

Mr. Ladd

- 2 -

8-28-43

b3
Tel. [unclear]
§ 6 [unclear]

[REDACTED]

b7c ACTION: [REDACTED] advised Mr. Coleman that in response to his request, the complete matter would be taken up with you so that a clear and definite expression of the Bureau's desires in the premises could be forwarded to Mr. Coleman. Mr. Coleman definitely understands, however, that the procedure is highly undesirable from our point of view.

3:45 PM - Addendum:

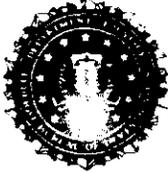
b3
[unclear]
Mr. Coleman called again at this time and stated that he had just found out that the Tax Division had taken the matter up independently with the Attorney General, that is, the matter discussed above, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Mr. Coleman stated in view of this unfortunate occurrence, he was not in a position to say what would happen with regard to the independent investigation [REDACTED] possibly interfering with and being to an appreciable extent an exact duplication of the Bureau's investigation.

Respectfully,

F. L. Welch

F. L. Welch



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

September 9, 1943

Call: 8:00-8:06 p.m.
Dictated: 8:40 p.m.

- . Tolson _____
- . E. A. Tamm _____
- . Clegg _____
- Mr. Glavin _____
- Mr. Ladd _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tracy _____
- Mr. Carson _____
- Mr. Coffey _____
- Mr. Hendon _____
- Mr. Kramer _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Miss Beahm _____
- Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. D. M. LADD

RE: JOHN L. LEWIS, et al
CIVIL RIGHTS & DOMESTIC
VIOLENCE

At this time [redacted] in my office telephonically contacted the Springfield Office and advised Agent [redacted] who is acting in Mr. Hallford's absence from the office, that the Department had been contacted relative to the requests which had been made by certain of the miners who had given signed statements to Agents at Springfield, Illinois, in the above captioned matter, as a result of which Mr. Frank Coleman of the Department had verbally indicated to [redacted] today that the Department's attitude is as follows. Under no circumstances does the Department desire that copies of statements be given to any lawyers who might request same. In addition he furnished him with the advice of Mr. Coleman that copies of statements should not be furnished to any of the individuals if they requested them but rather that they should be referred to the Attorney General or the Criminal Division of the Department in connection with any such request.

[redacted] was apprised by Agent [redacted] of the fact that Mr. Coleman was planning to arrive at Springfield, Illinois, sometime late tonight or early tomorrow and that Mr. Coleman planned to spend a week there. Agent [redacted] was advised that previous Bureau instructions as to contact with Mr. Coleman while he was there should be followed and any requests for additional investigation which might be made by Mr. Coleman should be referred by Mr. Coleman to the Bureau through the Department at Washington unless in Mr. Hallford's opinion the matter was such as could be said to be nothing more than an extension of an approved procedure, already in existence.

Agent [redacted] stated that in connection with the request which has been made for copies of statements already furnished to Agents, there have been very recent indications that certain individuals are contacting the miners as they leave the mines and are inquiring of the miners whether they have furnished statements to any investigators recently and these individuals are either suggestion to or counseling the miners that if they have not given statements they should tell any investigators that might contact them for statements that on the advice of Attorney Fitzgerald they do not wish

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b7c to furnish any statements. Attorney Fitzgerald has been previously mentioned in this case as being the attorney in whose office Ray Edmondson, one of the subjects in this case, had a meeting with four or five of the miners who are reported as having been members of the Progressive Mine Workers Union during the troubledtime between that Union and the United Mine Workers Union between 1937 and 1941, and which individuals were also reported as having acted as spies in the Progressive Mine Workers Union for the benefit of the United Mine Workers Union. This angle of the case is being closely watched by the Springfield Office and Agent [redacted] was requested to advise the Bureau by letter of the circumstances of the matter so it could be referred to the Department for its consideration.

Respectfully,

F. L. Welch
F. L. Welch

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 19, 1943

WB:HO'D:MLB

144-10

Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Acers	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Mumford	.....
Mr. Starke	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....
Files	.....

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: Mine "B" -- Violations of
Section 51, Title 18.

I am attaching a photostatic copy of
the petition signed on May 26, 1937, by mem-
bers of the ~~X~~ Progressive Mine Workers of America
and presented to Mr. Elshoff. *(initials)*

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge
WENDELL BERGE,
Assistant Attorney General.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Enclosure
No. 218937

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Op. 7

Springfield, Illinois

May 26, 1957

DESIGNATION OF REPRESENTATIVE FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING
UNDER THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT.

We, the undersigned, being more than a majority of all the employees employed at Mine B near Springfield, Illinois, now operated by the Mine B Coal Company, a corporation of Springfield, Illinois, and all of us being members of Local Union #34, Progressive Miners of America, a labor organization, hereby authorize the Progressive Miners of America, through its duly elected officers to exclusively represent us in the matters of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment or other conditions of employment with the Mine B Coal Company or any other individual or company who may later operate said Mine B from the date of this instrument.

We hereby authorize the employees of the Mine B Coal Company or any other individual or company who may later operate said Mine B, to demand from the Mine B Coal Company the same wages and equipment as provided for in the

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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~~17~~

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b7C with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Springfield, Illinois
September 2, 1943

Director, FBI

Re: **JOHN L. LEWIS, ET AL**
CIVIL RIGHTS AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

Dear Sir:

In connection with the above-entitled matter and in connection with an interview had with [redacted] which will be recorded in the first report submitted from this office on September 4, 1943, the following additional information is furnished to the Bureau.

During the interview [redacted] voluntarily furnished Special Agent [redacted] a pamphlet entitled "The Wrecking of the Miners' Union" by FRANK FARRINGTON, Former President, District 12 United Mine Workers of America, now deceased. [redacted] stated that the information contained in this pamphlet would furnish a good background on JOHN L. LEWIS. He however pointed out that he did not desire anyone, other than the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to be apprised of the fact that he had furnished this pamphlet because he feared he might be severely injured by the United Mine Workers should any of them discover that he had furnished this pamphlet to this Bureau. He pointed out that approximately one year ago he was severely beaten to the point of having a concussion of the brain and his teeth kicked out by members of the United Mine Workers and he was afraid to take any other chances.

Photostatic copies of the pamphlet were made and two copies of the same are being forwarded herewith to the Bureau. It is thought that the Bureau may desire the background information contained therein concerning JOHN L. LEWIS and that the Bureau may want to furnish the Department one copy for its information, without disclosing the knowledge of the confidential source from which it was obtained. One copy is being retained in the Springfield file.

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Very truly yours,

FRED HALLFORD, SAC.

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CHK 44-18 Encl.

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not clear
copy forwarded

b7c
b7D

44-845-45

9/9/43
Date:

OX

To: Assistant Attorney General Tom C. Clark
From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Subject: JOHN L. LEWIS, ET AL
CIVIL RIGHTS AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There is transmitted herewith a photostatic copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Wrecking of the Miners' Union," by Frank Farrington, former President of District #12, United Mine Workers of America. A copy of this pamphlet was obtained from a very confidential source, and it is reliably reported that Frank Farrington is now deceased.

A copy of this pamphlet is forwarded to you for any information it may contain pertaining to the background activities of subject Lewis.

Enclosure

b7c

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED

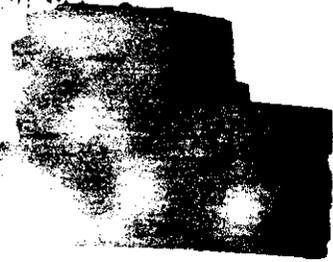
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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- Glavin _____
- Ladd _____
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- Rosen _____
- Tracy _____
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- Carson _____
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- Hendon _____
- Mumford _____
- Starke _____
- Quinn Tamm _____
- Nease _____
- Gandy _____

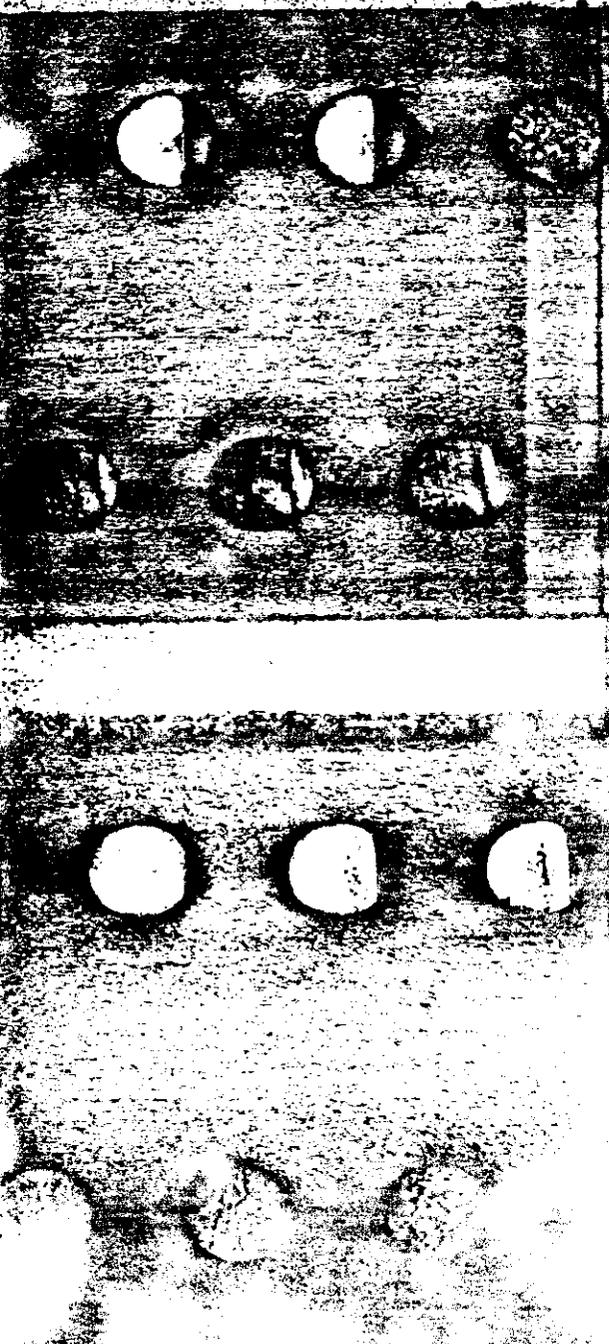
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ENCLOSURE

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THE WRECKING
of the
MINERS' UNION

BY THE WRECKING
OF THE MINERS' UNION
IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

The articles reprinted herewith appeared first in The Belleville News-Democrat, published by Fred J. Kern, at Belleville, Illinois.

The edition is limited, but a few additional copies are available for those interested in their distribution and may be secured by addressing the author.

Published by
FRANK FARRINGTON

745 So. Grand Ave. W.

Springfield, Illinois

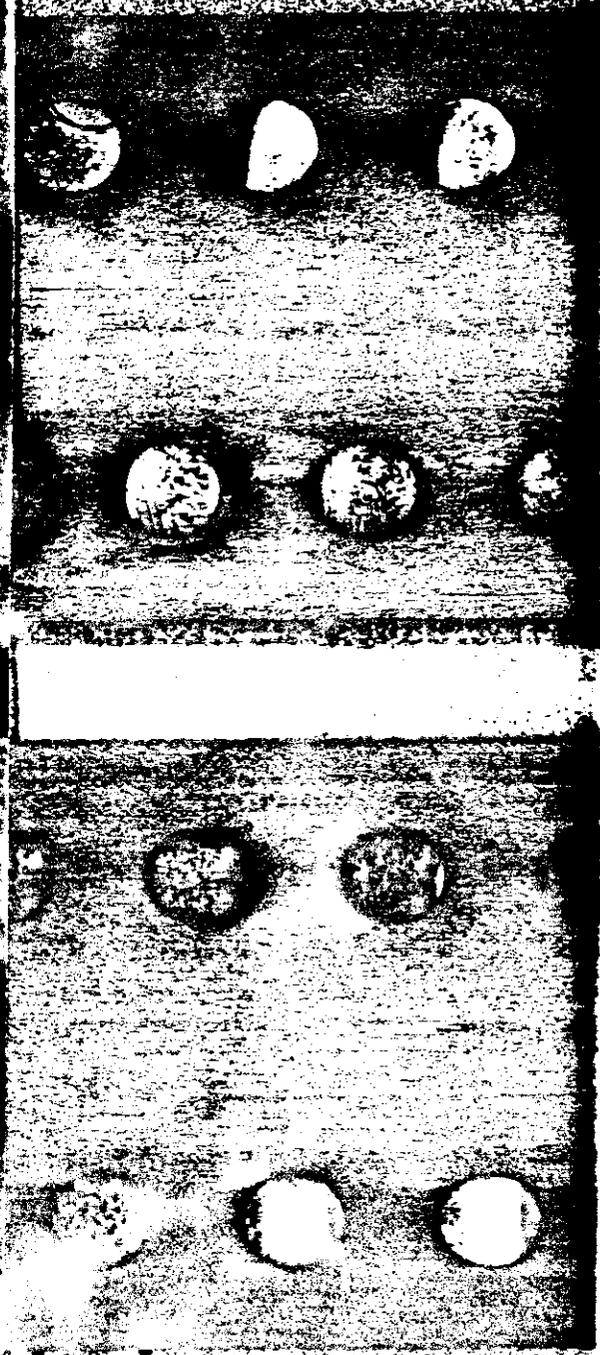
Organized Labor's Greatest Disaster

Nowhere in the history of the Trade Union Movement of America is there embraced the record of another happening so tragic, so fraught with disaster and despair, as the disintegration of the United Mine Workers of America. Organized Labor has not experienced another setback so great, so utterly crushing. Wrecked and beaten beyond repair, not by the forces of corporate greed, but by predatory enemies of brutal foes from without, but by unscrupulous leadership within its own ranks, this once militant fighting force of more than half a million men, is but a remnant of its former greatness.

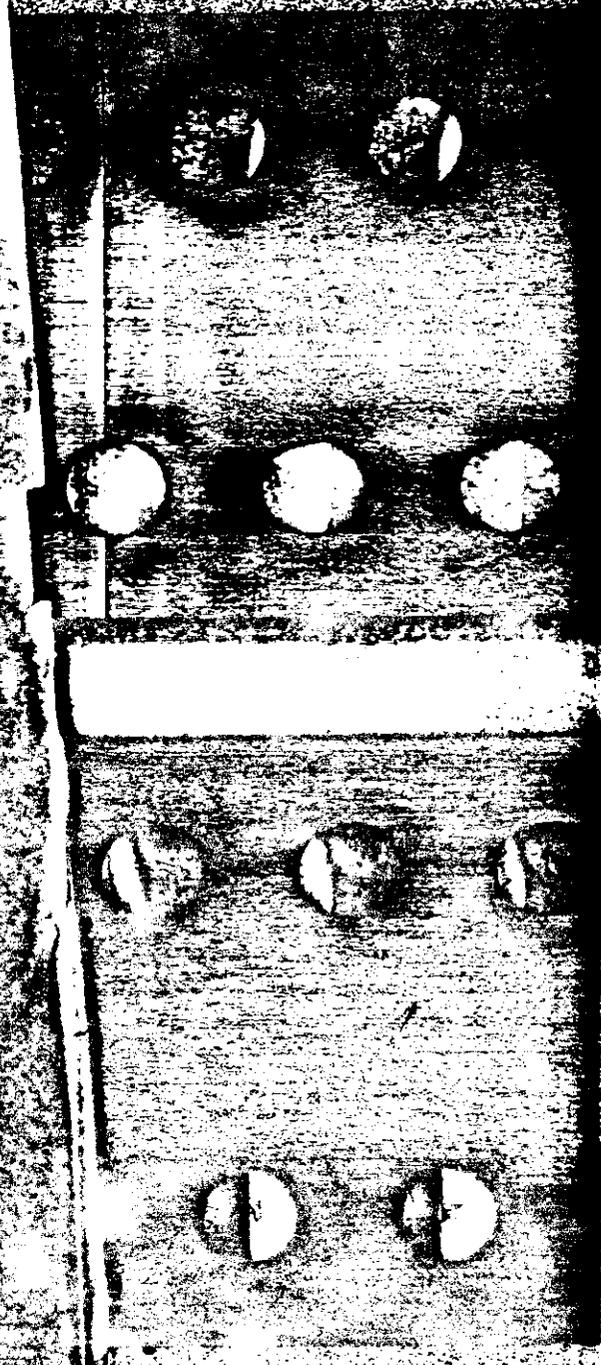
The United Mine Workers was the culmination of the blending of the best thought, study and endeavor of the ablest men of each succeeding generation within the miners' ranks and of their herculean efforts extending over a period of nearly three-quarters of a century during which countless men, women and children suffered inhuman abuse, hunger and cruel privation, and many of them imprisonment and death in the harsh struggle for the right to organize. Preceded by several other ineffectual organizations of miners that were unable to overcome the brutal opposition from without and the dissension and dissention from within, and that failed to bring forth the United Mine Workers of America, was founded in 1890.

Michael Mitchell, Editor

One year following 1890 and the party known as the "Four Mitchell" appeared to consolidate the United Mine Workers of America. In 1892 there were 250,000 members, and in 1901 the membership reached 400,000. The United Mine Workers of America was the largest and most powerful labor organization in the world.



to the movement to organize
magnetic personality drew
confidence and hope. Daily
Union made gradual progress
strength until its members
thousands. It survived
until its power and influence
in the country was
the Trade Union movement
of every member a symbol
was a stabilizing factor in the mine
industries. It commanded the confidence and respect
of all. It won in industrial affairs. Mighty
in numerical strength, in righteous of purpose, impervious
to every attack, stout and invincible against every
opponent. For many years it survived the fury of strike
and scab and was the bulwark of protection to the
mine workers.
A leadership that for a century
of a century represented the Miners Union, its emblem
the pickaxe and the better things for the miner, the
their descendants. It was this instrumental thing that
for new meanings were raised from their midst to
their feet. One by one the houses were built. The
wages and improved working conditions were won. The
large employer and higher standard of living obtained.
The gaunt, haggard, master of poverty and squalor
banished from the miserable homes of millions. Children
were transferred from mines to schools and the pinch
of poverty was driven from their faces by the happy
look of healthy children. The sunning was beginning
to penetrate the dark places, men were beginning to realize
the things they are entitled to. They were beginning
little by little to make themselves more and more
the things they were little by little. The things they
were beginning to see and the things they were beginning
to see and the things they were beginning to see.



the soft coal fields had reached an appalling stage. The membership had dwindled until only \$9,186 dues paying members were left — 45,203 of these were in Illinois. The remaining 43,983 were scattered over 20 different fields and divided into so many parts, as not to leave a single unit of any material strength, outside of Illinois. In reality of all the once splendidly organized district unions made up the International Union, Illinois is the only one that has survived the havoc of Lewis leadership and that still remains intact. All the others have dwindled until only inconsequential fragments are left.

That Illinois is still intact is attributable to the fact that all during his tenure of office Lewis was held at arms length and was not allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the Illinois Union. This was because those who were in charge of the affairs of the Illinois Union felt it necessary to preserve it as a unit. He was permitted to pursue his course of action in the other fields, but was not allowed to interfere in the affairs of the Illinois Union.

The Illinois Union was the only one of the district unions that was not broken up by Lewis. This was because those who were in charge of the affairs of the Illinois Union felt it necessary to preserve it as a unit. He was permitted to pursue his course of action in the other fields, but was not allowed to interfere in the affairs of the Illinois Union.

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Western Pennsylvania from 40,000 to 364 members.

West Virginia reduced from 67,000 to 32 dues paying members.

Kentucky reduced from 40,000 to 88 members.

In the Southwestern mining districts, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas, where the men struck and fought and suffered for four long, weary years to win the right to organize and where for more than 25 years they had been solidly organized, the Union has dwindled in numerical strength from 30,000 to 128 dues paying members in these three states.

Flag Debacle

So it has been in every soft coal district in the country, with the exception of Illinois, the Union has all but vanished. The story is more or less the same in another part of the country. The incumbent President was appointed. Union Miners mined 75 per cent of the soft coal produced by the country.

The tonnage is now 10 per cent of the tonnage

of the mines. The flag is a shabby, old, worn-out flag. The miners are no longer the same. They are no longer the same. They are no longer the same.

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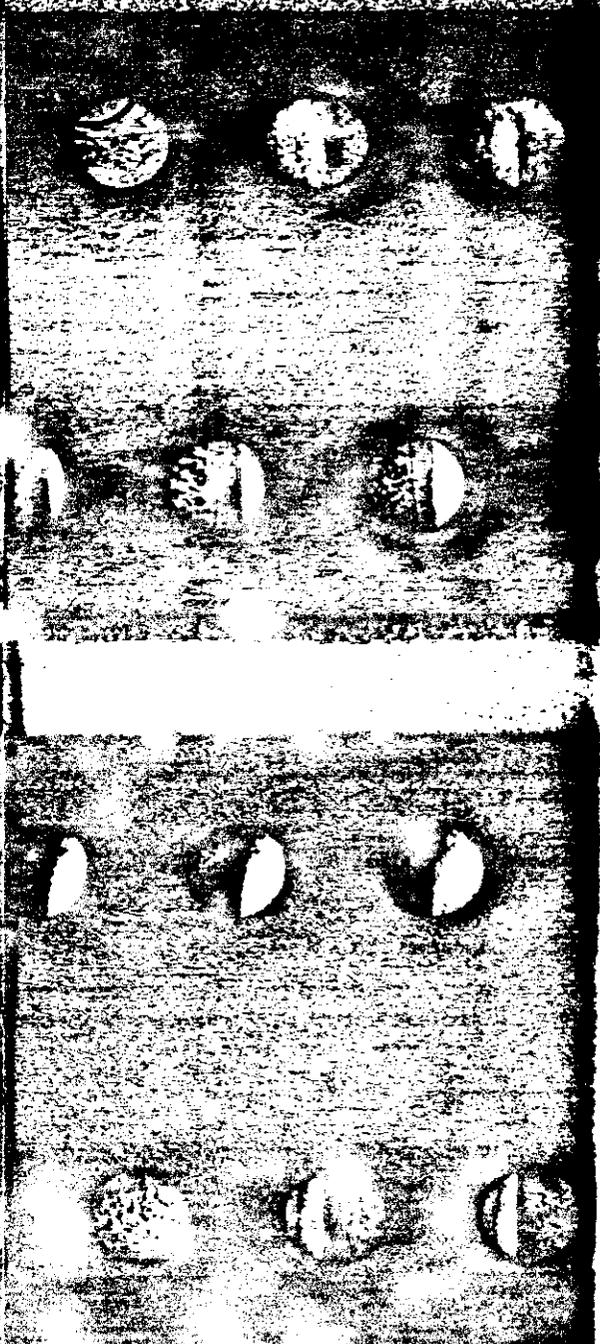


for retreat to a more tenable position and for reorganization of his terribly depleted army. But appalling though it was, the condition held no adverse meaning for Lewis. He continued to defy the lightning and to blatantly state that "the miners would take no backward step" and he led his fragmentary army into battle to fight for renewal of the Jacksonville Agreement.

Held To Impossible Tack

For a year and more prior to its expiration Illinois and Indiana were the only districts in the country where the mine owners were complying with the requirements of the Jacksonville Agreement. It had been discarded by mine owners elsewhere and the men employed by them had organized the Union and were working for wages ranging from \$3.40 to \$4.00 per day as against \$7.50 provided for in the Jacksonville Agreement. Notwithstanding the fact that more than 100,000 members had already stepped back to the time of wage reduction ranging from \$2.50 to \$4.10 per day Lewis continued to insist there would be "no back way open." Had not his action been so fraught with dire consequences, it would have been a screwing comedy worthy of the most comical clown.

While Lewis posed as the champion of high wages, disintegration was eating into the Union and by this subtle means it was all but destroyed. The mine was assumed to stand that, at impossible or attainment, all they were held to for all until human beings could stand no more. Every coal in the mine owners could not conduct the Jacksonville Agreement, and sell their coal in markets with no other coal. But the mine owners would have lost all if they would have been allowed to sell their coal. But still we held them to the Jacksonville Agreement. In the work we had done only in the past and we have not but they are not to be held to the Jacksonville Agreement. But still we held them to the Jacksonville Agreement.



coal fields from disintegration, forced him to abandon his destructive position.

By this time the Union was so badly infected with disintegration and so weakened as an effective force that Illinois was the only district able to secure a tentative renewal of the Jacksonville Agreement, and being alone successful the agreement was a decided disadvantage to the Illinois miners as there was little work under its terms, and stress of circumstances demanded modification, but not until after it stood alone, its ability to attain, did Illinois seek authority to deviate.

\$3 Scale in Ohio and Southwestern

Finally Illinois asked for and received authority to modify. A reduced wage scale was necessary to help meet non-union competition which by now abounded on the sides. Wages were reduced from \$7.50 to \$6.00 per day and an agreement was closed on that basis and the Illinois district was held 100 per cent intact. Time will prove the wisdom of this action. Overtly refused to force \$100 per cent intact was certainly preferable to suffering disintegration and then being forced to accept whatever wage the mine owners were willing to pay as occurred in every other district. The wisdom of this action is proven by the fact that no other district has been able to secure the same as good.

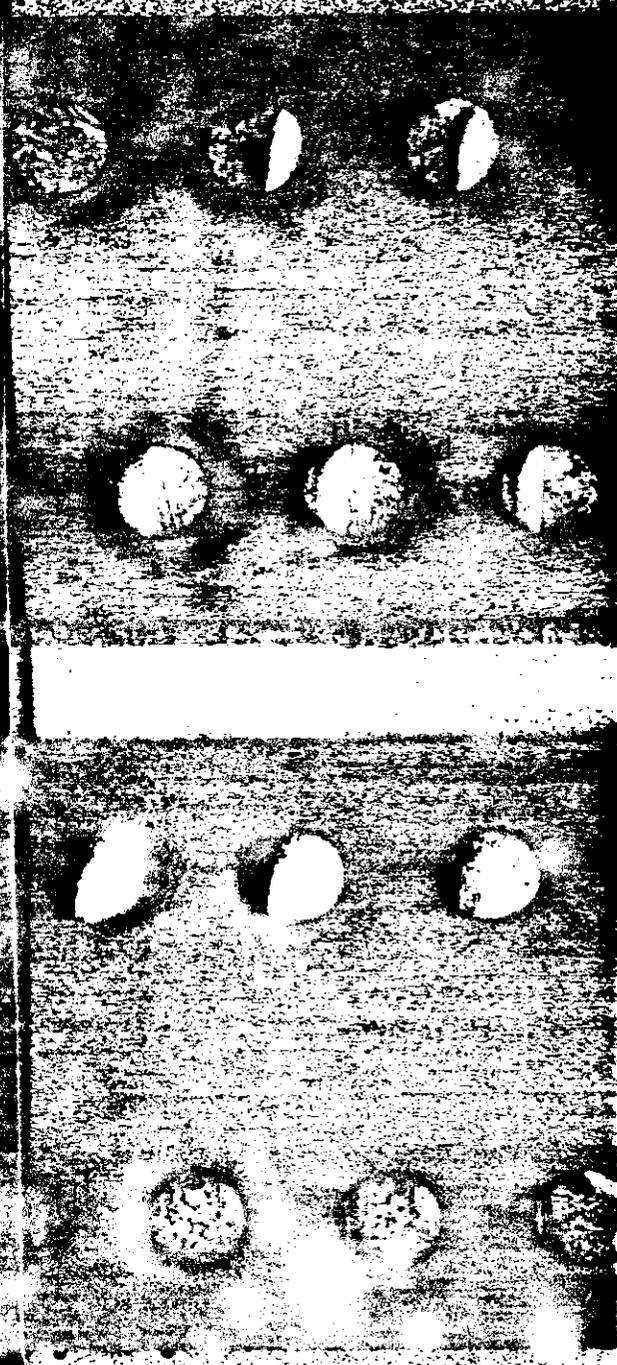
A pitiable handful of miners in Ohio and the Southwestern districts threatened to go on a \$5.00 per day scale with Lewis' approval. The great majority of the miners in these districts are working for less. Recently a few companies in Ohio that are operating independent of the Union cut wages to \$4.50 per day. The result of our district was that the few who were notified in advance of this action a few members for the \$5.00 scale. Proof that the union rat is a weakling is the fact that he is unable to induce the few who are on the \$5.00 scale to join the union and thus make their own scale available to all.

seems rather strange that he would approve of agreements made on a \$5.00 per day basis and applicable to a handful of members in Ohio and Southwest, and then allow his book-keeping lackeys to discredit an agreement that provides for the payment of \$8.15 per day.

But Lewis is a "fellow" of many strange whims. When the Illinois Miners and Operators were in Joint Wage Scale Conference and the officers were striving with might and main to get the best possible agreement for the Illinois Miners, Lewis authorized the Ohio officers to sign up with a few small operators in Ohio for a wage scale of \$3.00 per day, thus greatly embarrassing the Illinois officers. Every rule of diplomacy and strategy demanded that Ohio hold back and allow Illinois to fix the standard, as always had been done, but his reprehensible action indicates that Lewis wanted Ohio to set the pace.

Ruthless and Cold Blooded

To understand how he could wreck a Union of half a million men, one must know the character of this "fellow" Lewis. He is an egotistical, bombastic, pansophical, obstinate "fellow," who regards the opinions of others with patronizing indulgence and who views everybody who disagrees with him as an enemy or a trickster. Ruthless and cold blooded as a fish, he is inconsiderate of the rights of others and thinks everybody must be watched lest they be up to some trick. He constantly resorts to accusation that other borders on the comic and can weep as readily and as copiously as any "weeping Barba" to prove his accusation. He is super-sensitive and supercilious. When accused of a wrong doing, he resorts to recrimination and sentimental by-play and harangues with bully & prize by crying "to the infernal regions" and by employing sentimentality. He is of a vindictive nature and is a constant trouble maker. He is a man of a cold and calculating nature and is a man of a cold and calculating nature. He is a man of a cold and calculating nature and is a man of a cold and calculating nature.



can whisper into their ear some vile insinuation about an opponent. He affects great dignity but his mind is mostly muck. He is adept at chicanery and contemptible intrigue and is ever plotting to get his opponents in a compromising position so as to make them subservient to his will. He is a base, selfish ingrate, destitute of honor and without appreciation of friendships. Gompers, when alive, Hays and Walker and many others who have befriended him, have felt the hurt and the harm of his ingratitude. He is insincere, disloyal and dishonest, a consummate shrew and an unscrupulous "fellow".

An Insufferable Braggart

He is greedy for money and so tight he would not see a dime if it is alive unless he had a doctor's certificate certifying to the fact. He is pompous and vainglorious and consumed with an inordinate desire for publicity and fame. He is vicious, spiteful and vindictive, intolerant of criticism and thrives on blandishments that would be repugnant to a self-respecting man. He is an insufferable braggart and a lover of things sensational and theatrical and goes to great lengths to make a Roman Holiday out of trifles. Inevitably dependable and distrustful he has few friends or admirers other than his mercenary and venal followers. Surrounded by a coterie of mediocre horn-blowing lackeys and sycophantical camp-followers, he has ruled the Union as though it were his personal possession and treated for all personal aggrandizement.

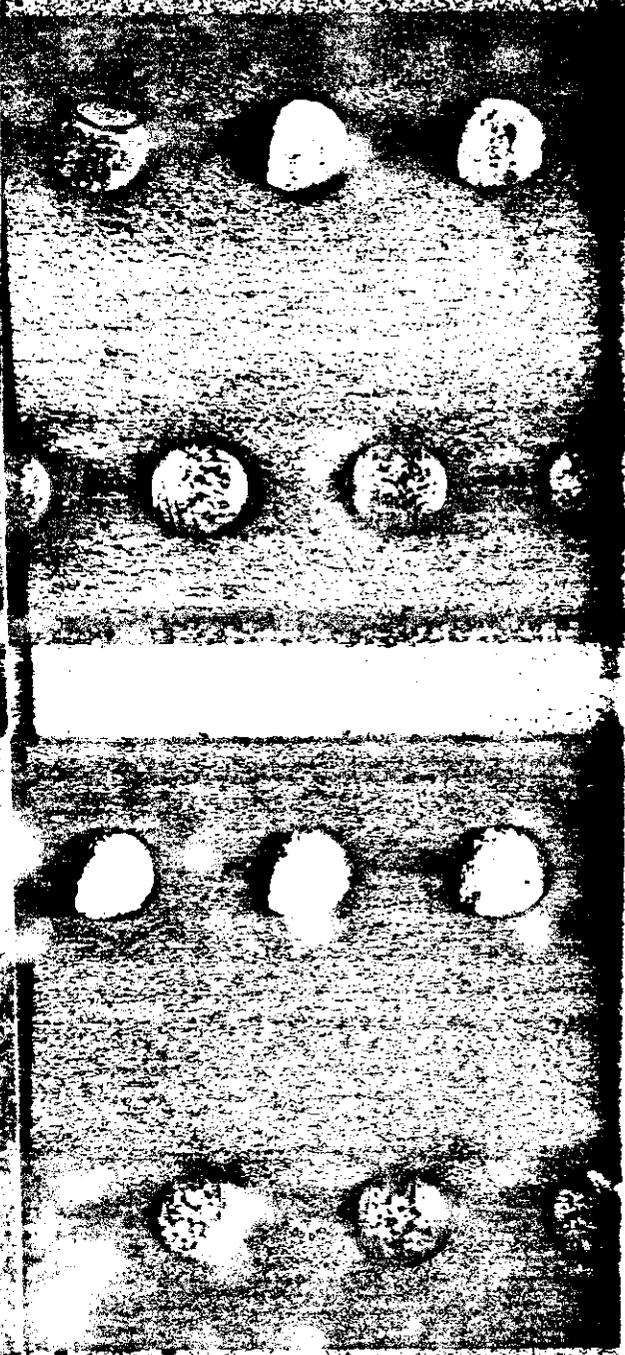
His induction into office at the event of a new election to the office and procedure in the United Union. The 10th annual assembled convention, where the and frank discussion of policy and principle and the practice were majority rule, results and demerits. Also obtained was displaced by a so-called convention and strong by method of vote, and the slight and delegate and the conference. The conviction and the to the center of the union. Down health and the 10th annual convention. The Convention and the rights.

the outside by some plucky brought there for that
because and the making found only when Lewis went
that is true. Consideration that once were deliberate
every day the admiration of the crowd
and from which resulted practices that were the result
the same thoughtful consideration and the expression
the same in the United Union and that means
for the men working in the country who they
and from which stirred to remember
the by contractions gave rise and from which came nothing
by possible calculated to more firmly entrench Lewis and
and has a stronger grip on the Union.

God Bless the Miners!

Lewis is now suffering from the constitution of Lewis and
distances to move and what I want it to mean. Refuse
are packed as to the number of members. Refuse to
run the same and the same officer and the same
the wife. Organize in the office. Organize in the
credit from was opposed to the office. Organize in
for the same purpose to the Army of Administration
backing and accompanying the hanging in the industry
over the country to destroy the influence of the
does like. The National members that
bewildered with what he should do. He should
himself heart above the rules he can always
by crying "Communist" or "Union wrecker".

With Lewis all is gone with the miners. God
them. The old days. (I think we stand divided as
is as true today as the day it was coined and despite
though things be the miners are lost if they fall
close to the United Mine Workers of America.



The Bayou of Lewis' Leadership

In a previous article telling of the departure of the United Mine Workers of America under the leadership of John L. Lewis, the semi-annual report of the National Treasurer Kennedy had come in

covering the period beginning December 1st, 1924, and ending December 31st, 1925.

The report tells an authentic and indisputable story of the conditions which have prevailed since the departure of Lewis from the leadership of the U. M. W. A.

The report tells of the way in which the U. M. W. A. has been organized and operated since the departure of Lewis from the leadership of the U. M. W. A. It tells of the way in which the U. M. W. A. has been organized and operated since the departure of Lewis from the leadership of the U. M. W. A. It tells of the way in which the U. M. W. A. has been organized and operated since the departure of Lewis from the leadership of the U. M. W. A.

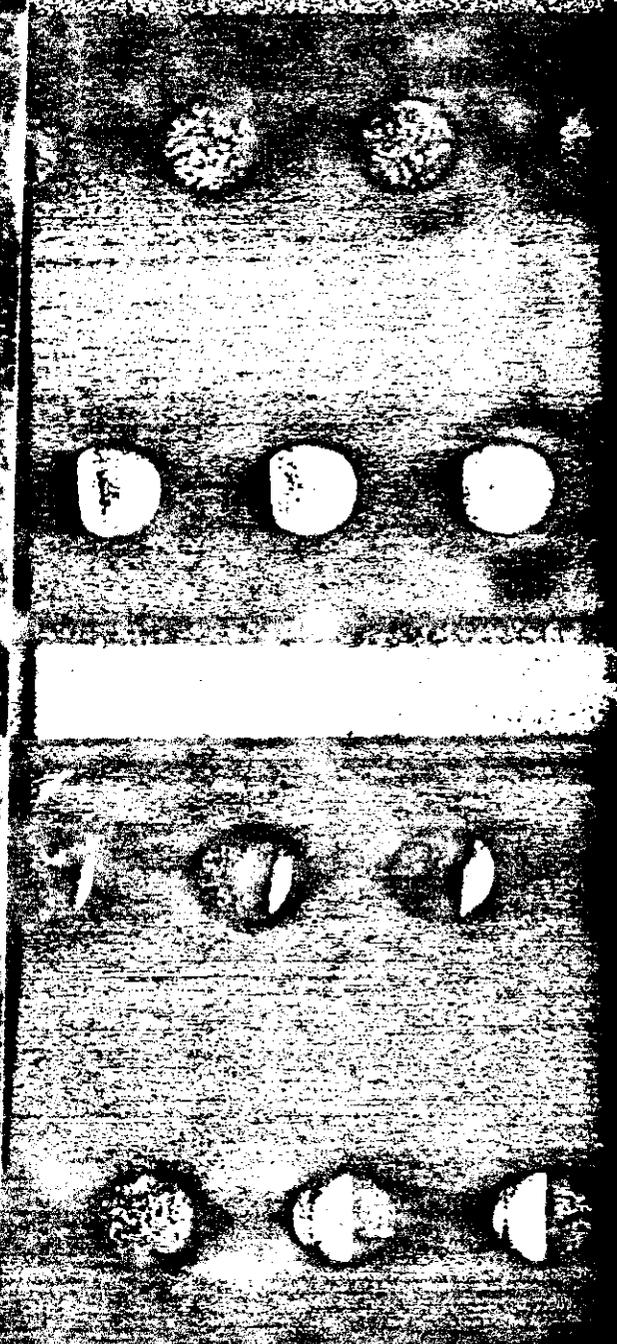
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vided as follows: Washington, 1,294 members; Montana, 1,811; Wyoming, 4,568; Utah, 16; Colorado, 700; Kansas, 3,120; Oklahoma, 43; Arkansas, 1; Texas, none; Michigan, 902; Indiana, 10,609; Ohio, 1,061; Iowa, 4,977; Missouri, 388; Kentucky, 16; Tennessee, 349; Alabama, 2; West Virginia, 77; and Pennsylvania, 1,374, making a grand total of 31,308 members.

This makes it manifest that there is not a single district union left in the soft coal fields outside of Illinois!

When Lewis was appointed President every one of these districts with the exception of Utah, Colorado, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, West Virginia and Pennsylvania were 100 per cent organized under the protection of industry agreements.

Kentucky had 45,000 members, Tennessee, Kansas and New River, none; West Virginia, 12,000; and 12,000 members respectively. Central West Virginia had 10,000 members, all of whom were organized under industry wage agreements and the union had no voice in the industry.

and the industry had no voice in the industry.

shop were 17,000 members and the industry had no voice in the industry.

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