the way out of the jungle and challenged all to join the quest.

CHICKEN PICKER, LETTUCE PACKER



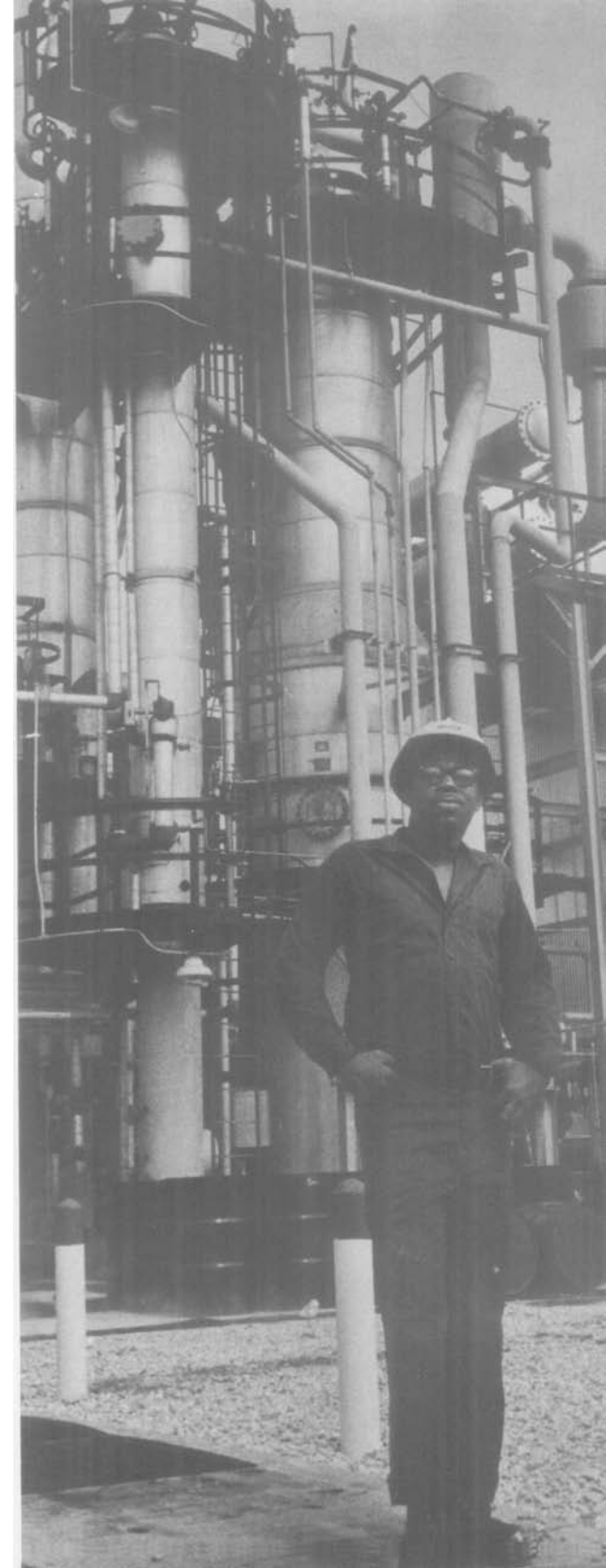
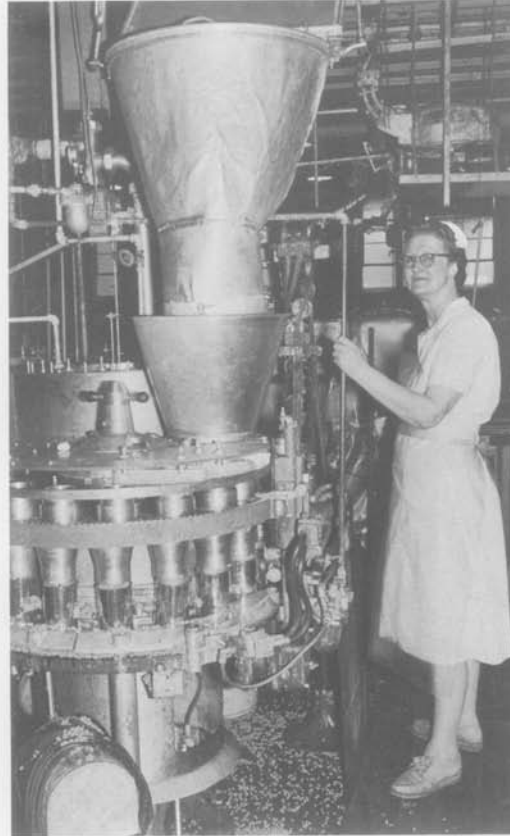
TUNA CANNER, CATTLE DRIVER, SOAP MAKER

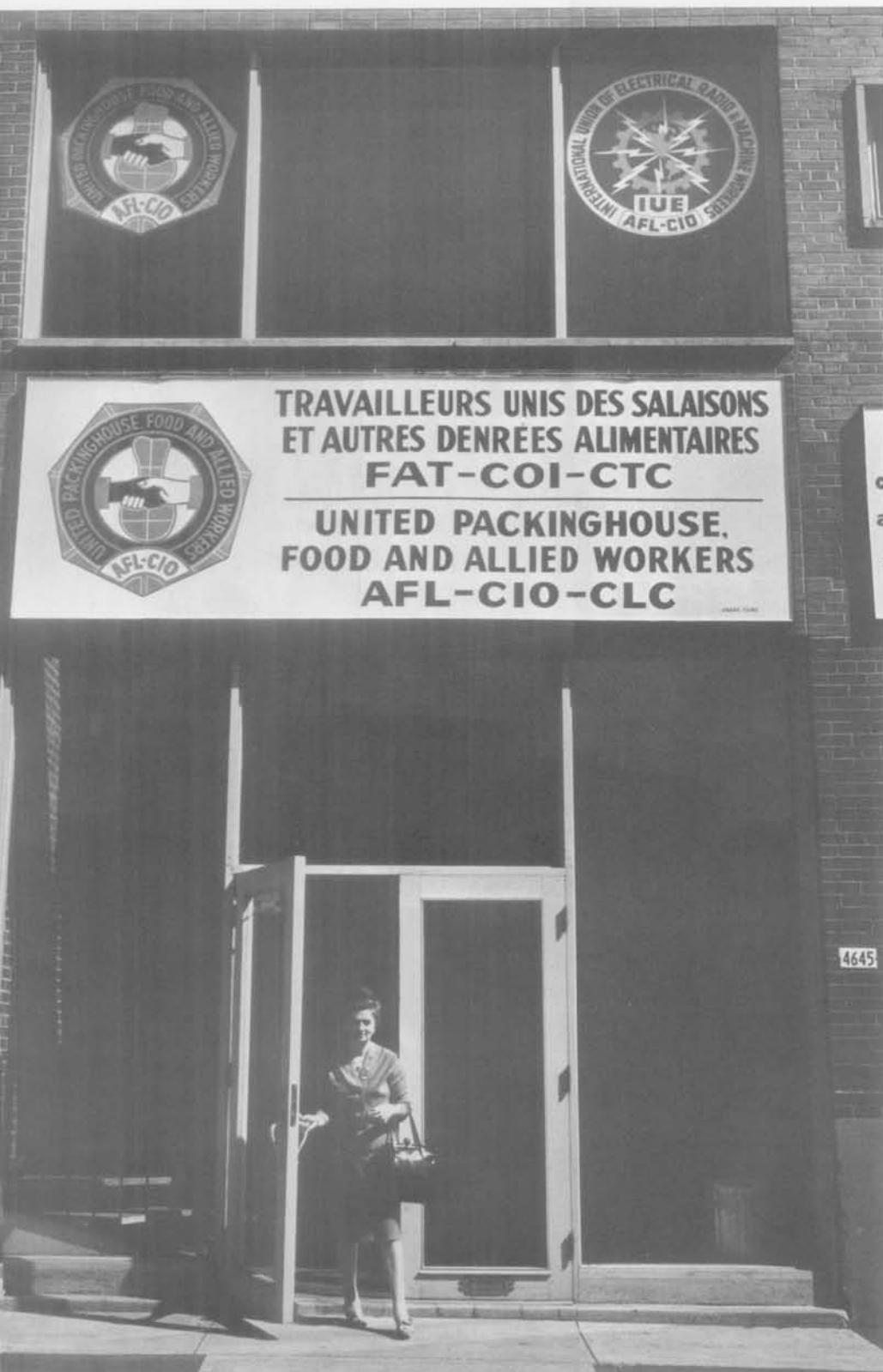
As with many industrial unions the UPWA has grown more diversified over the years. In 1960 the union formally added to its name the words "Food and Allied" in recognition of the role of the new groups within the family. This pattern of expansion far beyond the packinghouse came naturally as the union sought to follow the diversified interests of its



own employers. Also, because of the successes it had scored, neighboring groups often became attracted to the UPWA. In several instances previously organized groups chose the union for affiliation. Such was the case with the cane sugar refining workers, originally organized by the CIO. Their group along the Eastern Seaboard and in Louisiana voted by

referendum to affiliate in 1951. The Puerto Rican sugar union and its associated groups affiliated later in the same year. Similar affiliations have been made by fruit and vegetable packing shed workers of the West Coast, and by others.





BROTHERS TO THE NORTH...



BROTHERS TO THE SOUTH



The union movement is a world wide expression of the workingman's driving need to create a power center of his own. Industrial workers of Canada, and more recently Puerto Rico, have good reason for fraternal links with their own union counterparts in the States, for workers of these three lands often find the same corporate names on their paychecks. The packinghouse workers of Canada took their inspiration from the CIO and began to organize under the PWOC in 1940. Today they are 30,000 strong, a leading force in the Canadian labor movement and in the labor-oriented New Democratic Party. In the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, so closely linked politically with the United States, the Sindicato Trabajadores Packinghouse is a principal labor organization on the island. An affiliate since 1951, the Sindicato has been an important factor in Puerto Rico's "Bootstrap" economic development. Its fight has been to make sure that industrial development brings with it a growing share of prosperity for the working people.





Bread and butter and justice on the job are not the whole story of progressive unionism. The goal of the struggle is a better life—and most of life lies beyond the geography of time clocks and work benches, or even of union halls. The progressive unionist sees his organization as a dynamic force in the context of social and political institutions thrusting against

the same exploitative, anti-human power of the dollar which he encounters in his workplace. In that broad fabric each union man and woman is inescapably linked to the community and its everyday facilities; to the nation and its far-reaching legislative powers; to the world with its rivalries and wars, or promise of peace and the creative enrichment of mankind.



TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AT UPWA'S 1964 CONVENTION, THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD PROMISES "TO BEAR TRUE ALLEGIANCE."

The union which best serves its members is the one which delivers more at the bargaining table, wins good legislation from Washington and City Hall, defends the interests of consumers, helps to elect wise political leaders, and works to resolve the social tensions born of poverty, injustice and insecurity. Here is how one union set out to meet those obligations.



"We must share in the problems of our city even if we have moved our families out to the suburbs. We owe something to the city where we make our bread. We must put something back."

SEVERINO BIAGIONI

AND CAME TO INCLUDE THE COMMUNITY

From the moment of the union's birth the unity of black and white workers was a central concern. It was clear from the beginning that a successful organization could only be built on mutual trust and respect created out of the living material of active struggle against discrimination. The early master agreements, beginning in 1942, specified that applicants for employment would be hired without regard to race, creed, nationality or political affiliation. Nor were these allowed to remain pro forma words, empty of reality. An arbitration ruling on behalf of Negro women refused employment at the company's Chicago plant cost Swift a year's lost earnings for each. Black women had complained that they were often passed over in the employment office. The union gathered the evidence to prove that discrimination was a fact.



ROSA PARKS IN A BIRMINGHAM BUS.



BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER

Beginning in 1953 a systematic campaign was launched against discriminatory situations both inside the union and on the job. Segregation of the lines at the paymaster's window was abolished at a New Orleans sugar refinery. A cafeteria railing separating blacks from whites came down in Ft. Worth. Everybody began to drink from the same water fountains in Atlanta plants, illegal under Georgia law though such an act then was. Segregation of locker rooms was abolished in Birmingham. Separation of black and white women workers into different work crews was prevented in Camden. Black workers everywhere were encouraged to take promotions to higher paid jobs as openings on the seniority ladder permitted. The union paid a price for its principles. Several local unions disaffiliated rather than change old patterns. Occasional stoppages by resentful workers had to be faced down. Reluctance by management had to be overcome. But a workplace free from discrimination could not be secure in a discrimination ridden community. The union knew it must look outward and give support to the civil rights cause.

It created in 1957 its own Fund for Democracy, to give vital assistance to a wide variety of civil rights projects and organizations. More importantly, when the struggle is in crisis the union's presence can be felt on the streets giving a visible affirmation to an American principle.



SO WE MURDERED MARTIN LUTHER KING



A crashing rifle bullet severed string quartets
words of rolling consonance
rising like the spring sun to warm and soothe
the gathering storm of dissonance.

So we murdered Martin Luther King.

Marble mountains drip away,
erosion takes a thousand years to tear down
nature's strongest sons; but man—man drags down
his brightest progeny in a crack of time.

So we murdered Martin Luther King.

To rise like a volcano of light against
the armed oppressor's long night
who was brave amongst us to call halt
with every breath to the whirlwind of despair.

So we murdered Martin Luther King.

A child of the world born black brother brown
or shimmering ebony, oppressed, enslaved,
pelted with the venomous poison of racial fright
teaching the world to love, if God be right.

So we murdered Martin Luther King.

And now pregnant with the fear of death the
crowds mourn their own passing.
Reason sinks down to its knees in Memphis and
pools of our own blood mingle with his.

So we murdered Martin Luther King.

and tomorrow comes tonight.

Stephen H. Diamond



DONALD E. MITCHELL IS A TRUSTEE OF LOCAL 11, BOSTON, MASS.

MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1968

By Donald E. Mitchell

The noon buzzer sounded and throughout the plant machines were shut off. Knives and hooks were set aside and the first lunch hour of the week began. For many there will be no time, today, for the usual card game, gabbing with friends, stretching out for a quick nap, reading the paper, or just sitting and enjoying the rest. The union was having a Memorial Service for Dr. King over at Newmarket Square.

After a brief lunch you were on your way, joining with the many workers from the other plants of the three locals. By 12:20 most of the people were there standing in front of the cigar store amidst the cars, trailers, and peddler trucks of the busy meat houses.

Up on the dock, the leaders of the three locals stood waiting for the crowd to gather. There would be no newspapers or television men here. They would be at the Boston Common where the Cardinal, the Mayor, and the city's elite were having a big service before thousands; or perhaps at Franklin Park where some of the Negro leaders were having a service with no whites allowed.

But here, in the market place, there were just workers, black and white. Some came out of respect, some out of curiosity, some to mourn a lost friend. Each had his own reason.

The service was as brief as it was sad. The District Director spoke, his huge black body shaking with emotion. You knew that he wasn't speaking as a Negro but as a man to his people, whom he fought for daily. People to whom brotherhood meant working side by side, eight and (if you were lucky) ten or more hours a day; some whose backs were bent from lugging sides of beef, others whose bodies ached from working in the cold too many years. And, if you looked closely, there were some with hands missing fingers that had been lost to machines and knives.

For a few moments you stood a little straighter and the aches and pains were gone. You felt that perhaps people who worked together could learn to live and play side by side also. The service ended and, after a few quick hellos to friends from other plants, you started back with a feeling of sadness and hope.

Walking along you meet a strange black face. The hatred in his eyes hits you like a punch, and it hurts. You get back to the plant, and a white worker who didn't go says, "It's too bad, but it was bound to happen some day."

And the beat goes on.

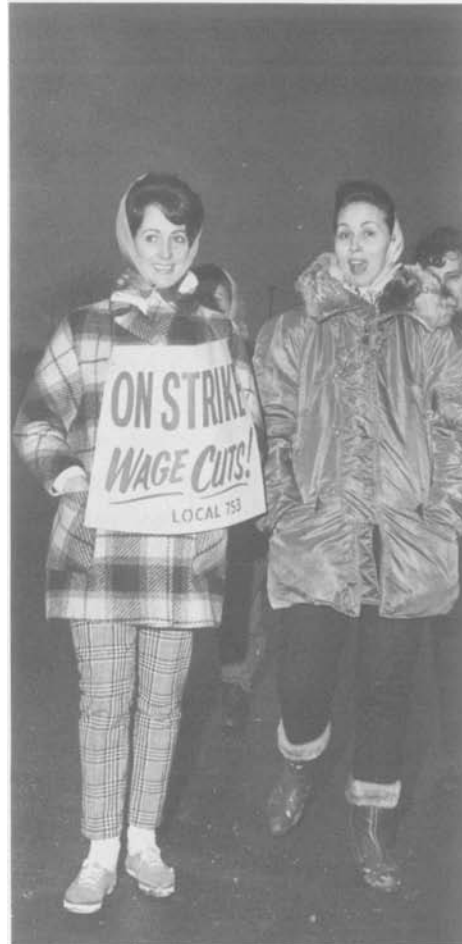
The caption on an old newspaper photograph from 1921 said:

“Women were the leaders of the strike mobs and fought with the policemen, throwing red pepper and causing more trouble than men.”



Women have always been deeply involved in the life of the union, sometimes as workers with special problems of their own, often as vocal contributors to policy debates, and when necessary as highly effective strikers and demonstrators. The slogan, “Equal Pay For Equal Work” was one of the earliest raised by the infant PWOC. The first big step toward its realization came in 1952 when the union won a reduction in the age-old 10-cent male-female wage differential. Step by step in successive contracts the differential was wiped away completely. With the advent in the 1950s of more automatic packaging machinery, women workers found themselves being rapidly displaced as

their traditional finger dexterity jobs became absorbed by machines. Long before Title VII of the Civil Rights Law of 1964 made discrimination by sex illegal, union women began an agitation for the loosening of arbitrary definitions of packinghouse jobs as either for males or for females. A continuing series of national conferences called for the discussion of special problems of women began in 1953. This highly complex issue of separate male and female seniority groups continued to be explored through the years. Members of both sexes took positions either as “female protectionists” or as advocates of “free trade” in bidding on open jobs. Either course is full of dangers





particularly when a contracting work-force is undergoing technological trauma. Sensitive to the underlying realities, a practical policy was finally arrived at in which certain types of jobs were defined as more appropriate to men, others more appropriate to women, and a third group suitable for either sex. Men would voluntarily refrain from exercising superior seniority rights which might drive women out of easier jobs. On the other hand, women would not ask or be asked to attempt the more physically taxing operations; yet there would be more breathing space and equity for the sisters of the union.



BREAD AND ROSES

*As we come marching, marching in the beauty of the day,
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand workshops gray,
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,
For the people hear us singing: "Bread and roses! Bread and roses!"*

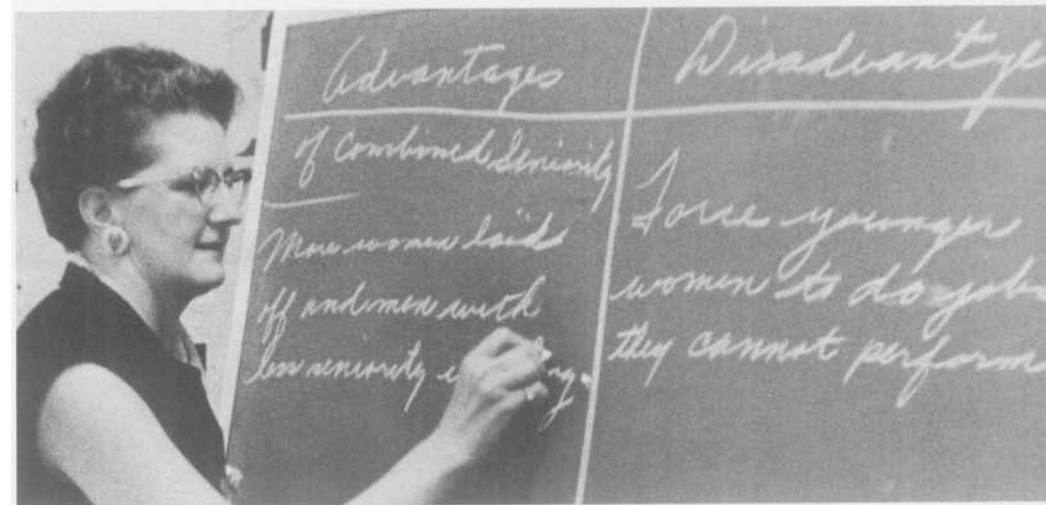
*As we come marching, marching, we battle too for men,
For they are women's children, and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes;
Hearts starve as well as bodies; give us bread, but give us roses!*

*As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead
Go crying through our singing their ancient cry for bread.
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew.
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for roses, too!*

*As we come marching, marching, we bring the greater days.
The rising of the women means the rising of the race.
No more the drudge and idler—ten that toil where one reposes,
But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and roses! Bread and roses!*

In 1912, 20,000 workers walked out of mills of the great New England textile industry.

During one of the many parades conducted by the strikers some young girls carried a banner with the slogan: "We want bread and roses too." This inspired James Oppenheim to write his poem, "Bread and Roses," which was set to music by Caroline Kohlsaat.

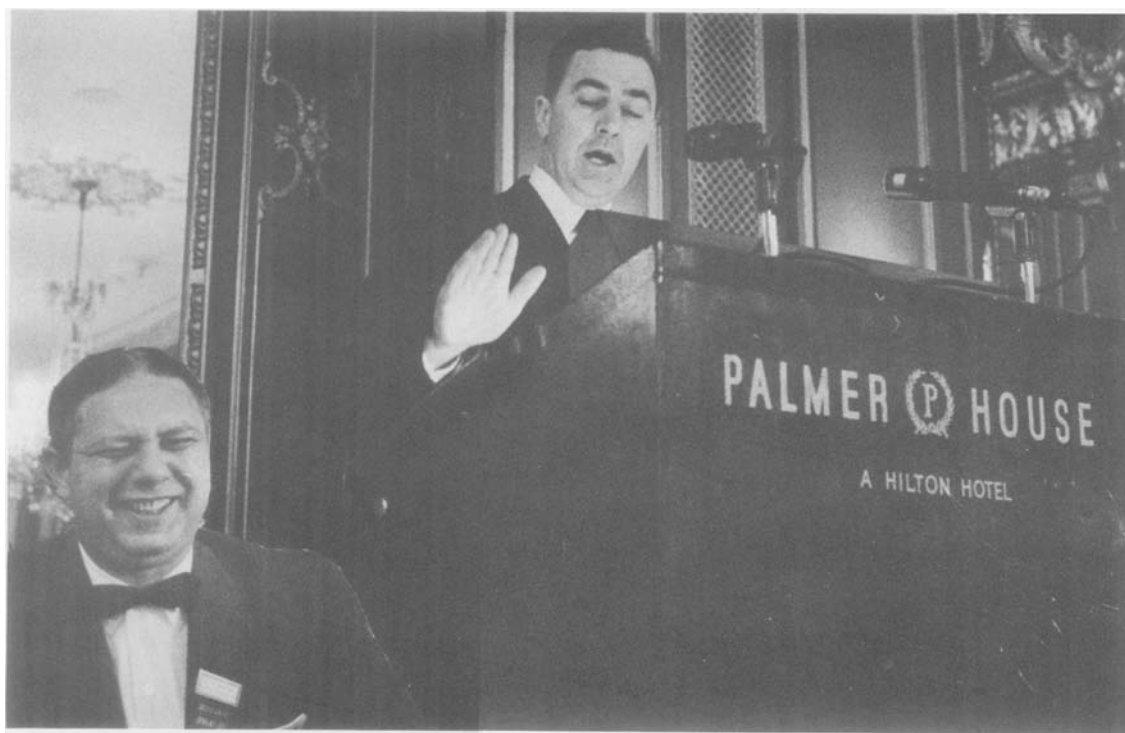




The union's role extends beyond the walls of the workplace. It is forced by the logic of reality into the arena of political life, for the power of government can be a valuable ally of the common man. And what if the power of government is ranged against the working man? Then it is nightsticks on the heads of pickets. Their unions and causes become hobbled with legalisms and harassed by hostile public officials.

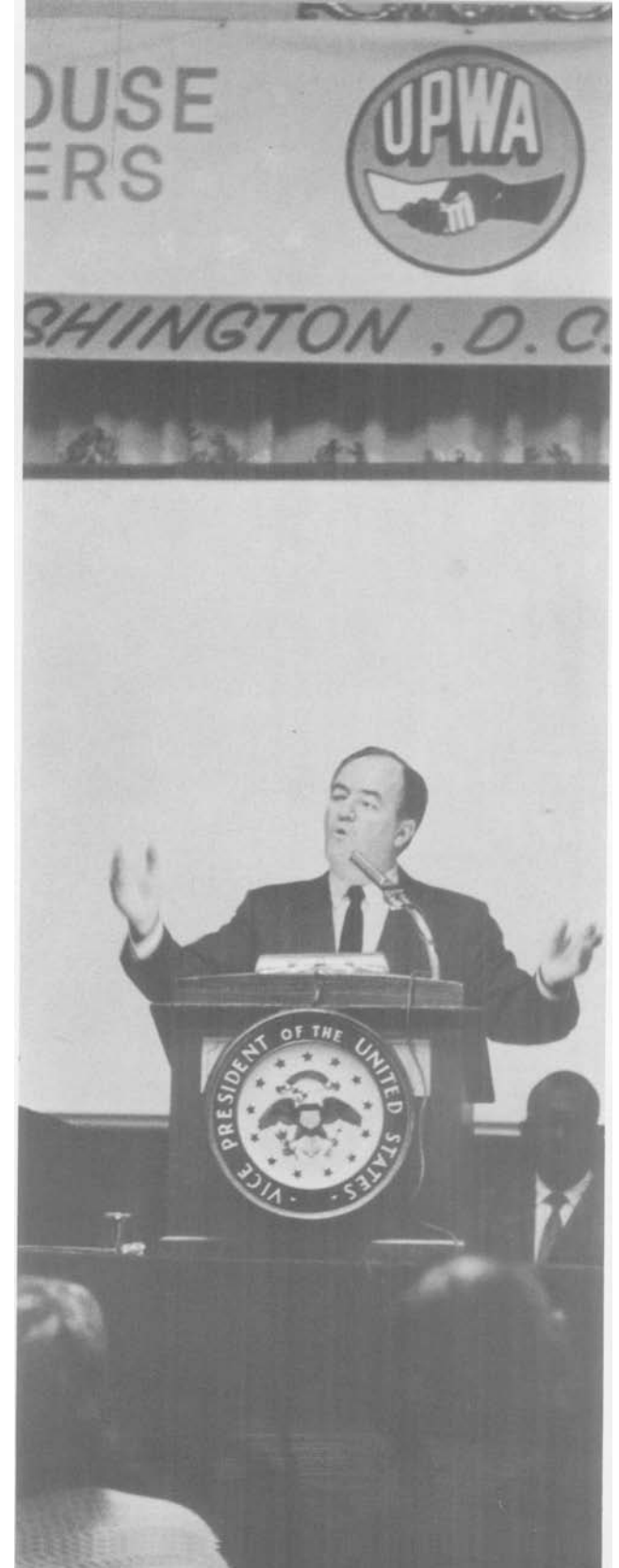
A friend in high office is loved with intense affection, fought for with boundless enthusiasm . . . and grieved with deep emotion.





When Vice-Presidents and
Senators come to union meetings
seeking the understanding and
support of union audiences, that
is very good.

POLITICS IS PEOPLE POWER



And those who put the weight
of their office and their very lives
at the side of the workers will
not be soon forgotten.





UNION SPOKESMEN HAVE A CASE TO ARGUE



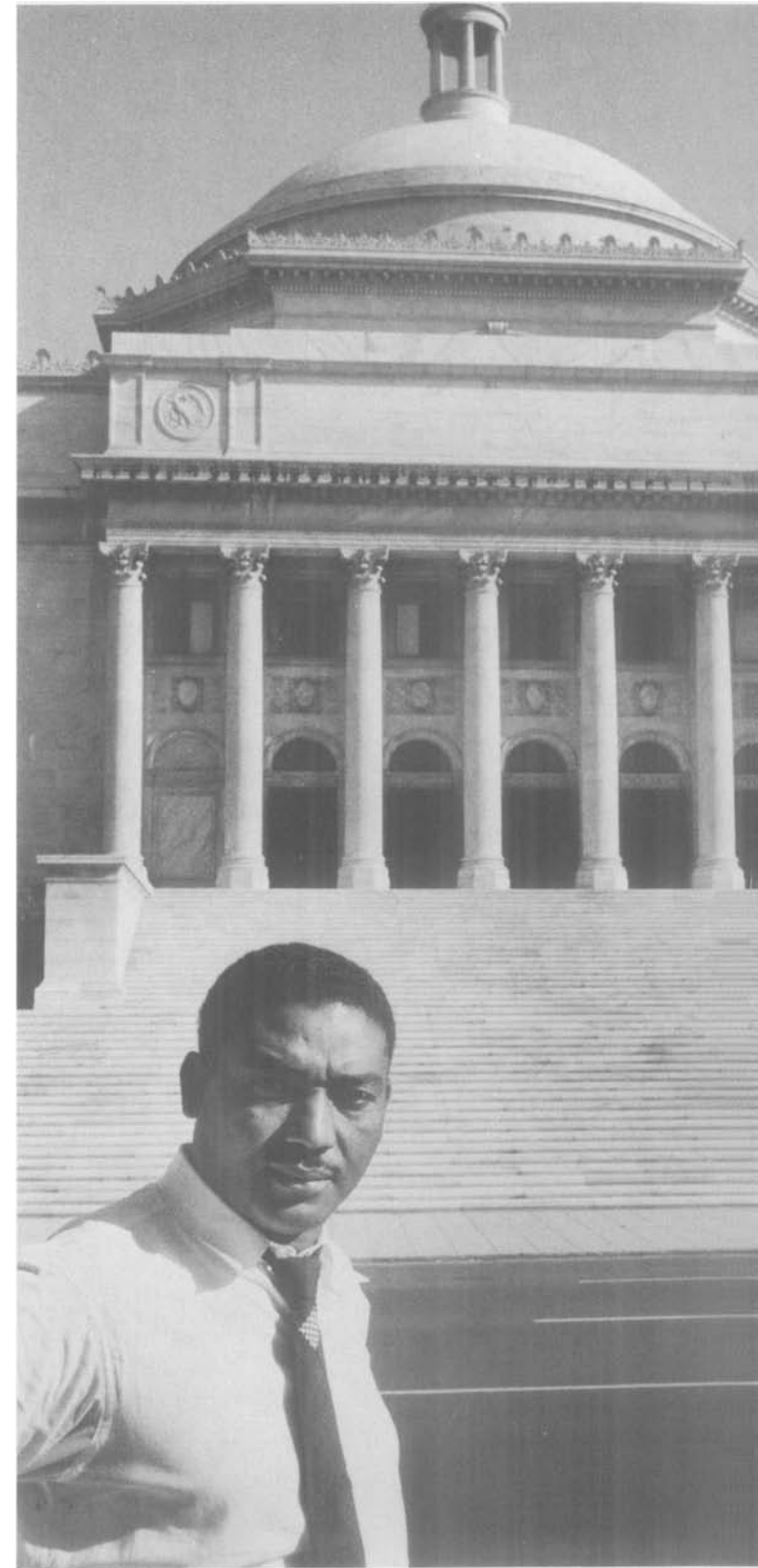
When labor goes to city hall, or all the way to the Capitol to urge its point-of-view on vital legislation . . . or to protest the use of police dogs and state troopers to break strikes and frighten workers the reception may range from warm, to cool, to hostile.



The odds would be better if more
elected officials came from the
ranks of labor.

State Senator Edward R. Danner
of Nebraska, a former Omaha
beef butcher and local union
president.

Senator Armando Sanchez
Martinez, District Director of the
UPWA in Puerto Rico, stands
before the Capitol of the
Commonwealth.



A black and white photograph capturing a large-scale protest march. A diverse group of participants, including men, women, and children, are seen from the waist up, moving across a city street. Many are dressed in mid-20th-century attire, such as coats, hats, and suits. They hold a variety of handmade signs on sticks, with messages like "RELIEF TO THE NEEDY", "NO RED TAPE", "DISTRIBUTE SURPLUS FOOD TO JOBLESS", "JOBS NOW", "FREE WORLD TRADE", "STOP DEPRESSION", "WE DEMAND SHORTER WORK WEEK", and "UPWA". The United States Capitol dome is prominently visible in the background, centered behind the group. The scene is set on a wide, paved street with a decorative lamppost on the left. The overall atmosphere is one of organized civil disobedience and public demonstration.

The CLEAN MEAT CRUSADE

Passage of "clean meat" legislation to force all meat packers and dealers to conform to high federal standards of sanitation and wholesomeness was a long-sought objective. The new law was a classic example of union enlistment in the cause of the public interest. It was passed by Congress only after a hard and seemingly hopeless battle against the meat industry lobby and its allies in Congress. Vital testimony supplied by the union, a handful of determined Congressmen who would not give up the fight, and journalistic exposure of filthy meat scandals combined to win adoption of the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. That campaign also spurred public and governmental support for other laws needed to protect consumers.



MODERN "MUCKRAKER" RALPH NADER TESTIFIED FOR WIDER COVERAGE FOR FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION LAW.

*Dedicated to the Protection
That Every American
Has the Fundamental Right
to Eat Clean Meat*

CLEAN MEAT ADVOCATE

*This Periodic Is a Citizen Call
to Support of the Meat Safety Bill
For a Wholesome Federal Meat
Inspection Program*

Served by the National Professional Food and Meat Workers, 2015 F St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

Nation Needs Modern Meat Law

Modern Muck-rakers Dig New Meat Scandal

Out Of Date?...So Is Meat Inspection Act!

Congress Must Fill Gap In Clean Meat Law

The nation's meat inspection program is in a state of decay, and it will take the Congress to get it back on its feet. The nation's meat inspection program is in a state of decay, and it will take the Congress to get it back on its feet. The nation's meat inspection program is in a state of decay, and it will take the Congress to get it back on its feet.

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A Job For The 'G-Men'

Survey Shows Fifth In Non-Federal Inspected Meat Houses Is Nation Wide

All Of Our Meat Should Be Fit To Eat

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AN AROUSED PUBLIC BROUGHT TO PASS...A STRONGER MEAT LAW



CONSUMER GROUPS WERE SHOWN EVIDENCE OF UNSANITARY CONDITIONS.

THE "MR. CLEAN" OF THE INDUSTRY, A
FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTOR.



AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNS THE WHOLESOME MEAT ACT OF 1967.



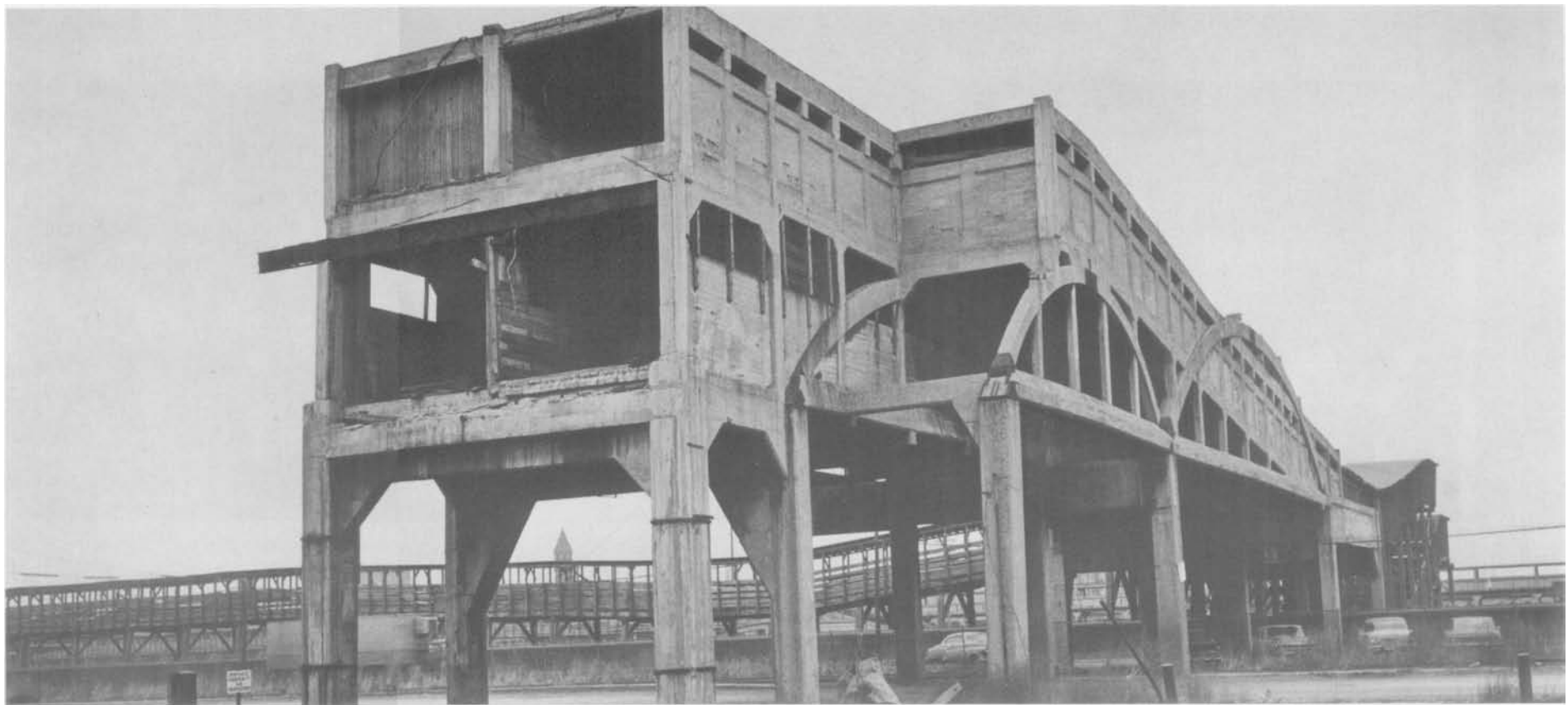
Trade union spirit and leadership know-how do not grow strong and deep without education. Through periodic classes and workshops, addresses by leaders, the union newspaper, even public discussion of issues over the air, the education program links old with new and provides insights into the union's social goals and philosophy of action.



EDUCATION PREPARES MEMBERS FOR LEADERSHIP... TELLS IT LIKE IT IS







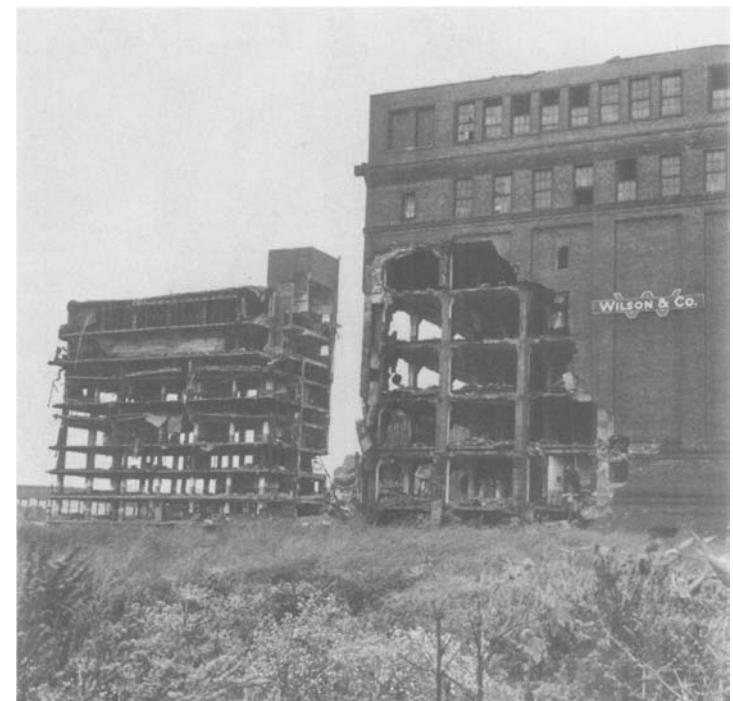
“HOG BUTCHER FOR THE WORLD”. . . NO MORE

**Hog Butcher for the World
Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
Player with Railroads and
the Nation's Freight Handler;
Stormy, husky, brawling,
City of the Big Shoulders:**

Carl Sandburg

No great complex of multi-storied
buildings teeming with thousands of
employees is about to rise again.
Decentralization to the countryside where
the livestock grows and where the
superhighway links slaughterhouse to
supermarket has become the pattern.

Sophisticated machinery and time





ELECTRONIC MUSCLES AND BRAINS AND . . .

shortening technology have made unnecessary the great concentrations of manpower, so characteristic of the past. The packinghouse, like most modern industry, now has its own bureaucratic labor relations structure. Union contract books are often more than 100 pages thick. The intricacies of hospitalization insurance are grist to the mills of the

grievance procedure. But, though the forms may change, the essence is unchanging. The bargaining table may be located in the gilded luxury of a first-class hotel; but bargaining will always be a fight over the division of the pie and a struggle for the humanization of the work force. The union is still pitted against the great expectations of



AND THE SHIFT TO NEW INDUSTRIAL SITES

the engineer and his stop-watch, and the cold calculations of the accounting department.

To the veteran of the 'Thirties, union conditions enjoyed today may seem "a picnic," a beautiful realization of yesterday's impossible dream; but more recent industrial recruits carry a

different yardstick. Just as John L. Lewis and the Miners Union heeded the call in 1936 to lift the torch and beat the drums for the marching feet of the poor and the unorganized, so is it today. Out in the darkness, beyond the warm perimeter of the union camp, millions still wait for liberation. And they are restless.





**KEEP FRESH
THE UNION SLOGAN
"ORGANIZE AND FIGHT"**



"THE PRESSURE COOKER"... COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS WHERE IT'S AT



“BARGAINING IS A PARTICIPATION SPORT, THERE ARE NO NEUTRAL SPECTATORS” JESSE PROSTEN

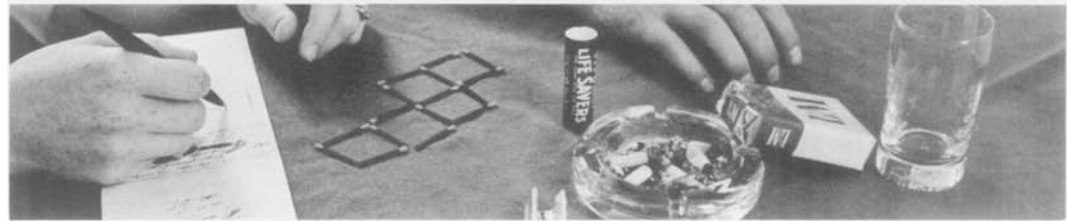
The front lines of the union’s battle for equity are the tedious, nerve bending, crucial confrontations with the “company men.” Collective bargaining consists of delicate horse trading sessions marked by coded verbal exchanges and sometimes table pounding indignation. As the excitement of the opening day exchange evaporates into the frustrations of almost fruitless sessions, the tensions of the impending contract deadline begin to tell. After each session the leaders of the team meet with the local delegates to plan strategy, blow off steam, and keep the union’s tradition of participatory democracy vibrant and strong. As the climactic deadline approaches, the company begins to realize that the union demands are not mere bluff, but a dedicated expression of the hard



economic realities that workers must live with. As the final curtain begins to fall, local interests have to be carefully balanced and weighed against the national picture. Militancy must be mixed with practicality. Every plant delegate must understand that a hurried and emotional decision might produce problems to plague the union for the next three years.

As the hands of the clock advance, a quick look at the faces around the bargaining table reveals the physically draining toll of the negotiations. Men used to the exhausting action of the packinghouse are being squeezed in a different type of pressure cooker. But as the union team persists the mountains of disagreement eventually become small hills. Tireless union craftsmen of the bargaining table smooth off the rougher edges. When the moment of settlement finally arrives, just minutes before strike time, the finale seems anticlimactic.

Look at the faces of the participants and see how the action goes.



**BACKING THE MEN
AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE
IS THE SCRAPPY SPIRIT
OF THE RANK AND FILE**



The union spokesmen who meet management face to face at the bargaining table derive their authority from the men and women who do the work in the shops. The skilled tactics and persuasive tongues of union bargainers would be meaningless exercises, were it not for the realities of power and pressure which rest in the hands of the workers. One of these pressures is the power to bring production (and profit) to a halt through the strike. Another is the power to enlist public support expressed at the check-out counter of the supermarket. It is the knowledge on the management side of the table that those pressures can be effectively applied by the workers which induces the employer to improve his offers.



THE STRIKE . . . THE BOYCOTT



There is an old saying that, “You can’t get something for nothing.” The experienced union member also understands that the union cause requires an investment of human energy and enthusiasm before a return can be expected in the form of dollars in the paycheck and improved conditions in the workplace.

An imaginative and bold leadership matched to a militant and devoted membership makes a bargaining partnership which employers truly respect. Courage and a willingness to attempt the unusual are also essential characteristics of the union members whose organizations produce the best results. It’s a matter of “people power,” intelligently applied.



ARE LEVERS OF PROGRESS





WHAT OF MARY SANDEL?

Mary Sandel worked for the Ocoma Foods Co. in Newberry, South Carolina—at least until she lost her job. Ocoma is a wholly-owned subsidiary of “conglomerate” Consolidated Foods. It operates a chain of poultry plants in several states and is an important factor in the industry; yet Ocoma is merely one of the smaller cards in the hand that Nathan Cummings holds. Whether to discard, hold for a speculative grand slam, or use at just the right time to finesse another player’s Queen is something for the computers to decide.

But what of Mary Sandel who needs work, even at Ocoma’s low wages? There was no union when she was told to take her things and go. Mary Sandel is dirt poor and worried. No doubt Nathan Cummings appreciates the splendid art treasures that tens of thousands of Mary Sandels work hard to hang upon his walls. But, how can Mary have some of the good things, too? That question is what the union struggle seeks to answer!

“I said, ‘Mister, can you get me some help taking those heavy tom turkeys off the conveyor?’ and he said, ‘Give her her time!’ ‘God in Heaven knows I need to work. They’ll take my furniture back. Now I can’t get work nowhere’”.

MARY SANDEL

THE NEW STYLE CORPORATE TYCOON

The new-style corporate tycoon is no longer the steel magnate or the packer baron. Those old fashioned types whose power lay in their position of dominance over a given industry now yield to the master builders of the “conglomerate,” men who tie together great clusters of corporate giants from a diversity of industries. The once fiercely independent Wilson & Co. is now just another property in the stables of Ling-Temco-Vought, also owner of space and electronics industries, a major airlines, a leading steel producer, and much more. John Morrell & Co. is the property of a package machine maker. The Cudahy Co. belongs to U.S. Smelting. Armour and Company, already a conglomerate with a heavy machinery maker among others in its possession, is avowedly in the merger market. Swift has resisted the attentions of one or more suitors, but the trap may fall.

Symbolic of the kings of the new conglomerates is Nathan Cummings, head of the giant Consolidated Foods Corp., with 1967 sales of \$1.1 billion and owner of wholesalers, retailers, and food manufacturers by the dozens. A famous-name vacuum sweeper is merely one of the treasures in the Cummings collection—a collection which includes several magnificent Picassos, Legers, Miros, the very best of modern art.







LOUISE MILLER

"I've been here for 13 years, pumping hams . . . and all around. I came to work while there was a strike. I didn't know anything about unions and it was better pay than what I was getting teaching nursery school. Now I'm an elected trustee of the union."

"The union really protects you from being pushed around, but a lot of people don't know their rights. This is a good union. It's a fighting union and will stand up for you no matter who you are."

*"What makes a good union?
It's the people themselves."*



FRANK ANDROSKI

"I'm here over four years. What keeps me? I guess it's the money. As far as wages go we are higher than the average—but we really need to improve our health and welfare plan."

"My opinion of the union? There are some very intelligent leaders, very impressive—really sharp. I've been to some of the workshops and conferences to learn what I could and it's been very beneficial. Our last negotiations were very educational. I really learned a lot."

"The union lacks participation by a lot of the dues paying members, but they aren't as weak as people think. The ones in the fold are united. We're really strong!"

...to let in the sun.

These pages have presented a pictorial sketch of the life story of the UPWA within the framework of the meat packing industry, the "jungle" of Upton Sinclair's great novel. In the 25 years of its history, UPWA has made a contribution to the draining of the swamps, thus providing firm ground on which to stand. Our union has cut away the underbrush to let in the sun.

As we of the UPWA look about us in the 25th year since our founding, we take satisfaction in our foresight and anticipation of developments. We will continue to address ourselves to these questions and attempt to anticipate the future. As we seek new ways to protect the interests of our members we are aware that corporate power is accelerating its search for diversity, thus increasing its bargaining power and profitability.

The development of so-called conglomerates is an inevitable trend in corporate control of American life and the concentration of management power. To meet these giants, American labor must rethink and reshape its own structure through mergers and other devices such as coordinated bargaining among unions. We must define new goals, recognizing that man

increasingly spends a greater part of his daily life outside of the workplace; and that leisure hours are, today, a matter of human right and not to be paternally endowed by either willing or grudging corporations. This will require collective bargaining of a new kind and on a much greater scale. It will involve reallocation of the nation's resources and priorities. It will involve the creation of jobs never before thought to be "work." It will require participation by all people in the decision making process that affects their lives. In this process we will have to develop contemporary tactics and strategies equal to the task.

The problems of the future can be seen only in dim outline, but we must move in new directions. To continue only with the goals and methods of the past eventually leads to stagnation, and that is the way to death. Persistent effort is essential to life. Life requires imaginative and creative activity and a willingness to discard outworn methods to make room for the new.

The UPWA has always been equal to the demands that the times have placed upon it, and I am certain that we shall continue to discharge our responsibilities.



Ralph Helstein, President
United Packinghouse, Food
and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO

Epilogue

This book is dedicated to Upton Sinclair, one of that breed of "muckraker" journalists of the early 20th Century who poked their sharply pointed pens behind the curtains of the business-political Establishment, skewering corrupt political boss and bloated capitalist alike. Upton Sinclair was a young and fiery Socialist when he came to Chicago in 1904 to live among the packinghouse workers and learn at first hand the tragedy of their lives. Sinclair wrote his book, *The Jungle*, with a passion born of personal involvement with the human beings within whose homes he had tasted the bitter bread of defeat and denigration. He wrote with outrage of arrogant masters of industry who so boldly lined their pockets with profits from diseased and contaminated meat.

The young Upton Sinclair dedicated his book very simply:
"To the working men."

It was his hope that an aroused working class would reorder a

society in which it was obliged to live in misery. Instead, an aroused public focused all of its attention on the need for adequate meat inspection.

The public quickly gained its objective with passage of the federal Meat Inspection Act, a more or less accidental by-product of Sinclair's graphic writing skills. But it took two generations for the workers to achieve organization of the meat packing industry, the cause into which Sinclair had poured the finest writing of his long career.

It is gratifying to dedicate this book drawn from life — the life of the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO — to author-rebel-humanist Upton Sinclair, at age 90.



Landmarks of UPWA History

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| July, 1933 | Founding of Independent Union of All Workers in Austin, Minn. Wage agreement follows strike of November, 1933. | February, 1945 | War Labor Board issues directive ordering settlement of meat packing wage negotiations. Establishes meat packing commission under chairman Clark Kerr of University of California. |
| August, 1933 | Founding of union at Wilson & Co., Cedar Rapids, Ia. Recognition agreement follows strike of April, 1934. | April, 1945 | UPWA Exec. Bd. adopts official procedures for investigation and disposition of cases involving racial discrimination. |
| December, 1936 | Midwestern group including Austin and Cedar Rapids ask CIO to initiate organizing drive in meat packing industry. | May, 1945 | UPWA sends Jennie Shuck, Sioux City, Ia., as representative to "Conference on Women in Industry" called by the Secretary of Labor. |
| December, 1936 | A group of Chicago packinghouse workers begins organizing on CIO pledge cards. | June 22, 1945 | Economic Stabilization Director finally approves WLB directive, thus ending case begun 22 months earlier. |
| October 24, 1937 | Formation of Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee announced at conference in Chicago attended by representatives of approximately 70 groups. Van A. Bittner, chairman; Don Harris, director of organization; Henry Johnson, assistant director. | January 16, 1946 | National strike against 17 major meat packers begins. Plants seized January 26 by Pres. Truman. Government applies 16-cent hourly increase. Plants returned to packers April 30. |
| July 16, 1938 | National conference and mass rally in Chicago addressed by John L. Lewis. | June, 1946 | UPWA announces goal of \$1 an hour minimum in packing industry (then 88.5 cents). |
| February, 1940 | First agreement negotiated by Armour and Company at Kansas City plant. | June 6, 1946 | Ralph Helstein elected president. Lewis J. Clark secretary-treasurer. |
| August, 1941 | Suit under Wage-Hour Law results in application of 40-hour week to all packinghouse workers. Millions of dollars in back pay. | May, 1947 | Sugar refinery workers under CIO Local Industrial Union charter vote to affiliate with UPWA. |
| August 8, 1941 | Armour signs first master agreement in the industry covering 17 plants. | September, 1947 | National strike in Canada against, Swift Burns, Canada Packers lasts 57 days. Ends with 10-cent wage increase. |
| July, 1942 | CIO appoints Sam Sponseller chairman of PWOC. | March 16, 1948 | UPWA begins national strike against major meat packers. |
| October 16, 1943 | CIO dissolves PWOC and grants charter to United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA). Lewis J. Clark, president; Edward F. Roche, sec.-treas.; Frank Ellis, vice-pres.; Philip Weightman, vice-pres. | May 21, 1948 | End strike at all companies except Wilson. (Wilson ends two weeks later). No gains made beyond pre-strike offer. Wilson refused further recognition. |
| December, 1944 | U.S. Army takes possession of Cudahy Bros., Cudahy, Wis. on direct order of President Roosevelt. Company had defied War Labor Board, refusing to apply order for maintenance of membership and dues checkoff. | June, 1948 | Attempt to defeat Helstein and administration slate at 5th Convention fails. Russell R. Lasley elected vice-president replacing Weightman. |
| | | May, 1950 | A. T. Stephens replaces Frank Ellis as vice-president. Convention creates a Canadian Vice-Presidency. Fred W. Dowling elected. |

Landmarks of UPWA History

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| February, 1951 | Wage increase of 9 cents negotiated with meat packers is blocked by government wage-freeze order during Korean War. Union authorizes officers to call strike if necessary. | February, 1960 | Conclude 109-day strike against Wilson plants with agreement by company to meet terms substantially equivalent to other major packers. Issue of status of 3,000 "replaced" strikers to be arbitrated. |
| May, 1951 | Wage Stabilization Board agrees to modify its order denying packing industry increase. | March, 1960 | Arbitration panel headed by Judge Joseph S. Perry orders strike "replacements" put at bottom of seniority list behind Wilson strikers. |
| December, 1951 | Puerto Rican Federation of Sugar Workers votes affiliation with UPWA. | January, 1961 | Lettuce fields of Imperial Valley, Calif. struck in cooperation with Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. Seek \$1.25 minimum. Growers use imported workers from Mexico to break strike. |
| May, 1952 | G. R. Hathaway replaces L. J. Clark as secretary-treasurer. | September, 1961 | Armour master agreement introduces concept of Technological Adjustment Pay under which employees displaced by plant closing draw a minimum weekly income while waiting reassignment. Interplant transfer arrangements and moving expense allowance. |
| March, 1953 | American Sugar Refining Co. strike at New Orleans ends after 13 weeks as 900 members win five months of back pay at 11.5 cents an hour increase. | October, 1961 | First awards of Russell Bull Scholarship are made to Miss Charlayne Hunter and Mr. Arthur S. Smith. Scholarship goes to student applicant making significant contribution to struggle for civil rights. Miss Hunter was first Negro student to enter University of Georgia. |
| May, 1953 | Holds first national conference on Anti-Discrimination and Womens Activities. | September, 1964 | Master agreements introduce vesting of pensions, major medical insurance, and widen scope of agreement to cover processing units. |
| July, 1953 | Joint bargaining agreement concluded between UPWA and AMCBW. | October, 1966 | First national strike in 19 years is concluded in Canada with 70-cent wage and benefit package. Strike began July 20 involving 5,300 employees of Canada Packers. |
| April, 1955 | Strike begins at Godchaux Sugar and Colonial Sugar in Louisiana. After 147 days strike is won. | March, 1967 | Agreement reached with Armour to open master agreement six months before expiration. Wage and benefit package estimated at 66 cents spreads to rest of industry. |
| November, 1955 | Wilson and Co. closes Chicago plant with 3,200 employees. | December, 1967 | President Johnson signs Wholesome Meat Act, culminating campaign pushed by UPWA for over 10 years. |
| December, 1955 | Amalgamated Meat Cutters and UPWA send joint telegram to George Meany advising of their intent to effect a merger. Efforts called off October, 1956. | July, 1968 | Constitutional Convention receives text of merger agreement with Amalgamated Meat Cutters for ratification. |
| October, 1957 | Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addresses national conference. His Southern Christian Leadership Conference receives \$11,000 check from UPWA Fund For Democracy. | | |
| March 5, 1958 | Four-week strike involving 4,600 at Campbell Soup Co., Camden, N.J. | | |
| May, 1959 | Frank Schultz replaces A. T. Stephens as vice-president. | | |
| October, 1959 | Seven-week strike ends at Swift plants with agreement to continue cost-of-living clause. A joint strike by UPWA and AMCBW. | | |
| August, 1959 | Establishment of the Armour Automation Committee with \$500,000 contribution from the company for programs to assist readjustment of employees displaced in plant closings. | | |



