ASSOCIATED PRESS

A half-million people take part in protest march in Leipzig, the largest of several rallies demanding democratic reforms.

German Migration Worrying Bonn

Mass Influx Is Seen Posing Housing, Employment Problems

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Foreign Service

EAST BERLIN, Nov. 6—As thousands of East German refugees continue to pour into West Germany, politicians and labor leaders who must cope with the influx warned today that a massive new immigration would be hard to absorb and would aggravate West German unemployment and housing shortages.

Egon Bahr, a prominent figure in Bonn's opposition Social Democratic Party, said he believed that between 1.2 million and 1.4 million East Germans might move to West Germany. "We could not handle such a situation, nor could [East Germany]," he said.

In the Communist state, meanwhile, there was little sign that liberalizing intitiatives announced by the government have begun to satisfy widespread demands for greater freedom. A half-million East Germans marched in a cold rain in Leipzig tonight to demand democratic changes, and tens of thousands of others demonstrated in at least five other cities.

While some East Germans welcomed a proposed law that would permit some travel to the West for those who wish to continue living in the East, the country's loosely organized political opposition movement declared today that the measure fell far short of fundamental political change.

In the last three days, about 25,000 East Germans have fled west via Czechoslovakia, pushing the number of East Germans who have migrated to West Germany since the beginning of the year to more than 180,000. An even larger number of ethnic Germans from Poland and the Soviet Union have also entered West Germany this year.

Ernst Breit, leader of West Ger-

See GERMANS, A21, Col. 1

■ *Family of six reaches border by rail, foot, stroller and taxi. Page A21*

"The passport is man's noblest part"
Brecht

Wet and Hopeful, the Sickerts Walked West

East German Family Joins Flood of Migrants Seeking Better Lives by Fleeing Homeland

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

POMEZI, Czechoslovakia, Nov. 6—Just a few steps from the checkpoint, two wheels fell off the baby stroller. A cold rain was falling. The border guards had submachine guns and sour faces. The Sickert family had one umbrella.

Ricky Sickert, aged 2, a squirming refugee in a stalled stroller, was howling. His sister and two brothers were shivering and sharing cookies from a clear plastic bag as they walked west on the shoulder of the road. Their mother, Anita, had been too excited to eat anything at all this morning. Fumbling with cold-clumsy hands to put errant wheels back on the stroller, she snapped at the children to be careful of cars.

"This is the biggest moment in my life," said 38-year-old Klaus Sickert, wet, bareheaded and carrying the children's clothes in a backpack.

If he had not packed up his family and abandoned East Germany this morning, he would be working as a weaver in a textile mill near Karl-Marx-Stadt. But he said he had come to believe over the weekend that there is a brighter future in being a refugee in West Germany than a worker at home.

Since Friday night, when East Germany announced it would allow its citizens to emigrate to the West by way of Czechoslovakia, 25,000 East Germans have come to a similar conclusion.

West German police and the official Czechoslovak news agency said that 23,500 had crossed the border by car, foot or train as of late tonight. Two more "freedom trains" carrying about 1,500 East Germans who had gathered at the West German Embassy in Prague left there tonight for Bavaria. That brings the number of refugee trains from the Czechoslovak capital to 12 since Saturday.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 180,000 East German immigrants have flooded into West Germany, both legally and illegally, taxing the Bonn government's assimilation procedures. West German police said 51 refugee reception centers across the country are quickly filling up, and there was a hurried search today for more accommodations. More than 12,000 people are being housed in military barracks.

At this rain-soaked Czechoslovak border crossing today, sputtering East German Trabant and Wartburg automobiles—most stuffed with clothes and household belongings, a few pulling overloaded trailers—rolled across the border at about a hundred an hour. A three-mile-long queue that formed here Sunday night because of confusion on the West German side had vanished. It was clear sailing for car-borne refugees.

Klaus Sickert, who worked for 10 years in the same textile mill and earned the equivalent of $183 a month, could not afford a car. With four young children, a dead-end job and a wife who works part-time as a cleaning woman, Sickert said he thought he would never be able to afford a car—if he stayed home.

He waited 10 years for his apartment. His wife cannot afford to buy fresh fruit. "I saw people in my daily life who were kicked around," he said.

Like many of those who have come through this border crossing in the past three days, Sickert had been listening to the reformist talk of new East German leader Egon Krenz. And like his fellow Germans who have fled a state that pinned them behind the Berlin Wall for 28 years, he said Krenz's words have not persuaded him to stay.

"I simply don't believe in these changes Krenz talks about," Sickert said. "I listened to the radio on Saturday night and heard I could leave. It took me a day to believe it."

The factory in which he worked, Sickert said, had equipment that was 16 to 20 years old, and there were no plans to modernize it. But he has a friend from the mill who got out of East Germany a couple of years ago and who now works in the textile business in Heidelberg. At least that is what Sickert has heard.

So this morning, he and the family took the 7:10 train from Karl-Marx-Stadt to Plauen, a 100-mile trip. From there they took a taxi another 20 miles to the East German border town of Bad Brambach, where they walked across the frontier into Czechoslovakia. Sickert described the East German border police as unfriendly but indifferent.

In Czechoslovakia, he hailed another taxi, which dropped the family here at 12:30 p.m., just a few minutes before the wheels fell off the stroller.

REUTER

Some fleeing families carried all their belongings in handbags and backpacks.

That problem fixed, the family started moving again. As he walked toward the border, holding hands with two of his children, Sickert said he will start looking for the Heidelberg friend as soon as he can.

At the first checkpoint, a Czechoslovak border guard told them they would have to wait—just for a minute or two, he said—because there was a backup of pedestrians ahead.

Ricky Sickert, in the stroller, continued howling. He asked his mother why they all were walking in the rain.

"Hush up," his mother said. "You are not walking. We are walking."

Massive E. German Emigration Seen Creating Labor, Housing Problems for Bonn

GERMANS, From A1

many's principal labor union federation, said East Germans should be aware that they could face joblessness and difficulties finding housing when they come west. "We have to make it clear to them that West Germany is not paradise," Breit said. There are currently 1.87 million unemployed West Germans, more than 8 percent of the work force.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Hans-Jochen Vogel, leader of the opposition Social Democrats, also urged the East German government to move more quickly on reform as a means of slowing the exodus.

"We hope that things will change so that people will not have to leave their homeland to find happiness," Kohl said. Vogel also appealed to East Germans "to examine carefully whether they should not stay in East Germany to support the process of democratization."

East German newspapers today published the text of the draft law that for the first time would grant people here the right to travel and emigrate. Under its terms, citizens would no longer need a special reason to journey abroad, and they would be blocked from doing so only in "exceptional" circumstances.

On Friday, the Communist East Berlin government announced that it would allow citizens to emigrate legally to the West—via Czechoslovakia—for the first time since the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. It said that policy would last until the new travel law takes effect.

Over the weekend, Protestant church officials, disaffected politicians and ordinary East Germans welcomed the proposed law as an important step toward a more open society.

"One can say today with great emphasis that we see the first sign of a real turn and a start along a path on which we want to go further," said Bishop Werner Leich, a leader of the nation's Lutheran Evangelical Church, which has become a voice of moderate dissent.

But there also was widespread criticism of important restrictions in the bill—notably that citizens would be allowed to travel for only 30 days a year—and there were complaints that the government failed to say how it would make available the hard currency most travelers would need to travel to the West.

"It's good that the right to travel is now placed on the basis of law, but it is unrealistic because of financial problems," said Dankward Brinksmeier, a leader of the month-old Social Democratic Party.

"I don't want to travel abroad as a beggar," he added, referring to the dependence of many East Germans on West German relatives or friends for hard currency when they cross the border.

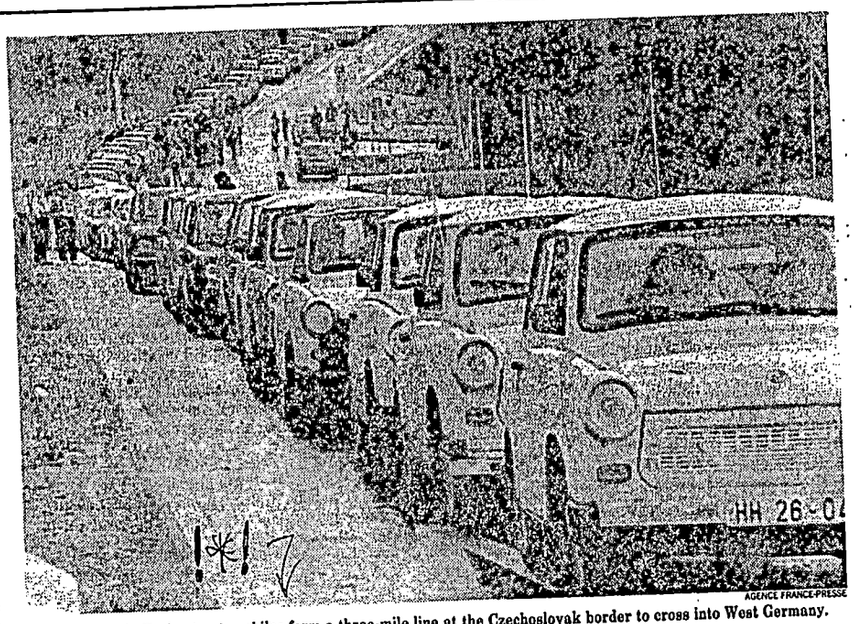
One middle-aged woman, objecting in principle to the limit of 30 days of travel per year, told East German television: "If we travel, then for all 365 days in a year, or not at all."

Leaders of the nation's fledgling opposition movement said that the new law barely begins to address the issue. "Travel is not the primary problem in East Germany. Too many have left the country already," Sebastian Pflugbeil, a founder of the reformist group New Forum, told West Berlin's RIAS radio. "The leadership must take other steps to prove it is serious in its reform effort. The tension between the people and the [Communist Party] has never been as great as today," he said.

In West Germany, meanwhile, municipal leaders today called on the federal government to increase spending on housing by $5.5 billion a year because of housing shortages brought on by the surge of immigrants. West Germany's Federal Labor Agency noted further that more than 61,000 former East Germans now living in West Germany are unemployed.

But despite concerns about absorbing the refugees, there was no indication that West Germany intends to try to stanch the influx. Under its 1949 constitution, West Germany does not recognize East Germany officially. As a result, Bonn automatically grants citizenship—complete with generous unemployment, health and welfare benefits—to any East German who reaches West Germany and asks to stay.

E. Germans Pour Across The Border



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

East Germans in Trabant automobiles form a three-mile line at the Czechoslovak border to cross into West Germany.

GERMANS, From A1

ing to West German radio news Saturday night. She left East Berlin two hours before dawn and crossed into Schirnding, West Germany, 8½ hours later. She was meeting a boyfriend in Bremen.

"I never thought they would [open the border]," she said, refusing to give her name for fear that the government would punish her parents. "I hope that one day I can came back to a better country. I would be really sad if I could not see my family again."

The embattled East German leadership, which appears to have concluded that the only way to keep its citizens from giving up on the country is to give them the option of leaving it, clearly had failed to persuade the people queued up here at the Czech border that there was any point in staying on and working to build a new Socialist Germany.

Krenz, who took over from hardline Communist leader Erich Honecker 18 days ago, made that plea on television Friday night as he sought to address both the mass exodus and the almost nightly demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of East Germans throughout the country demanding democratic reform. Here at the border, East Germans said they were not buying his promises.

"Yesterday, I attended a demonstration in my town," said a 30-year-old bricklayer who walked across the border today with his wife and two small children. "We wanted dialogue with the Communists, not just words, but actions as well. It was a disappointment." The family carried only one suitcase, full of toys.

"My wife and I, we heard the news on the radio about being able to go through Czechoslovakia. We stayed up and talked about it all night. This morning we made the decision," said the bricklayer. "Krenz had to let us go. He simply couldn't have kept us jailed."

The bricklayer also refused to give his name, fearing authorities in his small town would confiscate the apartment and property he left behind that he hopes to recover one day. He and his family arrived here at the border, after a 138-mile trip, by East German taxi.

East German authorities promised on Saturday that Czechoslovak border guards would make the process of leaving for the West very simple. All the refugees would need, they said, would be a passport. Czechoslovak officials today seemed to be following these instructions to the letter.

They were moving East Germans across the border here at Pomezi faster than they could be received in West Germany. As a result, what had been a brisk evacuation turned into an immobile queue, and by 6 p.m. the line of Trabants was more than three miles long and lengthening at the rate of about 40 cars an hour.

Many of those in line said they feared that East German authorities, seeing so many people leave today, would close the border. Late today, with an announcement from the Interior Ministry, the Krenz government appeared to be trying to allay these suspicions and perhaps calm some East Germans who might be panicked into driving to Czechoslovakia.

New travel rules, the Interior Ministry said, would allow all East Germans to travel anywhere for 30 days a year. They also would guarantee that emigration requests would be processed in three to six months. Finally, the announcement said, current law mandating criminal punishment of those who have illegally emigrated from the country will be changed. No details on this were given.

The new rules would be introduced in the East German legislature by Dec. 20, the announcement said. In the meantime, East Germans apparently will be free to drive through Czechoslovakia into West Germany.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Like most of the more than 20,000 people who crowded into the West German Embassy in Prague over the past two months—and were sent to West Germany by special "freedom trains"—many of those who queued up here today were young people with small children and marketable skills.

They said that the exodus of as many as 170,000 East Germans to the West so far this year has crippled social services and damaged industry in the Communist state. Hospitals are severely understaffed, they said, and it is nearly impossible to get a car repaired.

Ulrich Freiteger, a 27-year-old construction foreman from Meissen, said part of the reason he was leaving was because he could not find qualified workers or decent building materials. "There are a thousand reasons why we are leaving," Freiteger said. "We never became a part of the system. You can say we are anti-Communists. We are not going over to West Germany to have the luxuries, to eat bananas or drive a better car. We didn't want to live in a jail."

Freiteger, his wife and their two children came to the border in his mother's blue Trabant. She came with them as far as the border crossing, getting out of the car a few yards before the police check. There, she kissed her son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren and started walking back to East Germany. They drove west in the car.

As she walked away, two other middle-aged East German parents were saying good-bye to their 26-year-old son, an offset printer. "He has wanted to go to West Germany for five years; he is engaged to a girl there," said Katherine Pfutzner of Zittau, her face wet with tears, in the moments after her son strode toward the border. "When my son applied for emigration five years ago, he lost his job. No printing company would hire him. He was drafted into the army for four years. He just came back home last Thursday."

Her husband Manfred, an engineer and a member of the East German Communist Party, was also crying. The flight of "all these young people" is a tragedy for East Germany and for the Communist Party, he said. But he added that the freedom of East Germans to leave is "a little flicker of hope. . . . The people have achieved this by their mass demonstrations. I hope now that [life in East German] will be better."

He and his wife then walked away from the border, got into their Trabant and drove back home.

East Germans Throng West With the Dawn

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

POMEZI, Czechoslovakia, Nov. 5—It was only after they heard the news over West German television and radio Saturday night that they finally believed what East German leader Egon Krenz was promising. Twenty-eight years after the Berlin Wall was put up to keep them all in, they all were free to go—via Czechoslovakia.

So early this morning, East Germans by the thousands—about 10,000 in 24 hours and 300 more every hour—packed up their cars and their kids and their kids' toys and motored out of East Germany.

They cut across a narrow neck of northwestern Czechoslovakia and wheeled their noisy, smoke-belching East German Trabant cars into backwoods border villages like this one. Here, they formed miles-long lines and waited into the freezing night to cross into West Germany and obtain release from a Communist government they say they do not trust.

Sitting alone in an aging Trabant, her hastily packed belongings scattered across the back seat and a wicker basket of sandwiches on the seat beside her, a 23-year-old medical student from East Berlin, tears welling in her eyes, said she worked up the courage to leave after listen-

■ *East Germany says it will allow its citizens freer travel.* *Page A18*

See GERMANS, A19, Col. 1

Q Martin, [illegible] promise of [illegible] President should live up to this promise of consultation to the Contras if the truce was broken. Is the position the same as yesterday on possible resumption of arms flow to the Contras?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, our position is the same. We still believe the peace process is the best -- offers the best hope of ending the conflict there and of getting democracy in Nicaragua. There, obviously, are going to be opinions on all sides of this issue. We continue to watch it closely and to evaluate the situation on a continuing basis. But we have not changed our judgment at this point.

Q Have Calero or any of the other Contra leaders asked for an audience with the President to discuss this?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't believe so. Do you know, Roman? Yes, I don't believe they have.

Q Is there any intent to meet with them?

MR. FITZWATER: I'm not aware of any, no.

Q Well, do you have any information on this offensive that's apparently under way by the Sandinistas?

MR. FITZWATER: The information we have is that the Sandinistas have been carrying out their threats to conduct attacks against the Contras. There are reports the Sandinista attacks in a variety of regions and reports of Mr. Ortega's forces have been using helicopters and mechanized artillery against the lightly-armed resistance forces. The Contras have indicated that they will try to maintain the cease-fire and will respond only when required to defend themselves. The Sandinistas have clearly stepped up their offensive operations beyond the frequent cease-fire violations of the recent past.

As background, I might add, that under the Tela Accord, the demobilization and repatriation and reintegration of resistance forces is a voluntary process. This process can go forward only if there is a good-faith effort on all sides. The resistance has stated it's desire to lay down it's arm and return safely to a democratic Nicaragua, in which it's members would enjoy full political and civil rights. The Sandinistas must create the conditions of confidence which would allow resistance members to do this.

Q Since your position has not changed since yesterday and this offensive is now underway and the President has said he'd reevaluate in a minute the U. S. position toward military funding for the Contras, what would it take to trigger that reevaluation?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, the reevaluation has obviously started in terms of our monitoring the situation and evaluating the situation. But in terms of the conclusion that that might lead to, we just take it as it goes and we'll have to watch the progress.

BUSH SENDING TEAM TO ADVISE POLAND

Delegation, Led by 3 Cabinet Officers, Will Help Decide How to Use U.S. Aid

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 — President Bush announced today that he would send a delegation led by three Cabinet officers to Poland next month to help decide how to spend a package of American aid that is now stalled in Congress.

The delegation, which will visit Poland from Nov. 29 through Dec. 2, will meet with top officials there to "look at Poland's overall economic situation and at the structural changes needed to make Poland prosper," Mr. Bush said at a Rose Garden ceremony held to announce the mission.

It will be headed by Agriculture Secretary Clayton K. Yeutter, Labor Secretary Elizabeth M. Dole, Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher and Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It will also include representatives of business and labor, like Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

"Our team will meet with the key ministers of the Polish Government and others involved in stimulating Poland's private sector and recommend to me how the economic support we will extend can best be utilized," Mr. Bush said.

Food Aid Starts

"It will focus on economic sectors where U.S. expertise and cooperation can indeed make a difference, such as agriculture and business management and financial services," he said.

Mr. Bush has started sending $108 million worth of emergency food aid to Poland. He has also asked Congress for an additional $320 million in aid, including a $200 million contribution to an international fund to help Poland stabilize its economy as it carries out economic and political changes. Poland has requested $1 billion from Western nations for that purpose.

Congress is considering a far more ambitious aid program than was proposed by the President. But that money is stalled in the Senate after Republican senators tried to tack Mr. Bush's proposed cut in the capital gains tax onto the aid package.

The senators made that move without prior consultation with the White House, Congressional and White House officials said. But Marlin Fitzwater, the President's spokesman, said last week that Mr. Bush welcomed the maneuver since he had been searching for a legislative vehicle to get the tax cut through the Senate.

Q Two questions. Who are the leaders in Poland and Hungary? Communist and noncommunist? And two -- I'm a little confused. I thought the President here this morning talked about the allies urging him to this in July.

10/31 Press briefing (background)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, they did urge him to have a meeting or a summit with General Secretary Gorbachev, yes. But it was on a general basis and not related to this specific proposal. That's my only point. I'm talking here about the genesis of his idea and his letter. But it is true in the summit, the allies all thought it would be a good idea if he met with Gorbachev. Let me go back to --

Q With the communists or noncommunists?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes, communists or noncommunists. I recall -- of course, the discussions took various forms. Some stronger than others, but I recall comments to that effect from everybody; from Lech Walesa to Pozsgay and the President of Hungary. In fact, all of the Hungary leaders we met with made that point, in one way or another.

Q How about Jaruzelski?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know. And I'm worried there that I missed that, or wasn't in the meeting. I don't recall.

Q Is there a specific meeting where this was mentioned that you can think of? For example, when the President had that meeting -- ceremony where he got the piece of the Iron Curtain, do you recall -- were there any --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: It was raised in that meeting.

Q It was?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Yes.

MORE

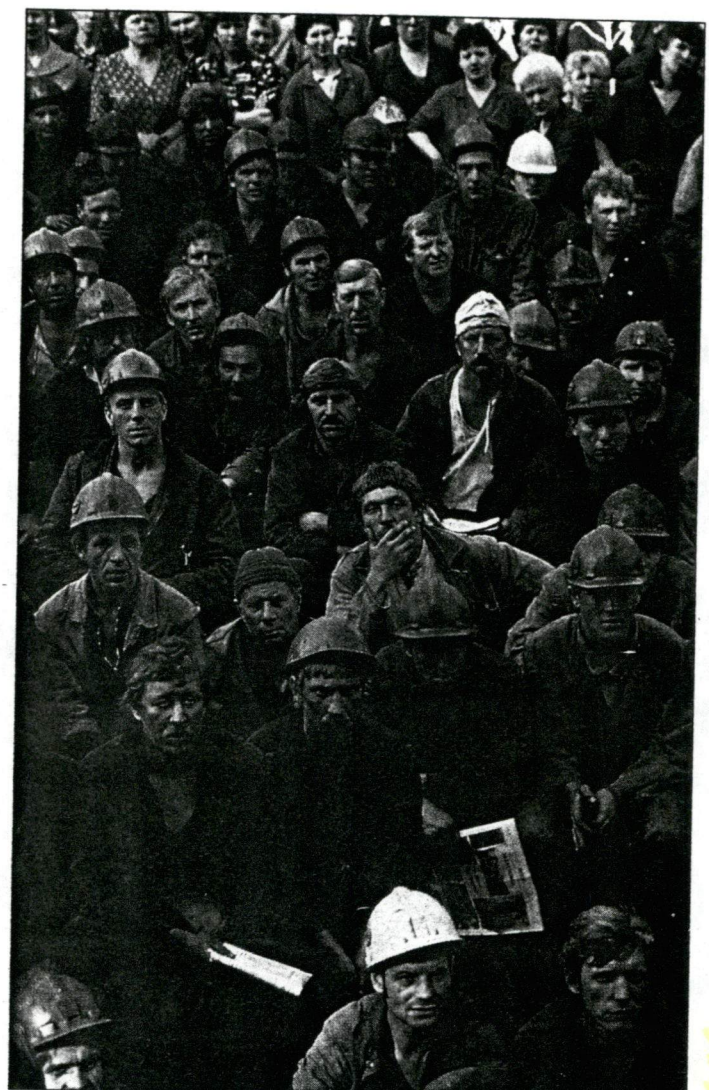
'The Shock Wave Has Come From Below'

Labor unrest imperils Gorbachev's perestroika

Night after night, their dirty, defiant faces filled Soviet television screens. Their strikes began in the coalfields of the Kuznetsk Basin in western Siberia, where tens of thousands of miners demanded better pay, more consumer goods and greater autonomy. Then they spread: to the Donets Basin of the southern Ukraine; to the Don and Dnieper rivers; to Vorkuta in arctic Russia; to the Karaganda fields in Central Asia. Faced last week with the prospect of economic strangulation, Moscow meekly surrendered to the strikers' demands. The threat to the nation was "very acute," said Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who sought to divert the blame by hinting at a purge of his conservative critics. "Work stoppages . . . could have far-reaching economic, social and political consequences."

Those consequences were already apparent as thousands of triumphant strikers began returning to the mines, and thousands of others continued to mull over the settlement. The temporary loss of nearly half of the country's coal production threatened "catastrophe" in the steel and power industries, said the Soviet news agency Tass. Of longer-range significance was the threat that the easy victory in the coalfields could lead to greater militancy among the country's 83 million workers. "The number of strikes is definitely increasing," says Andrei Shugayev, a labor specialist at Moscow's Institute of State and Law. And now, in the wake of the government's cave-in at the mines, predicts Moscow labor organizer Valery Korolyov, "we will see much more evidence of labor expressing itself. This is a great step forward in self-awareness."

The strike also heightened the political divisions within the Kremlin. At a stormy meeting of Communist Party leaders, Gorbachev rebuffed angry complaints that the party was losing control of the country. The solution, he said, lay in eliminating the "conservative and dogmatic forces" that were holding back his political and economic reforms. "The ranks of party officials need renewal," he told the gathering. "They need to be renewed at the level of the shop floor, the district, the city, the region, the republic, the Central Committee, the Politburo." But even previous fence-sitters dared to suggest that Gorbachev's reforms might fail. "The point is that *perestroika* is truly not going the way we want it to," insisted Politburo member Vitaly Vorotnikov, premier of the Russian Republic. "To put it even more bluntly, critical voices among the people . . . are rising."



WHITE—SYGMA

'People have lost patience': *Striking miners in Prokopyevsk*

Economic chaos: The Soviet leader was walking a very fine line. On the one hand, he could take pleasure in strikers' signs proclaiming "Perestroika in Deeds, Not Words." "This is the breakup of the administrative command system," Aleksandr Melnikov, a party official in Siberia, told reporters. "And this time the shock wave has come from below. I don't see any contradictions between the strikers' demands and the ideas [Gorbachev] is putting forward today." On the other hand, the Kremlin leader was aware that repeated strikes could lead only to economic chaos. He specifically warned of the possibility of a strike in the railroad industry, a walkout that could turn shortages into privation and again halt deliveries of coal. "We must say to the people," Gorbachev declared, " 'This is not the way'."

It was difficult to deny the legitimacy of the miners' complaints. Life expectancies in the Kuznetsk Basin are 10 years lower than the Soviet average; according to the youth daily Komsomolskaya Pravda, some 10,000 miners have died of work-related causes in the past nine years. Speaking to miners in the Siberian town of Prokopyevsk, Gorbachev's special representative, Politburo member Nikolai Slyunkov, acknowledged the industry's extraordinary problems: "People have lost patience and composure," he admitted.

What was particularly disturbing was the degree to which the miners' grievances mirrored those of ordinary Soviet labor. The miners are relatively well paid, earning roughly twice the salary of the average worker. But like all Soviet citizens, the

miners suffer from a lack of goods to buy. Basic items like meat, sugar and toilet paper are chronically out of stock. Until last week, miners in the Donets Basin received less than half a pound of butter a month; a single bar of soap had to last each grimy miner for three months. But as part of the settlement negotiated by Slyunkov, Soviet miners will receive immediate deliveries of butter, meat, boots, household appliances, television sets—and thousands of tons of soap. It did not go unnoticed that the miners obtained those luxuries by simply deciding to strike.

That was a precedent the country could hardly afford. The coal strike was "really a showdown, because it [was] a response to the deteriorating economic situation," says Marshall Goldman, a Soviet specialist at Wellesley College. "I think it's just going to spread . . . The workers seem to be saying, 'If this is the way we're going to have to get attention to our needs, let's do it'."

In the open: Until recently, the notion of a Soviet strike was regarded as an ideological contradiction: a rebellion of workers against the workers' state. But last week the Supreme Soviet was preparing a law that would explicitly recognize the right to strike. The legislation, wrote Sergei Shishkin, a legal scholar at Irkutsk University, would be a formal acknowledgment of "worker alienation from authority and the means of production." Gorbachev and his fellow reformers seemed to agree that it is wiser to bring workers' grievances out in the open. To that end, Gorbachev was especially critical last week of the state-sanctioned "trade unions" which remained largely passive through the wildcat strike. The walkout, he suggested, was at least partly the result of the complacency of union leaders who had allowed working conditions in the coalfields to deteriorate.

The goal was to create a more representative labor movement—not one that is at political odds with the state. But the threat of a confrontation was clear. Last week strike leaders in the Ukrainian city of Chervonograd reportedly demanded the formation of an independent national union modeled on Solidarity—the organization that helped spread economic turmoil in Poland and brought the communist authorities there to their knees. That is clearly more than Gorbachev wants or will allow. But perestroika offers little immediate promise to the working class, particularly those without technical skills. Market reform will bring rising prices, while restoring industrial efficiency could cost workers millions of jobs. That may be Gorbachev's most daunting challenge of all. For unless its basic needs are satisfied, labor may ultimately become the vanguard of a crippling Soviet opposition.

HARRY ANDERSON *with* CARROLL BOGERT
in Moscow

LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Candid dialogue: *Crowe and Akhromeyev in conference aboard a U.S. carrier*

From Cold War to Odd Couple

The top U.S. soldier is friends with the marshal

Even in this *glasnost*-giddy era, the dinner Adm. William J. Crowe Jr. threw in Washington last week was an unlikely event. The United States' top military man had as his guest of honor Sergei Fyodorovich Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, member of the Communist Party Central Committee—and Mikhail Gorbachev's closest adviser on security policy. It is Akhromeyev's second American trip in a year, and comes on the heels of a Crowe visit to the Soviet Union, the first ever by a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Out of these contacts has grown perhaps the most candid East-West dialogue since the late W. Averell Harriman's long talks with Joseph Stalin in postwar Moscow. The difference is that these two are friends. Says Crowe simply: "I enjoy the man."

The relationship has already borne fruit. Last July Crowe and Akhromeyev negotiated agreements to facilitate contacts between U.S. and Soviet forces. Last week three Soviet ships docked in Norfolk, Va., only the second such call in a U.S. harbor since World War II. During his 11-day tour of Soviet military installations in June, Crowe himself signed a "Prevention of Dangerous Military Activities" protocol on behalf of the United States. The consultation has even become a diplomatic conduit: last summer Akhromeyev gave Crowe advance word on unilateral force cuts the Soviets planned in Eastern Europe. Crowe duly told top Reagan officials—only to be chided for trusting a communist. "I'm always amazed when I'm in that kind of dialogue with the Soviet military," says Crowe. "It's not the environment I grew up in."

At first the two old warriors seem an odd couple. Akhromeyev, 66, won his stripes at 19 in the brutal trenches around Leningrad. Schooled in the Soviet doctrine of direct attack, he is known as a soldier's soldier: straitlaced and straightforward. The 64-year-old Crowe missed out on World War II entirely, and did not have a combat command in Vietnam. His specialty is statecraft; he holds a Ph.D. from Princeton in politics. But the two share a belief that politics is too important to be left to politicians. Akhromeyev has been the operational architect of Soviet arms-control policy since leaving his post as chief of the armed forces general staff last December, while Crowe is, according to a civilian admirer at the Pentagon, "the best strategic thinker the military has produced since George C. Marshall."

Crowe's strategic view is at once forward looking and cautious. It holds that security policy on both sides reflects outmoded postwar realities. With the Soviet economy in crisis and the United States militarily overcommitted, both sides would benefit from a radical drawdown of forces in Europe. Ultimately, both Crowe and Akhromeyev see NATO and the Warsaw Pact as guarantors of political stability rather than war-ready coalitions. At the same time, Crowe says all U.S. moves should be "reversible," so long as the ultimate fate of Gorbachev's reforms is unclear. When George Bush contemplated announcing U.S. European troop cuts of 75,000 in his Brussels speech in June, it was Crowe who argued him down to 30,000. This is less than his friend Akhromeyev might hope for in the short term, but as Crowe reminded an audience at the Soviets' Academy of Sciences: "We are literally members of a transitional generation," and smooth transitions don't happen on hurried timetables.

JOHN BARRY *in Washington*

● SOVIET UNION

Revolution Down Below

Striking miners take Gorbachev's call to action seriously

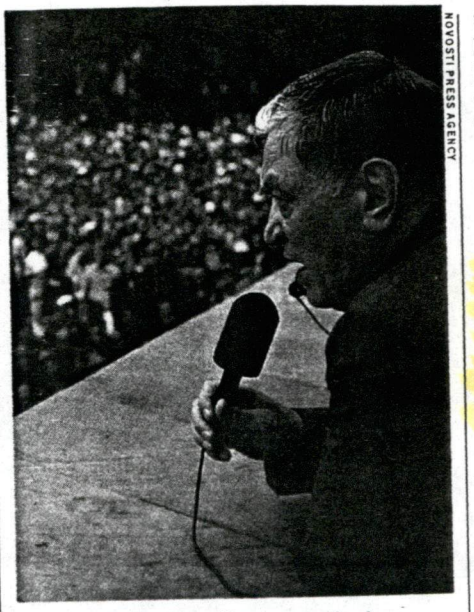
BY BRUCE W. NELAN

Coal miners walking off their jobs from the Ukraine to the Arctic Circle. Ethnic gangs battling in Georgia. Thousands of other dissatisfied workers threatening strikes. "The situation," said Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev last week as he surveyed the turmoil rocking his vast country, "is fraught with dangerous political and economic consequences." The question for Gorbachev: Will the "revolution from below," which he has been urging on his laggard countrymen, help accelerate his ambitious plans for reform—or tear the U.S.S.R. apart?

At a meeting of national and regional party leaders last week, he proposed his own partial answer. If the party was blocking change by clinging to conservative attitudes, he lectured, then "a purge should take place, a purge was needed." He called for "an influx of fresh forces" affecting every level from factory collectives to the Politburo. Vowed Gorbachev: "This concerns everyone."

The Kremlin was plainly alarmed that the strikes were eroding the party's control. Since the 1930s, no one had personified the state's ideal Soviet worker better than the propaganda hero Alexei Stakhanov, the coal miner who reputedly produced 14 times the daily norm. But there were no Stakhanovites in the Soviet Union's biggest coalfields last week. Wildcat strikes by more than 300,000 workers paralyzed some 250 mines and factories in the Kuzbass and Donbass basins, resulting in a 6 million-ton loss of production. The walkout spread as far as the coalpits in Vorkuta in the far north and Karaganda in the Kazakhstan Republic in Central Asia. And there were rumblings that railroad workers might join in on Aug. 1, an action that could paralyze the country. "Such developments create a threat to the realization of the great plans we have decided upon," warned Gorbachev, referring to his economic-reform program.

In front of Communist Party headquarters in the Ukrainian city of Makeyevka, 5,000 miners in battered helmets, their faces and overalls black with coal dust, staged a sit-in to demand better working and living conditions; their ranks



NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

Minister Shchadov addresses protesters

eventually swelled to almost 150,000 from 94 mines. Far to the east, in the Kuzbass in Siberia, the numbers were even greater. About 180,000 miners abandoned their pits to occupy central squares in nine cities, plastering reviewing stands with homemade signs proclaiming DOWN WITH BUREAUCRATS and KUZBASS: CLEAN AIR, MEAT FOR EVERYONE, WE DEMAND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

The strike spread with electrifying speed. The first 77 Kuzbass coal miners walked off the job in Mezhdurechensk on July 10. The following day 12,000 workers from five mines in the area joined them. They drew up a list of demands, including better pay, more vacation, higher pensions. Their overriding complaint: despite Gorbachev's calls for greater local autonomy in managing the economy, bureaucrats in Moscow continued to wield arbitrary control over the mines and were holding back the bulk of their profits. Many local officials openly sympathized with the strikers. "Why not? They breathe the same air we do," said Timuras Avaliani, 57, of the Kuzbass regional strike committee.

The strike soon spread to nine other cities in the Kuzbass. Grimy miners complained that when they came up after six hours underground, they could not find a bar of soap to wash with; the ration is one bar every two months. "Who can tell us what to feed our husbands?" shouted a woman protesting empty shelves in the stores. Many called for complete independence from central planning, insisting the miners could run things themselves.

Moscow quickly dispatched a high-level delegation to meet the strikers, led by Politburo Member Nikolai Slyunkov. Mikhail Shchadov, the minister in charge of coal mines, had earlier told the workers that they were not prepared for the independence they were demanding. But after negotiating with local strike leaders into the early hours of the morning, the Moscow delegation finally agreed to sign a protocol promising that the region's mines could decide on their production levels and investments. The state would raise miners' pay for night shifts by $50 a month, a 40% increase, improve food supplies and spend more of the mines' profits on local housing. Slyunkov also promised to increase supplies of food and soap.

Sensing victory, the Mezhdurechensk miners went back to work, but the strikes were just beginning elsewhere in the Kuzbass and the Ukraine as workers pressed for assurance they would share in the government concessions. At week's end the strike in Kazakhstan was winding down, but workers in the Donbass still held out over pension questions, prompting a government pledge that all the issues would be considered without delay.

Strikes are not technically illegal in the Soviet Union; the Marxist tenet that they are unnecessary in a proletarian paradise has not kept them from happening. Until the Gorbachev era, Communist rulers used bullets or gifts of consumer goods to quell unruly workers. But under the impact of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, work stoppages have become part of the economic landscape.

Soviet

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

No more Stakhanovites: Kuzbass miners refuse to work until living conditions improve and they gain control of the coalpits

As he pushes ahead with reform, Gorbachev is having to contend not just with strikes but also with constitutional revolt in the independence-minded Baltic states and a wave of ethnic violence in the Caucasus and central Asia. Only last week bloody rioting that left 20 dead erupted between minority Abkhazians and the Georgian majority in a Black Sea region of western Georgia. Some 3,000 Interior Ministry troops were dispatched to help local police quiet the unrest. But the audacious mining walkout has presented Gorbachev with the most serious labor challenge he has had to face, and casts in graphic terms the cruel dilemma of *perestroika:* how to raise productivity and living standards at the same time.

Gorbachev appears to be attempting to turn the strike wave into a deeper popular commitment to his aims. While he sounded a warning that labor unrest "could damage everything we are doing," he spoke almost admiringly of how the strikers were behaving "in a responsible, organized and disciplined fashion."

In fact, it would be difficult for Gorbachev to oppose the workers' calls for greater independence from the dead hand of Moscow ministries. That is a central ingredient in his plans to revitalize the Soviet economy by encouraging local initiative. But to be effective, the idea of self-reliance and experimentation had to evolve into more than just a prescription issued from the Kremlin. Gorbachev can take satisfaction and possibly draw some political strength from the evidence in Kuzbass and Donbass that workers may be stirring from the "stagnation" of the Leonid Brezhnev years. The daily *Sovetskaya Rossiya* put it succinctly: "*Perestroika,* which has until recently been a 'revolution from above,' is getting strong support from below."

Yet no matter how pleased Gorbachev may be to see a political awakening among the indifferent Soviet citizens, he must recognize that some of their economic demands are potentially threatening. In addition to their attacks on the bureaucracy, the strikers are demanding better food and housing and more consumer goods. The government has responded by flying in tons of supplies as a palliative, setting a costly and hazardous precedent. Most of the Soviet population eats poorly and lives in inferior housing. If workers everywhere rise up and demand more and better, the system's stability could be endangered. ***—Reported by Paul Hofheinz/Prokopevsk and John Kohan/Moscow***

First, it was Solidarity that unlocked it -- then: / ~~[illegible]~~ extremely imp. event in Sov. history

Sov. coal miners - First real strike in Russia since early 20s [P]

tremendous event. momentous in the div. of democr.

legitimacy of a strike

Gorb. making commitments - willing to bargain

VORKUTA 1st time Russian govt passed new legis. permitting strikes (except in key indust.)

∴ uncertainty around world - Oppor.

people have oppor. to voice their grievances.

Yeven. challenge to Gorbachev.

want to work w/ him.

support ~~[illegible]~~ in transition to mkt-oriented econ.

in Sov - Mine worker walking away from Official union called "Solidarity" (Kahn)

Soviet Coal Miners Rebuff Plea to Call Off Their Strike

MOSCOW—The Soviet coal minister met yesterday with striking miners in the Arctic but failed to persuade them to end their walkout, which officials say threatens winter fuel supplies.

Mikhail Shchadov met for three hours with strikers from 11 mines in the Pechora Basin, but did not adequately assure them their working, social and living conditions would improve, said Alexander Petrovsky, of the miners, who attended the session.

Miners were promised improved living and working conditions in July after a nationwide strike.

Shchadov told miners that part of the July decree pledging improvements was being implemented on schedule and that the rest was awaiting action by the Soviet legislature, according to Petrovsky, who spoke by telephone. Petrovsky said miners were not satisfied with Shchadov's report and would continue the walkout.

October 25, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMEREST AND CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES' "PERESTROIKA" EDITORIAL (ATTACHED)

FYI on the "unutterable words" uttered by Secretary Baker:

The footnote should go to George Bush, who dared to utter the unutterable all spring, all over two continents: "We want to see perestroika succeed...." May 1 (Chamber of Commerce speech), May 24 (Coast Guard Acad.), June 8 (first prime time press conference), July 6 (Eastern Europe White House briefing), and July 17 (Leiden).

Maybe it's time the NYTimes editorial board got itself a subscription to NEXIS.

Pope to cameraman: asked where he was from. Said Gdansk. — Pope said "Gdansk is a light unto the world"

[POLAND]

SECTION: OUTLOOK; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 2396 words

HEADLINE: How We Helped Solidarity Win;
For Nearly a Decade, the AFL-CIO Quietly Aided the Outlawed Polish Trade Union

BYLINE: Adrian Karatnycky

BODY:

SOLIDARITY'S spectacular climb to power in Poland is due to the exceptional courage of tens of thousands of unsung working men and women. They risked their lives, jobs and homes by working in the once-illegal trade-union underground. Yet they might not have stymied the Communist Party's effort to destroy Solidarity without the material and moral support they received from American unions.

The 18 months of Solidarity's open existence in 1980-81 generated a great deal of enthusiasm among American workers. The Polish union embodied everything that is best in trade unionism -- the fight for worker dignity, the defense of democratic values, a concern for the poor and a commitment to mass action for peaceful change. It was natural that many American workers would be galvanized by the struggle of the Polish unionists. Hundreds of thousands of dollars in aid for Poland poured into the AFL-CIO headquarters, as did dozens of offers of printing equipment and technical assistance.

Providing such assistance to democratic trade unions has been a longstanding AFL-CIO practice. This policy is deeply rooted in the principle of international labor solidarity. We provided assistance to German trade unionists hounded by the Nazis in the period before World War II, and after the war we assisted German union leaders in building what today is Western Europe's largest trade union movement. And in the mid-1970s, when the fascist regimes of Spain and Portugal fell, we assisted democratic trade unions in their competition with pro-Moscow Communist rivals.

The AFL-CIO's assistance to Solidarity had, of course, caught the attention of Poland's Communist authorities. Our material support to the union was used for badly needed printing presses, mimeographs, telexes and other equipment that could only be purchased for hard-to-come-by Western currency. Even before martial law, this open assistance was denounced by the authorities as "direct intervention" in Poland's internal affairs and part of a U.S. plot to destabilize Poland. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was prevented from traveling to Poland for the union's first national congress in September 1981 -- the only Western trade union leader so honored.

Immediately after martial law was declared on Dec. 13, 1981, Kirkland, his assistant Tom Kahn and international-affairs director Irving Brown made a commitment to assist the union in every possible way. The centerpiece of that strategy was a decision to provide assistance only to the Solidarity trade-union movement, despite the merits of other non-union opposition groups. Moreover, they were prepared to provide such assistance over the long haul.

In January 1982, I was lucky enough to meet a man who would play a decisive role in the U.S.- Solidarity relationship. Jerzy Milewski, a leading Solidarity activist from Gdansk, and a scientist by training, was in the United States for a conference on lasers the day martial law was proclaimed. I was then working for the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a civil rights organization supported by the AFL-CIO, and was able to put Milewski in contact with the labor federation. Communications with Poland had been broken, tanks were in the streets, thousands of his compatriots had been detained and some workers murdered, but he was surprisingly optimistic. Milewski felt that Solidarity would resurface and that he would be back in the country within two years.

Within months, Milewski had established the equivalent of a Solidarity embassy in Brussels. He also had entered into what was to become a close working relationship with the AFL-CIO and other trade unions in the West. In the years ahead, Milewski's Brussels office was to become the official voice of Solidarity in the West. But even more significantly, it was through this bureau that the AFL-CIO would channel assistance to the Solidarity movement in its time of greatest need.

By the middle of 1982, hundreds of underground Solidarity groups were functioning. Scores of underground newspapers and bulletins began to appear -- almost immediately posing a challenge to the state- controlled media, where uniformed military officers anchored the nightly TV newscasts. Solidarity's groups were decentralized, but they were united by their fealty to union chairman Lech Walesa and their loyalty to the union's underground executive arm, the Temporary Coordinating Council (TKK). In the years that followed, an elaborate network of assistance and communications operated out of various locations in Western Europe. Scores of couriers traveled to and from Poland with new requests for assistance and with inside information on how the underground was working.

The needs of this gradually widening opposition were diverse. Martial law had brought with it the confiscation of all the union's property, the seizure of all its funds and the closing of its offices. American trade-union funds and millions of dollars from the National Endowment for Democracy, a private, grant-making body funded by Congress that supports democratic movements throughout the world, were channeled through the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. The money underwrote shipments of scores of printing presses, dozens of computers, hundreds of mimeograph machines, thousands of gallons of printer's ink, hundreds of thousands of stencils, video cameras and radio broadcasting equipment. In addition, funds helped the families of imprisoned trade-union activists and defrayed the huge fines that the Polish authorities were levelling against anyone caught with clandestine union literature.

Throughout its time underground, Solidarity was also raising funds from its members. Over a million Polish workers were contributing monthly dues to the union's factory and regional structures to help pay the salaries of an estimated 70,000 activists of the underground.

By 1985, it was clear that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's plan to deliver a crippling blow to the opposition had failed. There were now over 400 underground periodicals appearing regularly in Poland, some in editions as large as 30,000. Thousands of books and pamphlets were being issued each year in editions that numbered in the thousands. Children's comic books retold classic Polish

legends with Jaruzelski as the villain, communism as the red dragon, and Lech Walesa as the heroic knight. Alternative video documentary companies produced popular documentaries seen by millions of viewers in church halls and in homes.

Most spectacularly, using equipment provided by American labor, Radio Solidarity frequently made bold breaks into the authorities' radio programming, sending out messages of hope to the broad masses: " Solidarity lives." The slogan caught on.

Over the years, the struggle ebbed and flowed. In the first few years after martial law, imprisonment was the preferred form of oppression. Later, with the Polish government pressed by the need for Western economic aid, the style of repression changed -- Solidarity activists faced heavy fines, the confiscation of automobiles and eviction from their homes.

The union, too, would adopt new tactics. From across the sea, we followed the travails of the underground, despairing when the leading figure in the clandestine TKK -- Warsaw Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak -- was captured after more than five years on the run; rejoicing when hundreds of thousands of Poles turned the papal visit of June 1987 into mass demonstrations for the union; scrambling to find funds for printing presses, computers and stencils when these were seized by the authorities.

We had been drawn into the daily drama of Poland's struggle. Much of the story of that struggle and our role in it will have to be told another day. After all, there is still the danger of reversal, and the Ministry of the Interior remains in the hands of the Communists.

But it can be said that as American trade unionists, accustomed to working in a free society, regular contact with an underground trade-union movement exposed us to a very different reality: Adam Michnik, now the editor of the Solidarity daily Gazeta Wyborcza, was incarcerated with a fellow activist, an architect named Czeslaw Bielecki. In their cell, the two would debate the essays of Poland's sharpest and most popular underground writer -- Maciej Poleski, all the while speculating on his real identity. Only years later did Michnik learn that Poleski was the pseudonym of his redoubtable cellmate. That same Bielecki remained hidden for years in the underground, while at the same time running his own highly profitable architectural firm and registering it with the authorities. He designed buildings and sustained his family in this way until his arrest in 1985.

Together with tales of derring-do, we came to learn the lexicon of the Polish underground: Konspira, conspiracy, the term favored by underground activists to describe their work; sprzet, equipment; gryps, a secret message.

One prominent underground activist instructed us on the importance of discretion and secrecy. Holding up one finger, he said: "If this many know, only one knows." Holding up two fingers, he declared: "If this many know, then eleven know." Holding up three digits, he instructed: "And if this many people know, then one hundred eleven know."

In September 1986, Jaruzelski proclaimed a major amnesty that released most imprisoned underground activists. In return, the United States lifted many of the sanctions against Poland. The AFL-CIO had been a leading proponent of sanctions and we remained skeptical of removing all of them too soon, or for

too little in return. But more significantly, there was now a palpable change of sentiments in Washington. Polish affairs experts and opinion-makers were beginning to speak of a "post- Solidarity" Poland. I recall having a rather heated public exchange with a leading California-based scholar, who had argued that Solidarity was no longer a factor. "Only young people are still part of the underground. And even among them protests are going out of fashion," her argument went.

Policy-makers, too, were beginning to retreat from an absolute commitment to Solidarity's relegalization. Wouldn't it be enough to accept the formula of "trade union pluralism?" AFL-CIO officials began to be asked. But through our network of contacts in Poland, we had a glimpse of a different situation. We knew that tens of thousands of people were risking everything for the trade union fight. And we were confident that Solidarity not only was surviving but had shown remarkable resiliency and strong public support. We stood firm and, at the request of the Brussels Solidarity office, began lobbying to increase assistance to the union. Congress voted $ 1 million through the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute that year and followed it with $ 1 million in 1988.

By 1987, Solidarity was looking for ways to function above ground. It designated some U.S. assistance for medical aid to Poland. Such assistance was channeled through the International Rescue Committee to the union's still-illegal Social Foundation to buy ambulances, diagnostic equipment and medicines. The idea worked. Even the Polish police didn't dare stop the flow of medical aid to a country facing a health-care crisis. At public ceremonies in several cities, discomfited local party leaders stood stone-faced alongside pro-Solidarity clergy and union leaders next to spanking new ambulances adorned with the "Solidarnosc" logo.

All the while, the Polish economy continued to unravel. Strikes erupted in May and again in August of 1988. And with each successive wave of labor unrest, the workers of Poland raised the identical slogan: "Nie ma wolnosci bez Solidarnosci" ("There's no freedom without Solidarity").

In the months that followed, more and more visiting Solidarity leaders (now free to travel here, although the AFL-CIO continued to be refused visas to Poland) began to tell us that they would soon strike an accord with the authorities that would result in the union's relegalization. There followed in rapid succession the April 7 "round-table" agreement between Solidarity and the authorities which led to the restructuring of the government, the parliamentary elections with Solidarity's stunning victory, and last Thursday's formation of the first Soviet bloc non-communist government. Today, we watch events unfold with unrestrained joy and admiration. Formerly hounded underground printers are organizing Solidarity's aboveground publishing activities. Former radio pirates are now elected members of Poland's parliament, the Sejm. Writers for the clandestine press have become editors and reporters for Poland's new independent newspapers. Emissaries from the clandestine union leadership are today senators in the Solidarity -controlled upper house.

There's a lesson in all this. The 1980s in Poland have proven to be a successful laboratory in democracy-building. Through persistence and loyalty, American unions have stood proudly with a democratic movement that has worked peacefully to transform a Communist society. And while everything has been won by the sweat and toil of the Polish workers alone, the AFL-CIO is proud that Solidarity's leader Lech Walesa has singled us out for being there when his

union needed help.

But the struggle in Poland is far from over. Now we must help Solidarity rebuild its union structures, prepare for a big role in the mass media and develop the skills necessary to function as a labor organization in a setting of economic disruption and mounting worker indifference. Toward this end, a number of AFL-CIO affiliates have already begun building union-to-union assistance programs in such areas as labor education, occupational safety and health and organizing.

Democratic change in Poland will not last if it is the lone example -- a political aberration. Our challenge, therefore, is to respond in different settings and under different conditions to the emerging free trade unions in Hungary and, after July's wave of miners strikes, in the Soviet Union itself.

This week, however, we watch as the men and women we've known from afar for so many years begin to shape their nation's future.

Adrian Karatnycky directs research and publications for the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs and coordinates its East European programs.

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, NEIL SHIGLEY FOR TWP

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, ANALYSIS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; POLAND; GOVERNMENT AID TO FOREIGN NATIONS; LABOR UNIONS

ORGANIZATION: AFL-CIO; SOLIDARITY

NAMED-PERSONS: ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

ADDRESS BY JOHN VANDERVEKEN, GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE
UNIONS TO
CONFERENCE ON
FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION
SPONSORED BY THE AFL-CIO

Washington, November 29, 1988

Let me begin by saying that the United States is an apt setting, and the AFL-CIO a fitting host, for this conference. Today, we are celebrating one of the fruits of our victory in the Second World War. It was your country's strength and commitment to freedom that helped bring about that victory. And it was your vision that contributed so much to the attempt to build a brave new world from that victory. ILO Convention 87, which the Americans played such a vital role in formulating, is part of that brave new world.

Indeed, to the international free trade union movement, it could be said to be its very foundation, both in its structure, and in its setting.

In its structure, the convention epitomises the trade union view of freedom. It begins with the individual, with his or her right to establish or join a trade union of their own choosing. But it recognises that though the freedom of the individual is the aim of any free society, that freedom can only be acheived for working people by collective strength. Experience teaches us -regrettably- that exploitation cannot be overcome by sweet reason; the devil does not only have the best tunes, he also has the most power. Convention 87 gives people the right to gain that power for themselves by banding together. It gives them,the power, in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, to "speak softly, but carry a big stick."

The setting of the convention - in the tripartite body of the Internatiional Labour Organisation - is also crucial. Here, I must again pay tribute to our hosts, the AFL-CIO. It was at their insistence that the convention fell within the competence of the ILO, rather than that of the Uinted Nations. Convention 87 is much more than a

declaration of principle. It is a bridge from principle to practice. It recognises that, as the British theologian, Dean Inge, the former Dean of St Pauls, once put it, "it is no use the sheep passing resolutions in favour of vegetarianism, if the wolf remains of a different view." Ratification of Convention 87 amounts to more than a recognition that trade union freedom is " a consummation devoutly to be wished". It places countries within a network of legal obligations and makes them subject to a legal mechanism that can bring transgressors to book.

It is also worth noting that the Convention underpins the tripartite structure of the ILO. The moral authority of trade unions is one of the pillars of that structure and that authority rests on their independence and their accountability. They can only assert that independence and maintain that accountability if governments and employers are obliged to leave them free to run their own affairs.

One can see, therefore, that Convention 87 and the guarantee it brings to trade union freedom is woven into the very fabric of the ILO. And trade union freedom is itself part of the very fabric of the world social order. It is fitting that Leon Jouhaux, the French trade union leader, and one-time vice-president of the ICFTU, who made such a contribution to the work of the ILO, and to the adoption of Convention 87, was honoured with the Nobel peace prize in 1951. That honour was, of course, repeated in 1983, when Lech Walesa was awarded the prize. Nothing is so destructive of the prospects for lasting peace in the world as the existence of tensions within and between countries - tensions which owe a great deal to poverty, and economic and social injustice. In fighting against that injustice, trade unions have a vital role to play in the struggle for world peace.

Given the importance of the convention, it must be clear how vital it is for the United States, with its long tradition as the powerhouse of democracy, becomes a party to it. I know that the AFL-CIO has campaigned long and hard for this. It was a key point at the recent discussions in Washington between the leaders of the international free trade union movement, and President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz. Under the present administration there has been some progress. In February, the Congress ratified Convention 144, which means that the USA will have a tripartite

body to "review periodically" the question of further ratification of ILO instruments.

But with the greatest respect, this still leaves much to be desired. The objection that the country's federal structure makes ratification difficult is not a valid one. The examples of Canand and Australia show that federalism is a hindrance raather than an obstacle.

There is another objection that on first sight appears to have some force - namely that the USA allows trade union freedom in practice; it observes the spirit of the law without being a signatory to the letter. There are many governments who are punctilious in their devotion to the letter of the law but have crushed the spirit. The United States' attitude is surely the more preferable.

I can only answer that yes, it is - but the question evades the real issue. The arguments that demand American ratification of Convention 87 are precisely those that make the convention so fundamental to the concept of workers' rights.

Firstly, there is the matter of obligation. It is admirable for governments and employers to observe trade union rights because they choose to do so. But the trade union movement has always taken as a guiding principle, the Biblical exhortation, "put not your trust in princes" (even democratically-elected princes!). To put it in the words of the American humourist, Woody Allen, "the lion shall lie down with lamb - but the lamb won't get much sleep". Circumstance can change, and minds can change with them. A free choice is one thing ; but a legal oblgation is quite sometbhing else. After all, you never know when hunger will get the better of even the most sweet-tempered of lions.

There is also the point that if the USA is already observing the spirit of ILO Convention 87, then it has nothing to lose from ratifying it anyway. But it has agood deal to gain, and so does the cause of trade union freedom. Tryants from all parts of the political spectrum love to don the cloak of democracy, no matter how ill-fitting it may be, or how little it may suit them. They are eager to seize on every lapse in the standards of free societies to justify their own actions, and to distract attention from their own behaviour. Democracies must be, like Caesar's wife, "above

suspicion". This is especially true of the United States. As long as the world's leading democracy chooses to remain outside the network of legal obligations exemplified by Convention 87, then that network is diminished. All of the trade unionists here today who have fought, and are still fighting against oppression in Poland , Chile, South Africa, in all the dark corners of the world will, I am sure, bear witness to the importance of the ILO's legal mechanisms, and to the concern that oppressive governments have of being pilloried within the ILO for their behaviour. They will also, I am sure bear witness to the vital contribution that the AFL-CIO makes to the battle for trade union freedom, and to that of the American government itself. ILO Convention 87 is as relevant to that battle today as it ever was. It remains a cornerstone of a humane and economically efficient society.

It is time, surely, that the United States took the final step, and ratified the convention. It would, I am sure you will agree, be a marvellous way to commemorate the anniversary.

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Reuter Library Report

October 23, 1989, Monday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 324 words

HEADLINE: EAST GERMAN WORKERS CREATE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION

DATELINE: EAST BERLIN, Oct 23

KEYWORD: EAST- UNION

BODY:

A group of East Berlin workers said on Monday they were forming a trade union independent of East Germany's official labour federation, which is under Communist Party supervision.

It was the first sign that East Germany's current unrest, the country's worst turmoil in 36 years, was spreading beyond discontented intellectuals, students and young people to workers in factories.

In a statement distributed to enterprises across East Germany and released to reporters, the workers said they had decided to quit the official Free German Trade Union Federation because it was not defending their interests.

"In the certain knowledge that the Free German Trade Union Federation does not serve the interests of the majority of workers, lacks their confidence and sees itself as a partner of the Communist Party, we have...decided to leave the federation," the statement said.

It said the workers were forming an independent union to be called " Reform" .

The statement was issued from the Wilhelm Pieck engineering and electronics works at Teltow on the outskirts of East Berlin. The plant employs about 6,000 workers.

There was no indication of how many workers had decided to join the new union. But engineer Ralf Boerger, one of the statement's signatories, said that in some departments of the factory all workers had decided to leave the official union.

The head of the official labour federation, Harry Tisch, who is also a member of the party's ruling Politburo, said last weekend that unions had to stop working closely with factory managements and the Communist Party.

East Germany's new leader, Egon Krenz, is grappling with widespread unrest including street demonstrations for reform by hundreds of thousands of people this month and an exodus of its citizens to West Germany.

More than 120,000 of the 16.6 million East Germans have left for the West this year, about half of them through Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

October 24, 1989, Tuesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 8; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 787 words

HEADLINE: LANDMARK FOR E. GERMAN WORKERS;
EUROPE: THE COMMUNIST NATION'S FIRST INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION SHOWS THAT THE WAVE OF DISSENT HAS REACHED THE FACTORY FLOOR.

BYLINE: By WILLIAM TUOHY, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: EAST BERLIN

BODY:

Workers in an East Berlin factory on Monday announced the formation of the country's first independent trade union.

Hours later, more than 100,000 East Germans demonstrated in Leipzig, calling on the new government to institute political and economic reforms. It was the first big demonstration since Egon Krenz took over last Wednesday as East Germany's Communist leader.

A spokesman for workers at the Wilhelm Pieck engineering and electronics plant in Teltow, on the outskirts of East Berlin, said many were leaving the official East German labor movement and joining the independent union, called Reform. He gave no number but said some entire departments had made the move.

There was no comment from the government. Announcement of the formation of an independent union was the first sign that the present wave of dissent, the worst since the workers' uprising of 1953, had gone beyond students and intellectual leaders to the factory floor.

For many, it recalled the beginnings of Solidarity, the independent trade union in Poland. Solidarity was outlawed soon after it was organized in 1980 but continued to struggle. Last summer, the Solidarity movement took over the government.

Ralf Boerger, a spokesman for the workers at the Teltow plant, said they were leaving the official labor federation because it "does not serve the interests of the majority of workers and does not enjoy the confidence of the workers."

He quoted from a statement that calls on the government to grant all workers the right to strike and the right to demonstrate, to guarantee freedom of the press, to remove all restrictions on foreign travel and to end official privileges.

He said the statement has been handed out at factories all across the country through an opposition group called the Social Democratic Party.

The new union, the statement said, "has obligations only to its own members and will not subordinate itself to the decisions of political parties or other organizations."

"In today's critical situation," it went on, "we appeal to all colleagues in our enterprise and all workers in our republic to take on the responsibility for our common future."

The Reform announcement came on the heels of a statment by labor official Harry Tisch, a member of the Politburo, who was quoted Monday in the union newspaper Tribuene as saying that trade unions must show more independence and must stop working so closely with management and the Communist Party.

"It's better," he said, "if each union finds and represents its own position."

In Leipzig, as occurred at a similar turnout last Monday night, police and security forces were present but made no attempt to interfere with the peaceful demonstration.

East Germans also demonstrated in other cities Monday. In nearby Halle, more than 10,000 marched in a peaceful demonstration for economic and political reform. They shouted "Gorby! Gorby!" -- referring to Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and the reforms he has introduced in the Soviet Union.

In the northwestern city of Schwerin, several thousand people were reported to have attended an organized meeting to discuss with Communist officials such problems as shortages of consumer goods.

Here in East Berlin, several thousand gathered at the Gethsemane church to support a candlelight vigil that has been going on around the clock in behalf of people arrested in previous Leipzig demonstrations.

Protestant Church sources said that Monday night's turnout in Leipzig was as large or larger than last week's. On that occasion, an estimated 100,000 to 120,000 marched to protest the restrictive policies of Erich Honecker, the hard-line leader who resigned under pressure two days later.

Monday's demonstrators called out, "Egon, what about free elections?"

Diplomatic sources said the Leipzig march indicated that Krenz and his regime will have to move quickly to satisfy the pent-up frustrations of East Germans. One observed, "His police can't arrest 120,000 people for marching peacefully."

The Leipzig march started, as has become customary in recent weeks, in Karl Marx Platz after Monday night church services. The demonstrators merged and marched 10 abreast along the ring road that surrounds the city center, some carrying banners urging "Power to New Forum," a reference to the largest opposition group. New Forum has signed up more than 26,000 followers in the past few weeks.

Monday's developments suggested to many analysts in Berlin that Krenz's apparent effort to portray his new regime as more responsive to popular wishes has yet to win any broad acceptance.

"He has to do more than talk about reform, " a diplomat with long experience here said. "He has to do something."

SUBJECT: UNIONS; GOVERNMENT REFORM; EAST GERMANY -- LABOR; EAST GERMANY -- GOVERNMENT; REFORM (UNION)

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

October 31, 1989, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 725 words

HEADLINE: Krenz: Socialism isn't 'present' to give away

DATELINE: BERLIN

KEYWORD: Eastgermany

BODY:

Socialist East Germany was not established ''to give it as a present to the class enemy,'' communist leader Egon Krenz said, and a communist labor leader offered to stand up to a vote of confidence by the union leadership.

Krenz told military academy graduates Monday that the Politburo had reacted insufficiently to problems and had lacked self-criticism so that ''a revolutionary awakening'' now is taking place.

''Whoever draws the conclusion from this that our party is not in a position to exercise its leading role has misjudged the experiences of our party and has underestimated the 2 million and more members and candidates united in this party,'' the government news agency ADN quoted Krenz as saying.

Krenz said East Germans had not built up a socialist republic ''to give it as a present to the class enemy,'' ADN reported.

His statement was considered an answer to demands for a democratic, multi-party system in which the Communist Party would lose the ''leading role'' it enjoys under the present constitution.

The demands have come from emerging opposition groups and participants in daily rallies and demonstrations. About 300,000 people demonstrated Monday night in Leipzig, East Germany's second biggest city, East German television reported. About 80,000 people demonstrated in Schwerin.

Krenz, 52, who on Oct. 18 replaced his mentor, Erich Honecker, 77, as Communist Party general secretary, spoke on the eve of a two-day trip to Moscow to confer with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev phoned Krenz on Oct. 21 to congratulate him on his selection and to invite him to Moscow.

The leader of East Germany's communist labor union offered Monday to resign in the face of criticism of his hard-line policies.

Harry Tisch, chairman of the East German Labor Federation and a close ally of Honecker and Krenz, asked the union's 250-member governing board for a vote of confidence and said he would resign if he lost.

''If the board of governors gives me a vote of confidence I am willing to carry out as a member of my party the program adopted here,'' said Tisch, 62, a member of the Politburo. ''If the board does not express confidence in me, I

will also accept this decision.''

After a six-hour meeting the board postponed a decision until Nov. 17, ADN reported. The motion to delay a decision was passed with only five votes against and two abstentions, ADN reported.

At the East Berlin reception, Krenz told the military academy graduates they were beginning their careers at a time of ''high tension.''

''Many are going out on the streets now with the self-assured shout: 'We are the people!''' he said. ''But all of us are the people. ... Those who stand up for law and order, those who defend our homeland, yes, all of us who bear responsibility for normality on the border between socialism and capitalism.''

Opposition to Tisch and the communist domination of the union last week prompted the formation of a Reform Union that demanded the right to strike and removal of communist influence in factories.

Ralf Boerger, one of the founders of the Reform Union, said in an interview published Monday in Der Spiegel, the West German weekly news magazine, that the authorities have placed great pressure on workers at the Teltow machinery plant in East Berlin where the union was founded.

''We were told even the intention to form an organization is forbidden,'' he said. ''We were told we would have to count on legal consequences.''

Boerger said more than 100 of the 7,236 workers in the Teltow factory have joined and workers in other factories have informed him they plan to take similar action.

''The Free German Labor Federation for a long time has not represented the interests of the workers -- if it ever did,'' Boerger said. ''It is completely under the thumb of the Communist Party.''

Boerger said Tisch's statements that he will follow an independent policy in the future merely is a tactic he has adopted because of the pressure exerted by the reform movement.

Boerger also expressed doubt Krenz was capable of making basic changes.

Since Krenz replaced Honecker, authorities have organized rallies and meetings all over the country to discuss demands for reform and have not interfered with daily marches and demonstrations for free elections and recognition of opposition groups.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

October 31, 1989, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 634 words

HEADLINE: Hardline East German union leader resigns

DATELINE: BERLIN

KEYWORD: Eastgermany

BODY:

The hardline leader of the East German labor union bowed to the demands of workers and demonstrators Tuesday and announced his resignation, the East German news agency ADN reported.

Harry Tisch, 62, a member of the Communist Party's ruling Politburo, said he will resign at a meeting Thursday of the governing board of the communist-run Free German Labor Federation.

He has been head of the Federation since 1975.

The governing board had tried Monday to postpone a decision on Tisch until Nov. 17 after a key Communist Party Central Committee meeting, but the union branches in East Berlin, Dresden and Erfurt ''energetically'' demanded the board reconvene immediately to accept his resignation, ADN said. The board agreed.

Tisch had asked for a confidence vote in the wake of the resignation of many workers from the union, the formation of a rival union and after demonstrators throughout East Germany demanded his ouster.

To meet another demand of reformers, the Interior Ministry announced it will reconsider a ban on the New Forum, one of the most popular opposition reform movements. The announcement said the ministry had been asked to reconsider its ban by the members of Parliament of the Christian Democratic Party, one of the parties allied with the Communist Party in the National Front.

Also Tuesday, a West German newspaper reported that Education Minister Margot Honecker, the wife of the former East German leader who was replaced by Egon Krenz two weeks ago, resigned from the Cabinet.

The report in the Bild newspaper, which attributed its story to well informed circles in East Germany, could not be immediately confirmed.

But Mrs. Honecker's ouster has been predicted since her husband, Erich Honecker, resigned as Communist Party leader Oct. 18 in the wake of demonstrations for greater democracy and the mass flight of refugees.

The resignation of Mrs. Honecker, 62, a hardline member of the East German Communist Party Central Committee, has been one of the demands raised at the mass demonstrations taking place daily throughout East Germany.

The newspaper Bild said her successor is Helga Labs, 49, head of the teacher' union.

Some credence was given to the newspaper report by the East German government news agency ADN saying that students expelled by Mrs. Honecker from an East Berlin high school in October 1988 could return. The students were expelled for criticizing the holding of a military parade.

At demonstrations throughout East Germany Monday night, demands were made for a new union free of communist influence, free elections, a free press, freedom of travel, a new legal system and an end to domination by the Communist Party.

The government news agency ADN said 200,000 demonstrated in Leipzig, East Germany's second largest city, 50,000 in Halle, 40,000 in Schwerin, 20,000 in Karl Marx Stadt, 20,000 in Cottbus, 20,000 in Dresden, and 15,000 in Magdeburg. In East Berlin, several thousand attended meetings in churches and several hundred later demonstrated.

Under Krenz, who replaced Honecker Oct. 18, authorities have organized rallies and meetings all over the country to discuss demands for reform and have allowed daily marches and demonstrations for free elections and recognition of opposition groups.

The Dresden branch of the communist labor union had said if Tisch did not resign more workers would quit the union, the news agency ADN reported.

Ralf Boerger, one of the founders of the Reform Union, has said the Federation under Tisch for a long time has not represented the interests of the workers.

''It is completely under the thumb of the Communist Party,'' he said.

The local communist union branches apparently feared the growth of the Reform Union, which apparently has not yet spread beyond one East Berlin factory.

Lane: AFL-CIO under Meany's + your leadership, only org.
that stuck w/ Solid. thick & thin.

All of the evolution, everyone's an expert on Poland
but AFL-CIO, always, from beginning,
shown solidarity w/ Solidarity.

Thus really please Kirk + Georgine (& Ale) going on mission to Poland -
I'll listen closely to what they find.

~25th anniv. - Am-Afr. Labor Center

forget AFL-CIO day-to-day struggle

- we owe so much to the AFL-CIO's regional
international institutes

steady, systematic, quiet work

↙
($ ILO Along)

mighz

AFL-CIO 637-5000
Tom Kahn 5050

Offices in nearly 40 countries
a "for. service" of about 100

Salvador – democr. trade unions getting it
from both side right wing death squads
left wing guerillas

[ADVISE]

900
delegates
91 Nat'l Unions
+
State Federation
City bodies

land reform program
– same model as in Vietnam before it fell
workers'
housing
educ in how to run meetings, org
build unions indep. of govt, empl., parties

vindicated by events in E. Eur.

in Hung., organizing

S. Korea – hundreds demonstrating
Central America

~~Dennis Beal 637-5009~~
Communications
~~Rex Hardesty 5010~~
~~Robert St. John~~

Ferdinand Lavallee, ILAB

AFL-CIO member of ICFTU

keeps tabs on OECD
participa. in ILO

AFIELD, AFLI, Africa

Todd 523-7631
Freiermeyer

deals w/ Kahn's shop

Primary force for democr. reform is workers

∴ Commun leadership scared stiff

China - cracked down +

E. Germ - letting them leave so they don't explode - & maybe come back

Sov. Union - concessions to miners

Poland - you know. You've supported

Poland's Solidarnosc seeking the right to function freely; black South African trade unions using worker power to fight apartheid; Chile's democratic unions demanding their basic rights.

+ labor a force for good -- that is certain. Result/outcome, uncertain. Some good (Guatemala), or bad (Salvador) -- but a force to be reckoned with.

#6 J.R. GALENSON

In S. Africa, unions the most democr. force among whites.

Africa – virt. no unions (ex. S.Af.) – they strike (esp. mines) white union gen. supp. blacks..

↳ Ghana & Nigeria used to have – now gone
Brits. left some legacy of unions
was most advanced
now weak, gen – under thumb of govt. or ruling pol. party

~~[illegible]~~

Foundation for Democracy
Karl Gershman

~~Germany has strong [illegible] tradition~~

ICFTU (Free tr. un.)

WFTU (Commun. tr. unz.)

AFL active in Asia:

Malaysia → pres. of large union (Norearan.?) also pres. of ICFTU
Thai
S. Korea
Philipp

helps w/ libraries, workers' educ, how to coll. barg.
low profile, quiet work*

right to representation, to bargaining.

* yr after yr – inexorable progress.

☆ details from Kahn

~~call IFAB – get lists of offices + where~~

~~most people don't know about them~~

~~For yrs., until ~~ ~~Agenda~~ ~~was to fight Communism~~

~~Jay Lovestone early 20s was Gen. Secr. of Am Comm. Party~~

~~Became George Meany's advisor on Int'l. Labor Affs~~

ANEC.

French Commies swore NATO armies would never land [P]

Irving Brown (tough guy) swore arms never get in

Famous incident ~'52 ∴ NATO got started

died a yr or two ago

on Nixon's first trip to China

~~Gompers~~ Meany "I used to be #2 anti-Comm. in Am-- [P]

now I'm #1"

~~AFL-CIO historically STRONGEST force against gov't control dictatorships (Commun.)~~

~~against any form of gov't. that prohib. unions, free assoc.~~

(Commun. bloc)

ICFTU, WFTU - financed by Soviets
Prob. in disarray.

Costa Rica. Latin Am - 3rd World Catholic Un.

—walkouts used to be very quickly suppressed
no bargaining

AFL-CIO had been consistently against fraternal relations or delegations to Sov. bloc unions

San Fran Longshoreman communist Union invited Comm. Trade Unionist to visit.
held up in Canada - AFL barred visit.

∴ Consistent force against totalitarianism
unswerving
unyielding

POLIT.

John L. Lewis (head CIO) endorsed Wendell Willkie

Carpenters Union used to be Republican
many of them

1923 strike Boston police struck
Calvin Coolidge as Governor said come back & we'll fire you

Lat Am. - union on & off. Argentina - Eva Peron & sheriffs/teamsters dominate unions

→ often left-wing AFL-CIO has est. non-Comm. trade unions in La. of these

in Nicar – AFL / AID.? people killed by Sandinistas

when first in – {Early}

in Chile now func. again
Bolivia

help from Found. Democ $ AFL-CIO

[illegible] + speeches? happen?

P

POLIT.

Virt. every trade union in free Eur has affil. w/ a pol. party (except Germany)

AFL has never been affil. w/ a party
Gompers' motto: "Reward your friends, punish your enemies"

→ every local union free to make its own pol. decision. Goes back to Gompers – + you've maintained it.

until '48 never supported a Pres. cand.
did w/ Truman (because Taft-Hartley).

until '48, big union guys were Republican

Arthur Goldberg came out of CIO – Lyndon Johnson convinced him to be deleg. to U.N. – settled Vietnam

→ ran against Johnson for Gov.

union supported Nelson Rockefeller.
↓
deep pocket

S. Korea - strikes

Taiwan - signs of life (out of govt. control)
member ICFTU

Thai, Mayl. - peripheries of Asia

in Latin Am - when democ ↑, coups ↑

Spain - end of Franco regime - coups helped eliminate fascism.
↳ most important.

P

Bill Meagher @ STATE

[LAT. AM.]

throughout [Latin Am.:] there has been tremendous movement toward democracy.

Chile – unions brought Chile out of Pinochet era thru GSP process, Am unions pressuring for release of union organizers

~~Rosator~~ ~~(?)~~ Martinez & Manuel Bustos – once exiled in their own country, now here with us today
Arturo

Paraguay – AFL & U.S. incr. union org. & rights

Nicar – free tr. un. movement (an "ally" of AFL) strong supporter of democ rights & democ. opposition

---

– democ. tr. unions in a vise, between right wing death squads & left wing guerrillas

((Salvador)) we condemn any efforts to intimidate democratic union leaders

Guat. – ↑ murders of tr. union leaders by radical elements

sacrifices of Amer. tr. unionists in Lat/Cent. Am.–– many, including

MARTYRS El Salvador – Mike Hammer & Mark Pearlman died @ hand of Arenas party

(~~controversial – perpetrators given amnesty~~)
keep this down

OK'd 11/7

will send list of "safe" martyrs

East German Hints at Changes

EAST GERMANY, From A1

Like Honecker, however, Krenz said he opposes the reunification of Germany and the destruction of the Berlin Wall. Krenz said talk of reunification is an "illusion" that would undermine "an integral aspect of a stable Europe. To quote one Frenchman, 'I love Germany so much, I hope there will always be two of them.' "

In his first formal news conference as East German leader, Krenz said the Berlin Wall is a historically necessary "border between two social systems, a border between two military blocs . . . a kind of protective shield." As for proposals to destroy the wall, Krenz said, "We should not live in a world of dreams."

Although he defended Honecker as a "man who accomplished a lot," Krenz seemed eager to create a different image for himself. "To be a hard-liner or not to be a hard-liner, that is not the question," he said. "I do not consider myself to be a hard-liner."

Demonstrators throughout East Germany continue to march for free, multi-party elections, the legalization of opposition groups such as New Forum and a free press. Krenz said he intends to "listen to all ideas" in the coming months.

"Many people are out on the streets to show that they want better socialism and the renovation of society," he said. "And so I believe that this is a good sign, an indication that we are at a turning point in the life of the German Democratic Republic," as Communist East Germany is formally called.

Krenz said that while he plans to allow East German citizens to get passports and visas to visit "any country in the world," he said he has "no doubt" the mass emigration from his country would stop because "trust will be regained and people will stay at home."

[In another development, the Interior Ministry announced that it is reconsidering New Forum's application for legal registration, Reuter reported. The application had been rejected in September.]

Krenz said there would be extensive discussion about elections during a party Central Committee meeting next week. "This will be a democratic process," he said, but gave few details.

Nevertheless, Krenz defended the 1968 invasion that crushed Czechoslovakia's "Prague Spring," saying, "There was a firm decision taken by the Warsaw Pact countries to act and I have nothing to be sorry about that."

Krenz was a loyal member of Honecker's Politburo, and he said, "I am not ashamed of this time." As for any "mistakes" of the past, he said, "I would not want to blame Erich Honecker for what happened."

While Honecker generally avoided extensive meetings with the foreign press, Krenz seemed almost eager to please, answering questions for 90 minutes with emphatic confidence. At times he seemed determined to imitate the frankness of Gorbachev. When one reporter noted the comparison, Krenz broke out in a grateful smile and said, "That is a compliment!"

Gorbachev's perestroika programs, Krenz said, "are a means of making socialism more attractive, of improving it." He said Gorbachev told him that the Soviet changes are "an extension of 'Red October,' " the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

During a trip to East Berlin last month, Gorbachev dropped several subtle hints about the need for Honecker's government to make changes, and shortly after he left for Moscow, Honecker was replaced by Krenz. Krenz said, however, that the leadership change had nothing to do with Gorbachev's trip and was "a collective decision made by our Politburo."

He said that the presence of more than 300,000 Soviet troops on East German soil has no "undue" influence on East German policy. "These troops have no consequences for the sovereignty" of East Germany, he said.

Asked about the accelerating liberalization in Poland and Hungary, Krenz indicated that he does not feel compelled to keep pace. "I don't like models or standards because there is always the temptation just to copy them," he said.

Soviet journalists asked Krenz about various liberal Soviet publications, such as Sputnik, Moscow News and New Times, that East Germany has banned at various times in recent years. Krenz replied that there would be no more such "incidents."

Krenz, who left Moscow for Warsaw tonight, will hold meetings Thursday with Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Communist Party chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Krenz Hints at East German Perestroika

New Leader Meets With Gorbachev, Calls Protests a 'Good Sign'

By David Remnick
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Nov. 1—East German leader Egon Krenz said here today that the widespread demonstrations in his country are "a good sign" for the "renovation" of socialism, and he indicated he would establish a more liberal election system.

Krenz, who took power two weeks ago, met with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today. The East German said the Soviet experience of political and economic change could "teach us a great deal."

[Krenz's government today lifted restrictions that had barred most travel to Czechoslovakia and, within hours, more than 500 East Germans had arrived at the West German Embassy in Prague to seek emigration to the West, news agency reports said. The official East German news agency, ADN, reported that 8,000 East Germans had crossed into Czechoslovakia during the day.]

Krenz said he and Gorbachev talked for nearly three hours about liberalization and added, "We are ready to put the [Soviet] vanguard experience to use." His conservative predecessor, Erich Honecker, had been careful to distance himself from Gorbachev's *perestroika* policy of economic restructuring, insisting that such a program had no relevance for East Germany.

See EAST GERMANY, A44, Col. 1

■ *Ukrainian coal miners stage a two-hour "warning strike."* *Page A39*

Prague Dissidents Seek 'Call to Action'

PRAGUE, From A39

Committee meeting two weeks ago. "In no case will we allow any loss of the party's influence."

The government also has stepped up harassment and detention of political dissidents. Before the weekend demonstration more than 20 of the most prominent dissidents were arrested. Many more were warned by police to leave the city to avoid being detained.

Czechoslovakia's leading dissident, playwright Vaclav Havel, was taken from his sickbed to a police station last Thursday before being released to a hospital. He wrote in last month's issue of the country's largest underground newspaper that the opposition is in a necessary period of transition between what he calls "classical dissidence"—underground organizing, for example—and more mainstream political work.

The necessity for that transition showed at the weekend rally.

Its organizers say it was the first of six demonstrations over a period of 14 months at which protesters shouted explicitly political slogans, even going so far as to demand the ouster of Jakes.

The size of the crowd, however, was roughly the same as the turnout at the five previous protest rallies. In that sense, one of the slogans shouted by demonstrators toward onlookers and television cameras—"Czechs, come with us! Czechs, come with us!"—seemed to be as much a plea for more activists as a challenge to the government.

"It's their big failure, and it's something they've got to get around to dealing with," said one diplomat here.

There has been some increased support for public criticism of the government. More than 30 independent groups have emerged in the past year, and 35,000 citizens have signed a pro-liberalization petition called "A Few Sentences."

In Prague in the last month, a striking number of acts of grassroots political activism have taken place. Last week, the director and 92 members of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra voted to boycott state-run radio and television to protest the government's harassment of citizens who have signed "A Few Sentences."

A letter protesting the arrest of two editors of the country's largest underground daily was signed by 110 journalists from every state-controlled newspaper. More than 80 academics founded the Circle of Independent Intellectuals as an independent think tank dedicated to critical analyses of economic and social problems. Members of the Socialist and People's parties, both traditional Communist allies, took the unusual step of denouncing the Communist Party's policy-making Central Committee, an act for which two members of the People's Party were arrested.

But the spirit of rebellion clearly has failed to touch the majority of the population. Part of the reason is economic. Czechoslovaks do not yet have an economic incentive to tangle with one of the most repressive states in the Eastern Bloc. The economy is deteriorating, but its slide is not yet clearly visible, and most people here still enjoy one of the bloc's highest living standards. Unlike the East Germans, they enjoy freedom to travel in the West.

Fear is also a serious brake on dissent—fear of the police, of losing jobs or privileges or the opportunity to send children to college.

And opposition figures concede that their own failure to articulate an attractive, concise and credible alternative to party rule has not helped rally public interest.

"A petition is only a petition," said a Western diplomat. "What they need is a call to action, something very intelligible and easy to grasp, a 10-point program that both a worker in a factory or head of a party committee could understand.

"Nobody's really begun to tackle the key questions. They are very basic: Should there or should there not be free shops? At what level should private initiative apply? How should salaries be fixed?"

Four opposition groups that recognize the need for a political program had hoped to get started working on one last month, but they had to postpone their work because of police harassment.

Members of the Movement for Civil Liberties, the Independent Peace Association, the Czech Democratic Initiative and Obroda, whose members include Communists purged after the Soviet-led invasion in 1968, were forced to leave the city after being interrogated and detained last week by police trying to head off the weekend demonstration.

"Up to now, the independent groups have had to concentrate on mere survival," said one member of the Independent Peace Association.

REUTER

Demonstrators on Prague's Wenceslas Square flash victory signs Saturday before police moved in to break up protest.

Czechoslovak Dissidents See Need To Offer Non-Communist Alternative

By Mary Battiata
Washington Post Foreign Service

PRAGUE—This week's tale of two cities, one on fire with protest, the other barely smoldering, has underlined for many in Czechoslovakia's dissident movement the need for a shift in tactics.

On Monday in East Germany, 200,000 people again took to the streets of Leipzig to demand free elections, an end to censorship and dialogue between the Communist leadership and the political opposition. At least 150,000 more East Germans rallied peacefully in other cities.

Two days earlier, in Prague's Wenceslas Square, no more than 10,000 showed up for a similar purpose, despite a public invitation from Czechoslovakia's most prominent political opposition groups. Banners reading "Democracy" and "Dialogue" were barely unfurled before legions of riot police confiscated them. More than 350 young people were arrested.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The comparison between these two bordering East European states, long partners in communist orthodoxy and repression of dissent, has not been lost on Czechoslovakia's opposition movement.

Prominent opposition figures here say that last weekend's demonstration in Prague is further proof that the time has come to shift attention from demonstrations to the work of putting together a political program to close the huge gap between the relatively small organized opposition and the rest of the country's 15 million citizens.

"This is the key problem—to create an acceptable political program," said Jana Petrova, a young dissident and one of the founders of the Independent Peace Initiative. "Everyone sees that demonstrations can't solve anything more."

The government has categorically refused to engage in dialogue with opposition groups. "In no case will we give up our positions to anti-socialist forces," Communist Party leader Milos Jakes said at a Central

See PRAGUE, A44, Col. 1

NEWS
AFL-CIO

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
202/637-5010

FOR RELEASE:

Seventh Annual Samuel Berger lecture
by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland
The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy,
Georgetown University School of Foreign Service,
Washington, DC
May 7, 1986

In 1983, John Dunlop, and in 1984, Irving Brown presented to this forum an overview of organized labor's role in international affairs, both historical and contemporary, that covered the ground as well as it can be done. Given their extraordinary qualifications for that task, I would not serve you badly now were I to simply commend their observations to you, declare my full agreement with them, and proceed directly to questions.

But I suppose I can't get away with that. Let me then just add a few reflections on the meaning of it all and its application to some current policy issues.

First, the unique attribute of American labor's approach to the affairs of this world has been its singular continuity and constancy through time and the ebbs and flows of political fashion and economic circumstance. Please note that I did not say "consistency," which has that well-known tendency to become foolish in the face of basic change, as has occurred, for example, in the matter of trade relations.

That constancy emerges from a view of our role abroad that is closely linked and rooted in our view of our domestic role--that is to say, the conviction that freedom of association is the only dependable path to both political and economic rights and that those rights are interdependent rather than in conflict. While we profess no peculiar genius, we do, like the porcupine, know one thing exceedingly well, and that serves as our compass.

I do not argue that this constancy has led to super-human wisdom or the avoidance of occasional error. We have no doubt made our share of mistakes and we shall, I suppose, make more. After all, in everything we do, at home and abroad, we place all of our bets on people and as they say about jockeys, if it weren't for them every horse race would follow the form.

But compared to our social partners in other walks of human life, I believe that we do pretty well. By and large, we defend the root principle of our existence more staunchly than others we have a right to rely on to man the front lines in behalf of values in their special charge.

Thus, you may find some American trade unionists who place other fancies above freedom of association, but they will be very few. Compare that, I ask you, with the number of journalists who find, in the world, circumstances excusing the suppression of freedom of the press; of churchmen who place other imperatives above freedom of worship; of businessmen and financiers who deal blithely with the exterminators of freedom of enterprise; and of intellectuals whose emotions draw them on occasion to the cause of the deadliest enemies of freedom of thought and expression.

As I do not claim infallibility, neither do I suggest that the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO is a monolith. Anyone who has followed our internal debates and various more or less judicious exercises of autonomy over the years knows better. I speak of the mainstream.

Beneath and within that stream there are, at any given time, any number of swirls and eddies. But that mainstream flows on an unbroken course from the time of Gompers to the present day.

I would not resist the speculation that this may, in some part, derive from the fact that--since Gompers, at least--the careers of those who led the development of labor's engagement abroad have overlapped and most of them have known and learned from each other at some stage in their trade union careers. In other words, institutional memory and the connections to it remain strong in the American labor movement.

Secondly, labor's policy and practice is driven by the conviction that the aspiration for freedom, democracy and all the rights of man and woman is not an attribute of gringos only but is universal and inherent in the human spirit, regardless of race, creed, color or condition of servitude. How else do you explain the extraordinary degrees of force, brutality and guile that are so widely used by the privileged and the powerful to suppress that aspiration? Policies oblivious to it are continually being thrown into shock and disarray by the next unanticipated explosion of that pent-up popular will, seized upon and orchestrated too often by the wrong apparatus, because we aren't there with the real people.

Indifference to or disdain for that proposition is fostered, consciously or unconsciously, by those whose convenience is served by stability in relations among governing elites. It leads us into such sterile intellectual exercises as the application of micrometors to the margins of our tolerance for authoritarians as compared to totalitarians.

While acknowledging the differing degrees of concern about national or regional security presented by evangelical anti-human regimes relative to cut-throats who are content to keep their boots on the necks of the people of one country, labor's special mission and creed leads us to zero tolerance for either.

We know from our own experience in close support of the struggles of our brothers and sisters abroad that they share our own aspirations. If there is a significant difference it lies in the extent to which they have had to demonstrate in blood their willingness to put their lives and liberty at risk for the trade union cause. Ours has not been lately put to such tests, and I can only trust that it would measure up if it were.

Let me give you just a few examples from many others in recent years.

Cyril Daal, head of the Surinam Labor Federation, tortured and murdered by the government in December, 1982.

Neil Aggett, of the South African Food and Canning Workers Union, dead at the hands of prison authorities, in February, 1982.

Rodolfo Viera, head of the Salvadoran campesino union, gunned down by a right-wing military death squad, in January, 1981. Two of our own, Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman, mingled their blood with his.

Alexei Nikitin, an activist for free unions from the Ukraine, dead in a Soviet psychiatric hospital in the Spring of 1984.

Tucapel Jimenez, president of the democratic union Confederation of Chile, shot and his throat cut, February, 1985.

Maximo Nunez, Vice President of the Associated Labor Union for Southern Mindanao, in the Philippines, killed, June, 1985.

And since the imposition of martial law in Poland, over 100 Solidarnosc activists have died under "suspicious circumstances."

Tell such as they that their people are not "ready for democracy" or that trade unions should be controlled or suppressed for the sake of "development."

We often encounter, as well, much less grim reminders that trade unionism is a common cause around the world, with a common spirit and common burdens. Here, for example, is an item that was printed in a trade union journal in Kenya, headed "What a Life: That of a Union Officer":

"If he talks on a subject, he is trying to run things.

If he is silent, then he has lost interest in the organization."

"If he is seen at the office, why doesn't he get out?

If he is out seeing members, then why doesn't he stay in the office and get the work done?"

"If he is not at home at night, he must be out drinking.

If he is at home, then he is ducking."

"If he doesn't beat his chest and yell strike, he is a conservative.

If he does beat his chest and yells strike, then he is a radical."

"If he does not stop to talk, his job has gone to his head.

If he does stop to talk, then that's all he has to do anyway."

"If he tries to explain something, he is playing politics.

If he doesn't explain, then he is a dictator."

"If he gets a good contract, he should have asked for more.

If he doesn't get a good contract, he's sold out to the boss."

"If his suit is pressed, he thinks he is a big shot.

If his suit is unpressed, then he is a bum."

"If he is on the job a short time, he is inexperienced.

If he has been a long time on the job, then it's time for a change."

As you can see, all the tribulations of trade union leadership do not flow from a hostile environment, either here or abroad.

The third and final point that I want to draw from our history and philosophy of involvement in international affairs is simply this: people--plain, ordinary people--ought not to be the means to other ends in international political and economic relations, but the end of all means. That may seem a very primitive and self-evident formulation, but our experience has proven to us that it is more honored in the breach than in the observance--even leaving aside those nations and doctrines which most transparently subject human beings to the service of the greater glory of the state.

That is true of 1st world corporations encouraged by their governments' policies to roam the world in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor. It is true of 3rd world politicians and autocrats who in all the usual forums identify themselves with "progressive" and "revolutionary" posturing, while piously asserting that freedom of association and minimum standards of decency for their own working people are incompatible with development and in fact manifestations of western counter-revolutionary imperialism.

It is also true of the policies of the finance ministers who guide the international lending agencies which, in the terms they demand, pile austerities on the aching backs of working people to shelter the banks that sustain the cycle of corruption and capital flight.

I am familiar with the arguments that such measures work their arcane way through market forces to the ultimate greater good of all. But even if you believe in market theory, it is hard to understand how it works in a world where those in power in most countries neither believe in a market economy or permit it to operate.

Besides, the American labor movement emerged and developed with a well-founded suspicion of "pie-in-the-sky, in the sweet bye-and-bye." Rather than submit to trickle-down doctrines where the ultimate salvation of the worker depends upon the prior enrichment of a privileged mercantile or political class, we would much rather push upward, as hard as we can, at the other end of the social structure. That is not easy work, but someone has to do it.

just as a house is built from the ground up — labor's house

Regardless of whether you think labor's way of pursuing its international responsibilities are enlightened or misguided, if you understand our basic premises and have some grasp of the nature of our experience, you can predict rather accurately where we are likely to stand on any given international issue--or at least the direction in which the mainstream will flow--and that is no mean virtue.

In addition to our continued cooperation with our counterparts abroad, we are currently pursuing a number of new initiatives to reinforce essential principles of our human-rights-based trade union policy.

With all its vexations, we continue to regard the International Labor Organization as a significant asset in our efforts to build a floor under the conditions of work around the world. Entirely because of its tripartite structure, now enhanced by a secret ballot that enables trade union delegates to vote their convictions without fear of reprisals, the ILO is the only forum in the UN structure where democracy and freedom occasionally win an argument.

Unfortunately, the posture of our own government has sadly weakened our ability to exploit more effectively the opportunity that the ILO represents. The United States has an abysmal record of ratification of ILO conventions, including the basic human rights conventions on Freedom of Association, Forced Labor, Discrimination in Employment, and the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining. The barriers to ratification, erected by organized employer pressure and influence, have remained high and rigid over many administrations of both parties.

Lately, we have re-opened the debate on ratification and sought a re-examination of this question by the Administration and the Senate. We now have some hope that this logjam may be breached, at least slightly, by the consideration for ratification of a convention on tripartitism that even the employer lobby finds it hard to object to on its merits. Yet, long and difficult negotiations and blood oaths seem to be necessary to keep alive any chance that the President will submit and the Senate consider the ratification of the basic human rights conventions.

I suggest that this is a standing disgrace to our country. If we continue to decline acceptance of international instruments promoting human freedom that even some of the most rigid regimes and backward countries have ratified, if not observed, then there is something very wrong, not with our constitutional structure or public pronouncements, but with our policy.

Effective enforcement of the international minimum standard setting role of the ILO is, in our view, critical to a humane resolution of many of the political and economic issues that now plague the world and afflict its people.

To that end, we have been working in concert with the ICFTU and the ILO to persuade the International Monetary Fund to include labor rights provisions in its agreements with governments seeking emergency financial assistance, to ameliorate the impact on the defenseless elements of those societies of the Fund's conditions. Unless this is done, the political consequences of the economic measures the Fund demands will make those strictures self-defeating and ultimately breed havoc rather than order.

We have succeeded in getting such labor rights provisions incorporated into legislation governing the Generalized System of Preferences and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. We have called for the exclusion from these trade and investment benefits of a number of nations that deny workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively. We are seeking the inclusion of similar provisions in the omnibus trade legislation the Congress is now considering.

A realistic appraisal of the market or bartering-places of the world makes such knee-jerk terms as "free trade" and "protectionism" meaningless and irrelevant. In truth, the prevailing mode everywhere is the systematic practice of what used to be known as mercantilism--that is to say, national policies and practices designed to increase exports and discourage imports. Such policies bear as much resemblance to "free trade" as a brothel does to a love nest.

The most brutal form of mercantilism is that pursued on the basis of cheap and sweated labor. It cheats the world of the products and jobs of societies which embrace human rights, and it cheats the world of access to the expanding mass markets that would be produced by the broad sharing of the earnings of trade and the elevation of conditions of life and labor.

On another front, we are strongly advocating the fulfillment of one of the major proposals put forward in the report of the Kissinger Commission on Central America--a proposal advanced by labor with the full and enthusiastic support of our trade union colleagues in Central America.

It calls for the creation of a Central American Development Organization as a channel for a major program of economic aid to help all the countries of that region to collectively address their deep-rooted economic, social and political development problems. It would be open to participation by all the countries, including Nicaragua, if

they are prepared to walk through a human rights door, a door supervised not by gringos only, but by a cross-section of representatives of the Central American people.

The distinctive feature of CADO would be its structure, modeled on the tripartite nature of the ILO Governing Body, and composed of representatives, not of governments only, but of labor, business and other elements of those societies as well--all of whom would have a voice in the planning and execution of aid programs. This would serve as a strong lever in the promotion of genuine pluralism, including freedom of association, in the region, and make it a safer place for democracy.

The concept has been incorporated in foreign aid legislation and enacted by the Congress. Regrettably, however, the Administration has failed so far to make CADO the major stage-setting of its Central American policy that it should be, and is evidently much less enthusiastic about it than other, far less promising, approaches to the burning problems of Central America.

I have indicated in these remarks that the American labor movement's historic emphasis on advancing democracy by helping democrats build their institutions has been rooted in essential trade union principles. I do not mean to suggest that our government is inherently incapable of pursuing or fostering a similar course. Certainly, the legal basis for such a policy has been laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other pious declarations that establish the principal that such values are not to be regarded as purely "internal affairs," but lack force in the absence of people on the front lines to fight for them.

An historic step in this direction was the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy, which provided modest government funds for labor, business, the two political parties and other private sector organizations to undertake--and, in our case, expand--programs of assistance in the development of pluralistic institutions abroad. It recognized that such private groups can establish a level of trust and cooperation that is beyond the reach of our government.

Essential to NED's purpose is the principle that such private groups remain independent of the government and are not to be viewed abroad as agents of the State Department or you know who. Granted, NED is a delicate instrument and it has to walk a fine line between the public accountability demanded by the taxpayer and the independence that gives the private sector organizations their credibility. There are precedents for success in this enterprise--the Germans and the Swedes have made a go of it.

But it is by no means certain that NED will survive. It has traveled a rocky road in the Congress, the target of endless sniping from the left and the right.

I believe that the real source of NED's difficulties do not lie in the controversies surrounding specific undertakings in this or that country but in something more profound and disturbing: the lingering isolationism that always runs beneath the surface of American life and that is exploited, when expedient, by extremes of the left and the right.

Each is selectively fearful of American "interventionism"--though for different reasons in different places. The far left thinks we are up to no good in the world and wants us to stay out of it, lest we corrupt it. The far right thinks the world means us no good and wants us to stay out of it, lest we be corrupted by it.

However this continuing debate may be resolved in the body politic--if it ever can be resolved--it is a luxury that the American labor movement cannot afford. In our global economy, we cannot afford it for economic reasons.

But we cannot afford it for other reasons--the trade union principles of solidarity and freedom of association that make the AFL-CIO's foreign policy what it is. We mean to stay the course. We can do no other.

-30-

[Asia]

Chuck Grey:

ASIAN FREE LABOR INSTITUTE

USTR/STATE MAY DISAGREE: child labor in southeast Asia - 7 literally hundreds of millions working nightmarish conditions

young women in textile & garment trades, lured out of the surrounding countryside out of econ. necessity, 16-25 used, abused, & abandoned, ((sexual harassment))

in "special economic zones" ((export zones))

or "export processing zones" [goods never "enter" the country]

solution? - supporting growth of democr. instits - & econ. dev. that will render child labor not merely illegal, but irrelevant.

via Caribbean Basin Initiative Act, worker rights now part of Generalized System of Preference.

Tom Riley - Philippines

conference on Human Rights
- local committees to hear grievance

in Phil - Manila Program (Aquino participating)
labor standards enforcement
training arbitrators, l-m cooper.

very advanced in Philippines, following U.S. model

DON'T MENTION SANCTIONS } WORKER RIGHTS - NOT AS (stick) A TRADE ISSUE, BUT AS A DEVELOPMENT ISSUE (carrot).

in principle, should tie development credits to worker rights (carrot). [ADD TO FAX]

Aquino's rise direct result of militant leftists → Trade Union Congress of the Philippines

Biggest challenge: agrarian reform

GATT - trade policy review mechanism - we incorporated worker rights

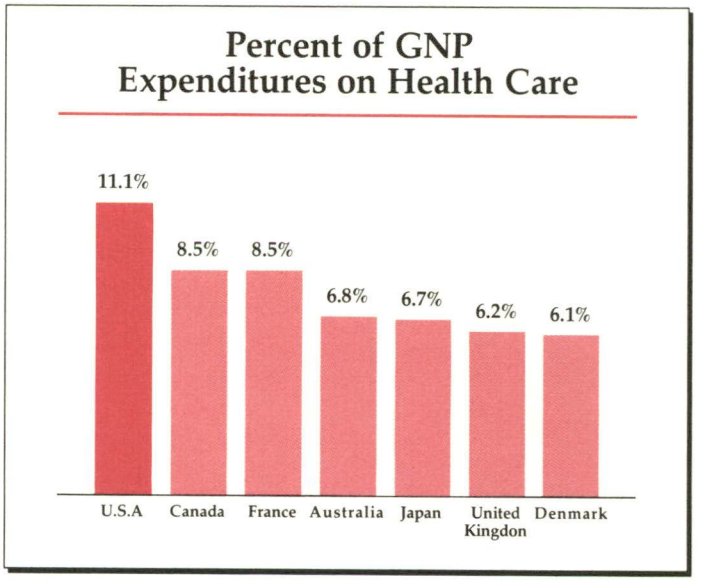
sovereignty of nations ⟶ primacy of human rights

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

Rising Health Care Costs: The Real Story

What Are We Spending on Health Care?

The United States leads the world in health care spending and there seems to be no end in sight. The inflationary spiral has made American business uncompetitive in the world market, has forced families to absorb higher out-of-pocket costs because of cutbacks in employer-provided health care benefits, and has led many to question whether we are getting appropriate value for our considerable investment in the current health care system.



Here are the facts:

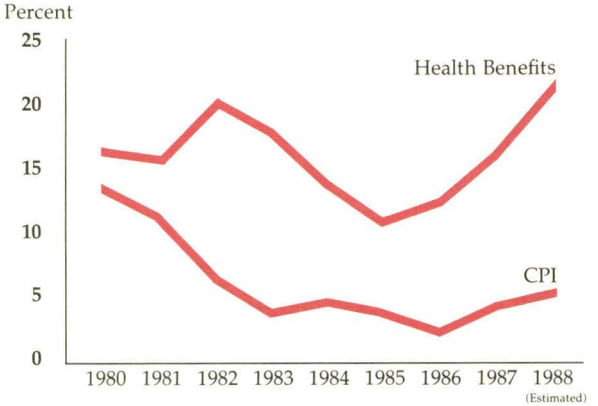
- The United States is spending $2 billion on health care EVERY DAY.
- Health care consumes 11.1 percent of our gross national product.
- We are committing 31 percent more of our resources to health care than Canada, 65 percent more than Japan, and 79 percent more than England.

What Does the Future Hold?

Rising health care costs already have strained household incomes, corporate balance sheets and governmental budgets. Yet health care prices continue to increase at rates which are more than two times the rate of increase for all other goods and services in the economy. If current trends continue, by the year 2000 health care spending will hit $1.5 TRILLION and will consume 15 percent of our gross national product.

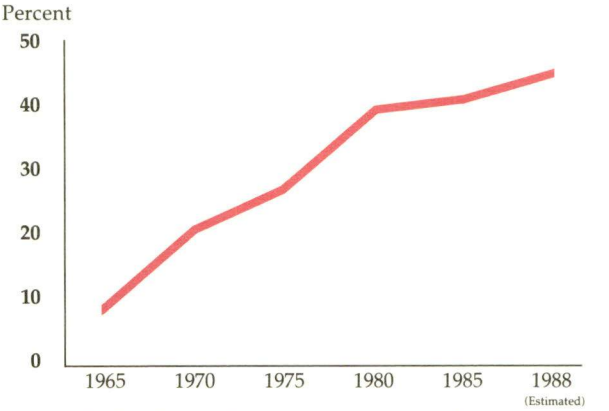
The costs of employer-provided health care benefits are following similar trends. In 1987 American companies spent $140 billion on health care. Average annual increases range from 18-30 percent, with no sign of the current trend abating.

Percent Increases of Health Benefit Costs Compared to CPI Increases



Source: Hewitt Associates

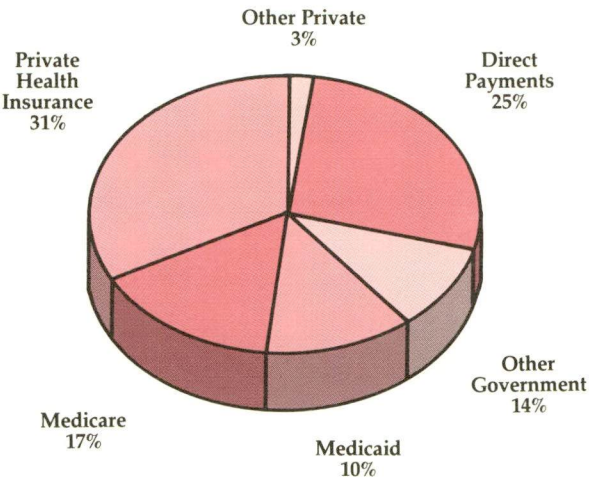
Spending for Health Services as Percent of Corporate Operating Profits



Source: Health Care Financing Administration; Department of Commerce

Who is Paying For Health Care?

Where Does the Money Come From?



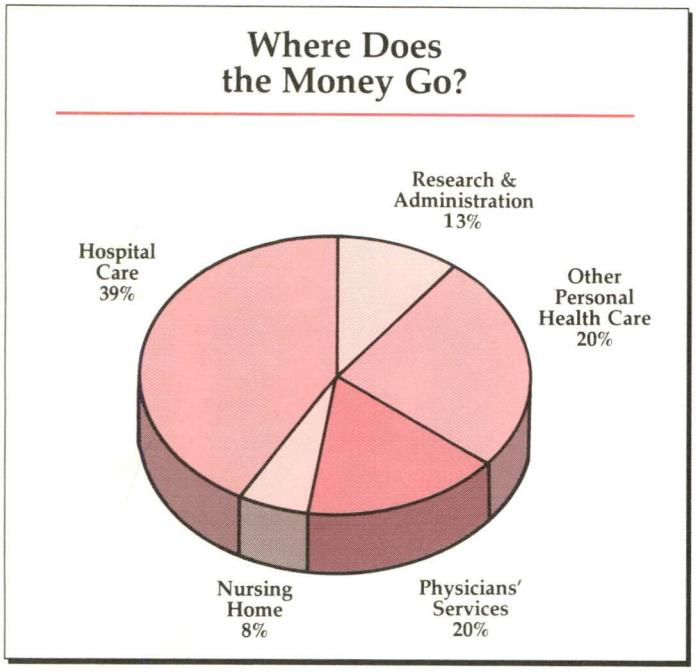
Private insurance plans, Medicare and Medicaid finance almost three quarters of all personal health care expenses. Patients pay the remaining amount through monthly premiums, copayments for services, deductibles and out-of-pocket payments for uncovered benefits.

Patients are not well protected for many of the services that they use most often.

- Insurance covers only 74 percent of the costs of physicians' services.

- Insurance covers only 39 percent of the costs of dentists' services.
- Insurance pays very little for prescriptions, covering only 25 percent of the costs.

How Are We Spending Our Health Care Dollar?



Hospital care still consumes the largest share of national health care expenditures—40 cents out of every dollar. While physicians' services amount to only 20 cents of every dollar spent on health care, the cost of this benefit is increasing 30 percent faster than the annual rate of increase for hospital care. As a result, the cost of physicians' services accounts for a substantial share of the increase in the cost of health benefits.

In Medicare, as well as in private plans, this increase has been attributed to a growth in the number of services provided, particularly by certain specialists. According to a recent report by Blue Cross, between 1983 and 1986, Medicare payments to gastroenterologists increased 73 percent, payments to opthalmologists increased 57 percent and payments to cardiologists increased by 49 percent.

What's Happening to Health Benefits?

Corporations that have raised employee contributions over the past few years continue shifting the burden of rising costs to workers by increasing deductibles, increasing coinsurance and trying to eliminate benefits altogether. These actions are creating barriers to care for many working Americans who find they can no longer afford the services they need.

In 1965, nine percent of corporate operating profits went toward health care. Currently, health care is consuming 45 percent of operating profits. It is not surprising that only eight percent of corporate CEOs believe they have been successful in curbing health care costs.

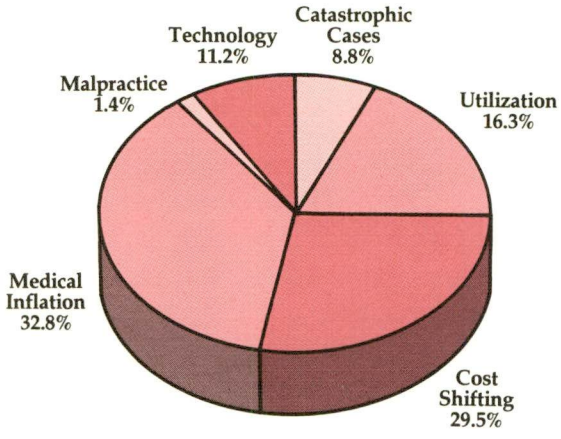
Many employers have taken the cost-shifting route, some are looking to a flexible benefits approach to limit their total contributions and place the burden of rising costs on workers. For example:

- Allied Signal Corporation has limited its contribution for health care benefits to a specific dollar amount. Further, the company requires employees to pay all of their medical bills up to one percent of their salary and 20 percent of the costs thereafter.
- J.C. Penney limits the coverage of spouses under its health plan to families where the employee is the principal wage earner.

TRW has slashed its health care coverage for retirees by going from a defined benefit to a defined contribution model.

- Armstrong Industries has discontinued providing retiree health benefits for all non-union employees currently under age 48. Employees are forced to pay for future retiree health benefits out of a newly created employee stock ownership plan (ESOP).

Employers' Breakdown of Benefit Cost Increases



Source: Hewitt Associates

Despite what employers report are the "real" factors behind rising health care costs, they continue to blame employees by shifting a greater share of the burden to them. A recent report issued by the Wyatt Corporation illustrates the extent of the cost-shifting trend in the form of the following:

- Higher Premiums: The share of health premiums paid by workers is rising even faster than overall medical costs. In 1986, 46 percent of employers required premium sharing of over $25 per month. Last year 70 percent of employers required premium sharing at this level, with the number of employers forcing workers to pay over $75 per month increasing by 36 percent.
- Higher deductibles: Deductible levels for employee benefit plans continue to increase. From 1984 to 1988 the number of employers who required deductibles of over $100 more than doubled, and 55 percent of those have raised their deductibles to $200 or more. For employers with "comprehensive plans" who subject all benefits to a deductible, 60 percent raised their deductibles to $200 or more in 1988.
- Higher out-of-pocket ceilings: Maximum annual family out-of-pocket expenses also have increased. Three out of five plans now have maximums of $2,500 or more. Twenty-five percent of employers with comprehensive plans have maximum out-of-pocket limits of $3,000 or more.
- Increased Co-payments: Fully paid coverage of hospital care has dropped sharply. In 1977, 80 percent of all plans surveyed by Hay/Huggins paid 100 percent of inpatient room and board; in 1987 only 41 percent did so.
- Increased Uninsured Workers: In the last 5 years, the number of workers with no health insurance increased by 50%.

A BNA survey of employer bargaining objectives for 1989 by the Bureau of National Affairs (BNA) found that 51% of employers who already require workers to contribute to health premiums will seek increases in premium contributions. Of employers whose health plans contain deductibles, 41% reported that they intend to ask for increases.

AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign
815 16th Street, NW
Room 306
Washington, DC 20006

Publication No. 190

UNION YES

National Health Care Now Is The Time

What is the AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign and Where Do You Fit In?

The AFL-CIO Campaign For Health Care Reform

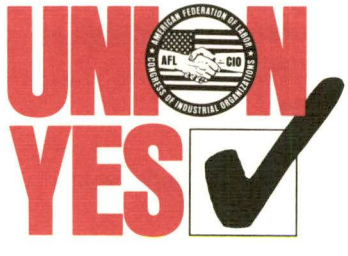
The AFL-CIO has been providing international unions with assistance in identifying strategies to contain the costs of negotiated health plans, while preserving benefits. We will continue to work on this front to develop initiatives to stave off employer efforts to shift costs to workers. Recent collective bargaining negotiations have demonstrated the need for the AFL-CIO to launch a national campaign to bring information to members of Congress, the press, and the public-at-large about the difficulty of maintaining health benefits and the need for a national health care program to bring costs under control.

National Health Care: Now is The Time

The call for national health care reform is now being echoed in many quarters. In recent years health care prices have consistently risen two times faster than other services in the economy. Health care is now consuming almost 50 percent of corporate profits. Higher deductibles and coinsurance are putting the squeeze on household budgets. The number of people without insurance is approaching 40 million.

AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign
815 16th Street, NW
Room 306
Washington, DC 20006

Publication No. 190



AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR AND CONGRESS
OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

October 16, 1989

William Roper, M.D.
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bill:

As you consider various alternatives for reforming the health care system, I thought that you would be interested in what we are doing.

I am enclosing a copy of a kit of materials we are getting out to our activists and a short 4 minute video explaining the problem.

At this point in time our principles are still quite general. Nonetheless, at least in the areas of quality and cost, we may be heading in similar directions.

Sincerely,

Karen Ignagni
Associate Director
Department of Occupational
Safety, Health and Social
Security

KI/dar
opeiu#2
afl-cio

enclosures

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5000

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

Declining Access To Care: Only In America

Among industrialized nations, only the United States and South Africa have no national health care program. Until recently, a patchwork quilt of government programs and employment-based health insurance was providing most Americans access to care.

In the 1980's this trend was reversed. During the Reagan era there were dramatic cutbacks in public programs. Millions of manufacturing jobs that provided good benefits were lost. New jobs were created that offer no benefits and rising costs have led many employers who provide coverage to shift a growing share of the burden to employees.

Who are the Uninsured?

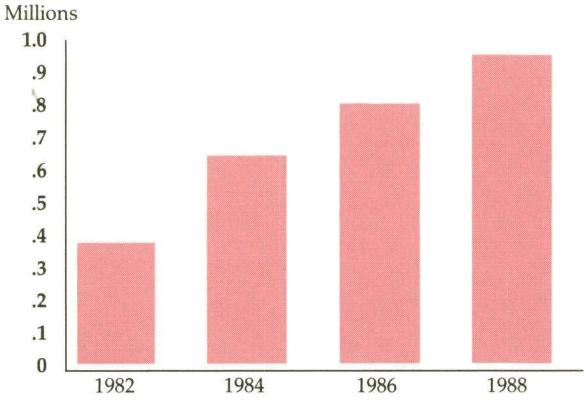
They are workers and their families, children and the sick who cannot buy health care coverage.

- A total of 37 million Americans have no health care protection, a 40 percent increase since 1980.
- Three-fourths of the uninsured are workers and their families
- One-third of the uninsured are children.
- Two million of the uninsured are chronically ill and can not obtain health care protection.

Why is the Number of Uninsured on the Rise?

- **Jobs offering no benefits are being created.** Service industry jobs offering little or no benefits grew by 30 percent between 1980 and 1988, jobs in the manufacturing sector shrank by four percent during the same period. Nearly one-half of the uninsured are in families where the head of household is working more than 40 hours.
- **There has been a growth in contingent workers.** The number of part-time workers has increased 40 percent since 1980. Fewer than 25 percent of part-time workers get benefits.
- **There have been cutbacks in public programs.** Only 40 percent of the poor with incomes under the federal poverty line are actually receiving Medicaid, compared with 65 percent in 1973.
- **Increasing numbers of employees are working for small businesses** that provide little if any health care coverage. In fact, 48 percent of the uninsured work for firms with under 25 employees.

Growth in Temporary Workers



Source: *The New York Times*

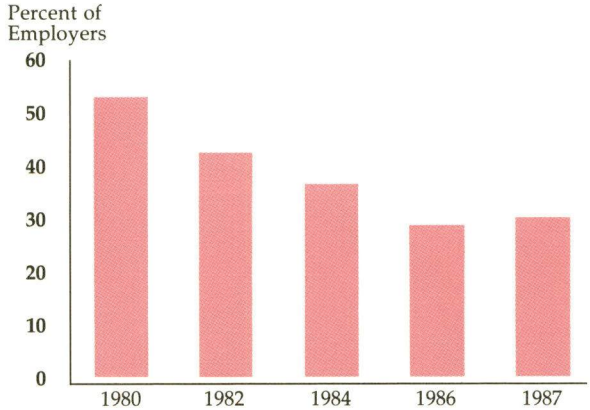
Percent of the Poor* Covered by Medicaid

* Those with incomes under the federal poverty level, which is $11,611 for a family of four.

What About Those Who Are Covered by Insurance?

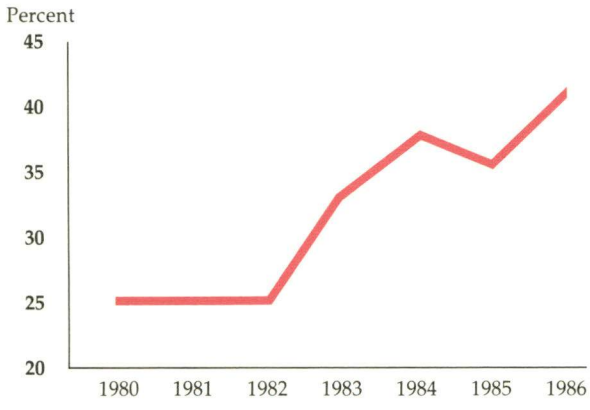
Cutbacks in employment-based health insurance have led some experts to conclude that as many as 50 million Americans have insurance that is INADEQUATE to meet their needs. Employers are shifting costs to workers through higher deductibles, higher coinsurance, more premium-sharing and a growing share of uncovered services.

Employers Offering Non-Contributory Dependent Health Coverage



Source: The Wyatt Company

Growth in the Number of Workers Paying for Health Premiums



Source: Employee Benefit's Research Institute

This Adds Up to Bad Health

Millions of workers and their families are being forced to gamble with their health. Not surprisingly, the United States is at the bottom of all other industrialized countries in infant mortality and life expectancy.

- In the five year period between 1950 and 1955 the U.S. ranked 6th in infant mortality among industrialized countries. Thirty years later the nation's ranking has declined to 17th.
- A black infant born within ten miles of the White House is more likely to die within the first year of life than an infant born in third world countries like Trinidad or Jamaica.
- A 1986 health interview survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services showed that the uninsured population used only 64 percent as many physician services as the insured.
- Nearly one in five uninsured pregnant women do not receive prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy.
- A survey conducted by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation found a 65 percent jump between 1982 and 1986 in the number of Americans with no regular source of health care.
- Of Americans with a serious illness such as cancer, heart disease or diabetes, 17 percent did not see a doctor in 1986.
- Once an individual reaches the age of 65 there is a one in five chance that he or she will need nursing home care. With median incomes of $14,000, older Americans cannot afford to remain unprotected for long-term care. Nor can most of them qualify for Medicaid, which requires individuals to pauperize themselves before becoming eligible for protection.

Are Workers who have Decent Coverage Being Affected?

YES. The uninsured enter the health care system through the back door, receiving care in hospital emergency rooms. The cost of caring for the uninsured in this way amounts to almost $10 billion per year.

Through surcharges on health care bills, workers in plans where employers do provide coverage are subsidizing those workers whose employers refuse to provide protection. Furthermore, in competitive bidding situations employers that provide health care are frequent losers to employers who do not offer benefits. This is happening in construction, the service industry and in public sector employment.

In addition, many workers with employer-provided health benefits lack important benefit coverage such as well baby and elder care and find primary (or preventive care) reduced. If health care costs continue to skyrocket, these workers may find other gaps in coverage.

AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign
815 16th Street, NW
Room 306
Washington, DC 20006

Publication No. 190

UNION YES

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

Waste and Inefficiency: The Facts on Quality of Care

What are the Numbers?

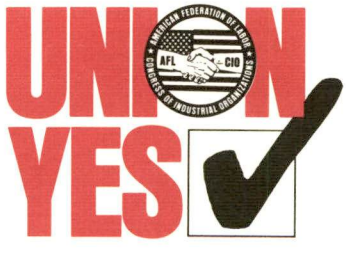
A shocking 25 percent of U.S. health care expenditures are going towards wasteful or inappropriate procedures. This means that a total of $125 billion could be freed up to improve access *and* hold down costs for those who are insured, providing access to prenatal care to women who can not afford it, well-baby care for families that find the cost of regular checkups and routine injections for their children out-of-reach, and long-term care for the elderly and the chronically ill.

How widespread is the quality problem? A report recently released by the National Leadership Commission on Health Care provides some disturbing answers:

- 5-25 percent of all patients admitted to hospitals have quality of care problems.
- 10-35 percent of hospital admissions are inappropriate.
- One-fourth of all patients who died in the hospital were found to have been misdiagnosed by physicians.
- 50 percent of all postoperative complications and 35 percent of all surgical deaths were found preventable.
- When monitored, physicians decrease their use of lab testing by 47 percent.

AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign
815 16th Street, NW
Room 306
Washington, DC 20006

Publication No. 190



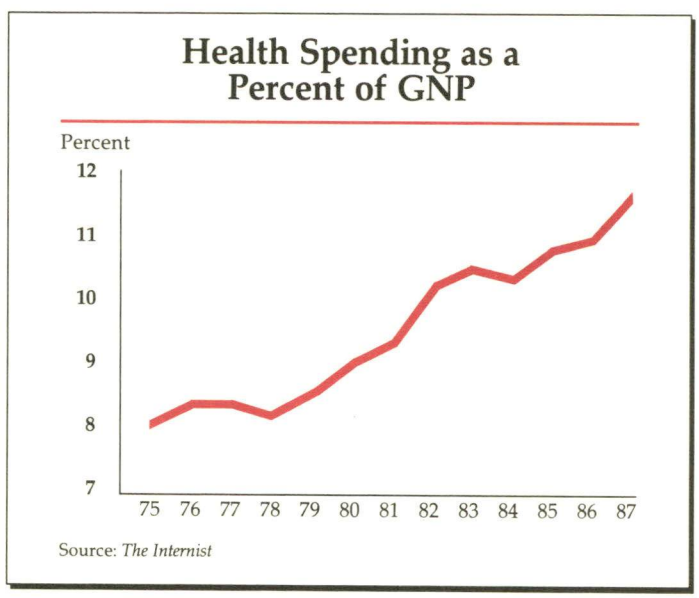
National Health Care Now Is The Time

The AFL-CIO Strategy For Health Care Reform

National Health Care: Facts and Fiction

Members of Congress need to hear from you about how passage of a national health care program can reduce the considerable pressure that rising health care costs are putting on labor and management negotiators.

Until recently OPPONENTS OF A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE PROGRAM have blocked passage of federal legislation by claiming that government intervention would increase costs and inhibit competition. Instead,



AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign
815 16th Street, NW
Room 306
Washington, DC 20006

Publication No. 190

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

AFL-CIO
NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN

Congressional Visit Report

Name of Member of Congress visited:

Senator/Representative _____

State/District _____

Date of Visit _____

A delegation from our local union visited the above Member of Congress and the response was (add extra sheets if needed):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Visit made by Delegation from:

Local Union Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

When you have completed your visit, fill out this form, fold, apply postage and mail back.

Please mail this form back when you have completed each congressional visit.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

AFL-CIO
NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN

Congressional Visit Report

Name of Member of Congress visited:

Senator/Representative _____

State/District _____

Date of Visit _____

A delegation from our local union visited the above Member of Congress and the response was (add extra sheets if needed):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Visit made by Delegation from:

Local Union Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

When you have completed your visit, fill out this form, fold, apply postage and mail back.

Please mail this form back when you have completed each congressional visit.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

AFL-CIO
NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN

Congressional Visit Report

Name of Member of Congress visited:

Senator/Representative _____

State/District _____

Date of Visit _____

A delegation from our local union visited the above Member of Congress and the response was (add extra sheets if needed):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Visit made by Delegation from:

Local Union Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

When you have completed your visit, fill out this form, fold, apply postage and mail back.

Please mail this form back when you have completed each congressional visit.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

National Health Care
Now Is The Time

UNION YES

YES!

I would like to be involved in the AFL-CIO National Health Care Campaign.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

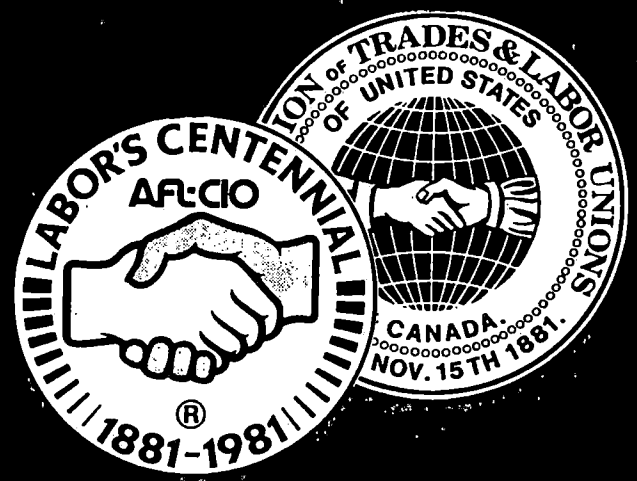
PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

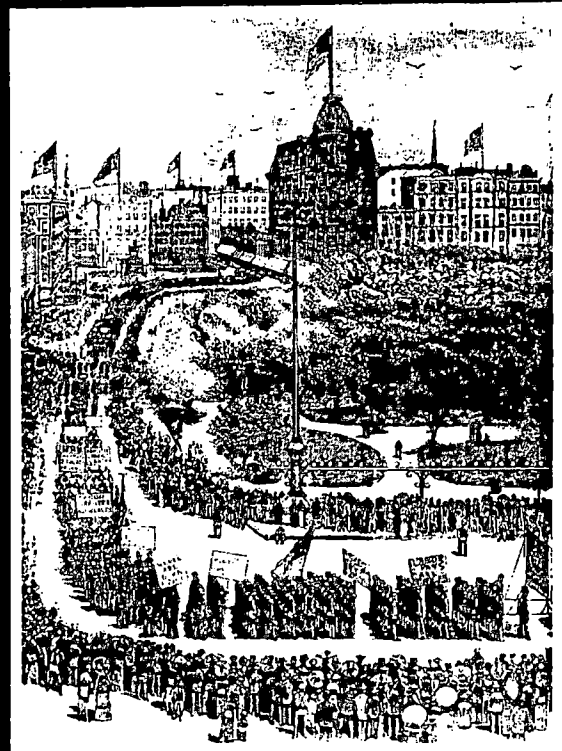
PLACE
STAMP
HERE

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN
AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET NW
RM 306
WASHINGTON DC 20006

AFL-CIO CENTENNIAL ANTHOLOGY



A Collection of Readings
to Celebrate
the 100th Anniversary
of the
American Labor Movement



AFL-CIO CENTENNIAL ANTHOLOGY

A Collection of Readings to Celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the American Labor Movement

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Printed in U.S.A.

November, 1981

3

Table of Contents

Foreword

For a hundred years, American trade unions have defended the interests of their members on the job and in the community. At the same time, they have been a force for general progress. Yet labor's role in strengthening American democratic society is often misunderstood, misinterpreted—or ignored.

The purpose of this Centennial Anthology is to place in the reader's hand a collection of readings to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the American labor movement and—equally important—to document the aims and aspirations, the struggles, the setbacks as well as the accomplishments, and the challenge of the future as we move ahead into labor's second century.

Working men and women have a higher standard of living today. Working conditions generally have improved. Members of minorities and women have come a long way from the discriminatory practices of the past. But much remains to be achieved in the never-ending struggle for human dignity and a better way of life.

The first hundred years is only the beginning.

Aims and Principles Of the AFL-CIO

As the American trade union movement celebrates its centennial in 1981, the AFL-CIO rededicates itself to the aims and principles expressed in its Constitution—and to the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

From its beginning, the goal of the American trade union movement has been to assist working people in achieving their aspirations for decent, productive lives in a democratic society.

The preamble of the AFL-CIO Constitution adopted in 1955 expressed it this way:

"The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

"We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

"At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

"We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people sufficient to enable workers and their families to live in dignity; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

"We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine

the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve."

The aims and principles of the AFL-CIO are based on the knowledge that the American trade union movement is an indivisible part of our national life.

These aims and principles, also set forth in the 1955 AFL-CIO Constitution, include:

"To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of affiliated unions.

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, sex, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

"To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

"To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.

"To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.

"While preserving the independence of the labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities."

"What does labor want? . . . We want more school houses and less jails . . . more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures."

—Samuel Gompers

Federation Platform For Political Action

The handful of unionists who established the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1881 issued a remarkable document outlining a program of political and legislative action that was to change the shape of American society. Here is the complete text.

Preamble

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor, which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit. The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; whereas the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil. It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our only hope. The past history of Trades Unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, but their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following:

Platform

1. RESOLVED, That an organization of workingmen into what is known as a Trades or Labor Union should have the right to the protection of their property in like manner as the property of all other persons and societies, and to accomplish this purpose we insist upon the passage of laws in the State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of Trades Unions and similar labor organizations.

2. That we are in favor of the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

3. That we are in favor of the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

4. That necessity demands the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, from three to five years, and that he be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

5. That the National Eight Hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens; that the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the Nation; we therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

6. That it is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the States, is a species of slavery in its worst form; that it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; that, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed, so as to discontinue the manufacture of all articles which will compete with those of the honest mechanic or workingman.

7. That what is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as a value of labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and calls for entire abolition, and we recommend that active measures shall be enforced to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. That we favor the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims; that proper provisions be made for legally recovering the same.

9. That we demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages and the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work.

10. That we recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several States, and we urge upon our friends in Congress the passage of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

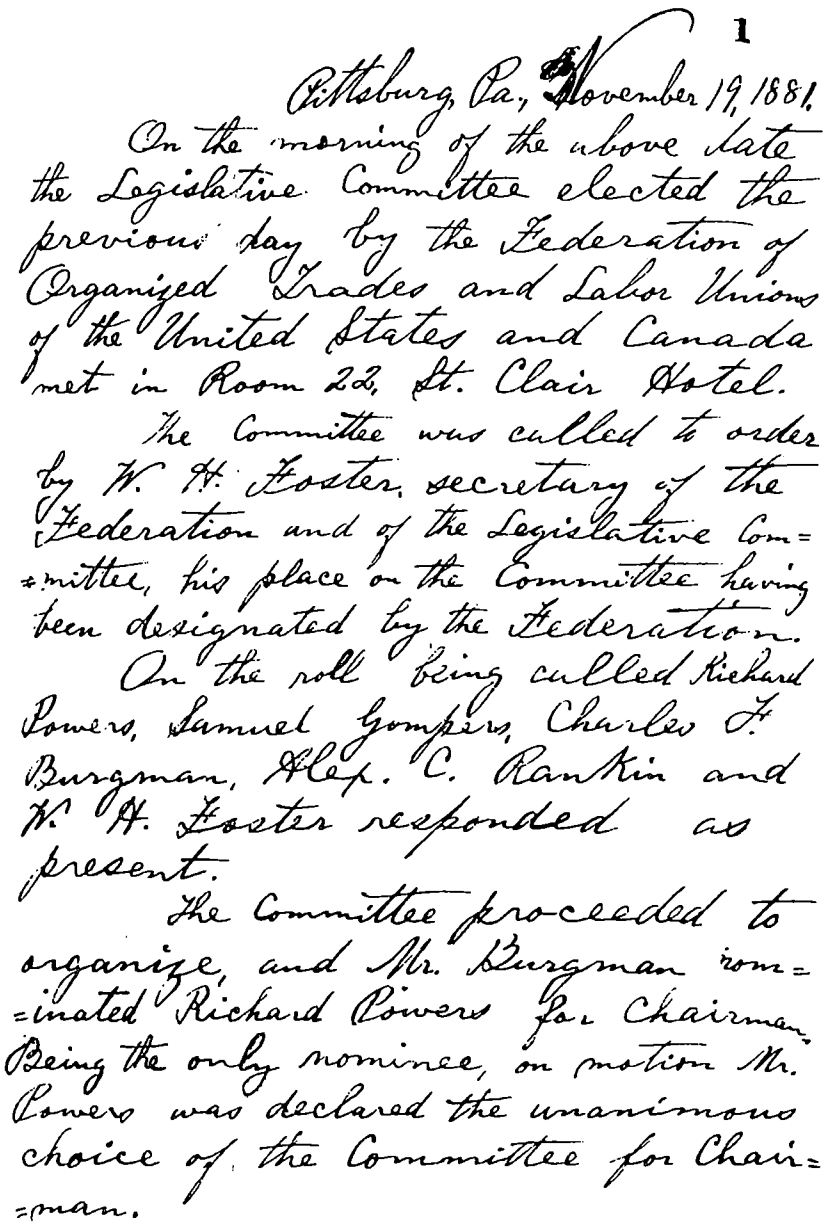
11. That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws and shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries.

12. That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract.

13. That we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

"The labor movement has been a part of the quality, the dignity, and the inspiration of America. What we have helped to build, we shall fight to defend."

—Lane Kirkland



1

Pittsburg, Pa., November 19, 1881.

On the morning of the above date the Legislative Committee elected the previous day by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada met in Room 22, St. Clair Hotel.

The Committee was called to order by W. H. Foster, secretary of the Federation and of the Legislative Committee, his place on the Committee having been designated by the Federation.

On the roll being called Richard Powers, Samuel Gompers, Charles F. Burgman, Alex. C. Rankin and W. H. Foster responded as present.

The Committee proceeded to organize, and Mr. Burgman nominated Richard Powers for Chairman. Being the only nominee, on motion Mr. Powers was declared the unanimous choice of the Committee for Chairman.

Extract from Minutes, first meeting of the Legislative Committee created by the newly-organized Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in Pittsburgh in 1881.

Gompers—Hillquit: The Famous 'Debate'

Samuel Gompers, president of A. F. of L., and Morris Hillquit, lawyer and Socialist spokesman, both testified before the Walsh Commission on Industrial Relations in New York City in 1914. The following exchange took place on the record, achieving instant—and lasting—fame.

Mr. Hillquit: Now, . . . is it your conception, Mr. Gompers, or that of the Federation, that workers in the United States today receive the full production of their labor?

Mr. Gompers: I think, but I am not quite so sure, that I know what you have in mind.

Mr. Hillquit: Do you understand my question?

Mr. Gompers: I think I do, but in the generally accepted sense of that term, no.

Mr. Hillquit: In any particular sense, yes?

Mr. Gompers: No.

Mr. Hillquit: Then the workers of this country do not receive the whole product of their labor? Can you hazard a guess as to what proportion of the product they do receive in the shape of wages? . . .

Mr. Gompers: I will say that it is impossible for anyone to definitely say what proportion the workers receive as the result of their labor; but it is the fact that due to the organized-labor movement they have received and are receiving a larger share of the product of their labor than they ever did in the history of modern society.

Mr. Hillquit: Then one of the functions of organized labor is to increase the share of the workers in the product of their labor, is that correct?

Mr. Gompers: Yes, sir; organized labor makes constantly increasing demands upon society for reward for the services which the workers give to society, and without which the civilized life would be impossible.

Mr. Hillquit: And these demands for an increasing share of the reward of the product of labor continue by a gradual process all the time?

Mr. Gompers: I am not so sure as to gradual process. Sometimes it is not a gradual process, but it is all the time.

Mr. Hillquit: All the time?

Mr. Gompers: Yes, sir.

Mr. Hillquit: Then, Mr. Gompers, you assume that the organized labor movement has generally succeeded in forcing a certain increase of that portion of the workers in the share of the general product, do you?

Mr. Gompers: Yes, sir.

Mr. Hillquit: And it demands more now?

Mr. Gompers: Yes, sir.

Mr. Hillquit: And if it should get, say, 5 per cent more within the next year, will the organized labor movement rest contented with that and stop?

Mr. Gompers: Not if I know anything about human nature.

Mr. Hillquit: Will the organized labor movement, or the labor movement of the country generally, stop in its demands for an ever greater share in the product at any time before it has received or does receive the full product, and before in its eyes complete social justice shall have been done?

Mr. Gompers: That question again that you have bobbed up with quite serenely in regard to the share of the product of labor, say that the working people—and I prefer to say working people and speak of them as real human beings—the working people, as all other people, they are prompted by the same desires and hopes of a better life, and they are not willing to wait until after they have shuffled off this mortal coil for the better life, they want it here and now, and they want to make conditions better for their children so that they may meet the other, the newer problems in their time. The working people are pressing forward, making their claims and presenting those claims with whatever power they have, to exercise it in a normal, rational manner, to secure a larger, and constantly larger share of the products. They are working to the highest and best ideals of social justice.

Mr. Hillquit: Now, the highest and best ideals of social justice, as applied to the distribution of wealth, wouldn't that be a system under which the workers, manual, mental, directive, executive and all other lines together get the sum total of all the products we supply them?

Mr. Gompers: Really, a fish is caught by the tempting bait: a mouse or a rat is caught in a trap by the tempting bait; the intelligent, comprehensive, common-sense workmen prefer to deal with the prob-

lems of today, the problem which confronts them today, with which they are bound to contend if they want to advance, rather than to deal with a picture and a dream which has never had, and I am sure never will have, any reality in the affairs of humanity, and which threaten, if it could be introduced, the worst system of circumscriptional effort and activity that has been invented by the ken of the human kind.

Mr. Hillquit: That is what I want to get from you, Mr. Gompers, but I would like to get an answer. In your experience with the labor movement and in its ever forward march toward greater and greater improvement, and a greater and greater share of social justice, can you point out any line where the labor movement will stop and rest contented so long as it may receive short of the full product of its work?

Mr. Gompers: I say that the workers, as human beings, will never stop in any effort, nor stop at any point in the effort to secure greater improvements in their condition, a better life in all its phases. And wherever that may lead, whatever that may be, so far in my time and my age I decline to permit my mind or my activities to be labeled by any particular ism. . . .

Mr. Hillquit: In your political work of the labor movement is the American Federation of Labor guided by a general social philosophy, or is it not?

Mr. Gompers: It is guided by the history of the past, drawing its lessons from history, to know of the conditions by which the working people are surrounded and confronted; to work along the lines of least resistance; to accomplish the best results in improving the condition of the working people, men and women and children, today and tomorrow and tomorrow—and tomorrow's tomorrow; and each day making it a better day than the one that had gone before. That is the guiding principle and philosophy and aim of the labor movement—in order to secure a better life for all.

Mr. Hillquit: But in these efforts to improve conditions from day to day you must have an underlying standard of what is better, don't you?

Mr. Gompers: No. You start out with a given program, and everything must conform to it; and if the facts do not conform to your theories, why, your declarations, or, rather, your actions, betray the state of mind "so much the worse for the facts."

Mr. Hillquit: Mr. Gompers, what I ask you is this: You say you try to make the conditions of the workers better every day. In order to determine whether the conditions are better or worse you must have some standards by which you distinguish the bad from the good in the labor movement, do you not?

Mr. Gompers: Certainly. Well, is that—

Mr. Hillquit (interrupting): Now, just—

Mr. Gompers (interrupting): Well, one moment. Does it require much discernment to know that a wage of $3 a day and a workday of 8 hours a day in sanitary workshops are all better than $2.50 a day and 12 hours a day and under perilous conditions of labor? It does not require much conception of a social philosophy to understand that.

Mr. Hillquit: Then, Mr. Gompers, by the same parity of reasoning, $4 a day and seven hours a day of work and very attractive working conditions are still better?

Mr. Gompers: Unquestionably.

Mr. Hillquit: Therefore—

Mr. Gompers (interrupting): Just a moment. I have not stipulated $4 a day or $8 a day or any number of dollars a day or eight hours a day or seven hours a day or any number of hours a day, but the best possible conditions obtainable for the workers is the aim.

Mr. Hillquit: Yes; and when these conditions are obtained—

Mr. Gompers (interrupting): Why, then, we want better.

Mr. Hillquit (continuing): You will still strive for better?

Mr. Gompers: Yes.

Mr. Hillquit: Now, my question is, Will this effort on the part of organized labor ever stop until it has the full reward for its labor?

Mr. Gompers: It won't stop at all.

Mr. Hillquit: That is a question—

Mr. Gompers (interrupting): Not when any particular point is reached, whether it be that toward which you have just declared or anything else. The working people will never stop—

Mr. Hillquit: Exactly.

Mr. Gompers (continuing): In their effort to obtain a better life for themselves and for their wives and for their children and for humanity.

Mr. Hillquit: Then, the object of the labor union is to obtain complete social justice for themselves and for their wives and for their children?

Mr. Gompers: It is the effort to obtain a better life every day.

Mr. Hillquit: Every day and always—

Mr. Gompers: Every day. That does not limit it.

Mr. Hillquit: Until such time—

Mr. Gompers: Not until any time.

Mr. Hillquit: In other words—

Mr. Gompers (interrupting): In other words, we go further than you. (Laughter and applause in the audience.) You have an end; we have not. . . .

Mr. Gompers: . . . Under Socialism will there be liberty of individual action, and liberty in the choice of occupation and refusal to work?

Mr. Hillquit: Plenty of it, Mr. Gompers.

Mr. Gompers: I take it that you have no apprehension that under

a democratic Socialist management, the administrators could or would attempt to exploit the workers under them, and one set of laborers would exploit another set; the lazy officer-holders, the industrious artisans; the strong and bolder, the weaker and more modest ones, and the failures, the economically successful.

Mr. Hillquit: I think it quite likely that there will be some abuses of that kind. Even under Socialism men will still remain human, no doubt. But, Mr. Gompers, we have every reason to believe that they will be small and insignificant as compared with present abuses, for the system will be based on a greater democracy and self-government, and will thus provide for proper means of remedy. Furthermore, there will be no great incentive to corruption such as we have in private gain under capitalism.

Mr. Gompers: In the event that the Co-operative Commonwealth should be established, taking it for granted for the sake of the question, that it is possible, it would have for its present purpose the highest material and social and moral improvement of the condition of the workers attainable at that time, would it not?

Mr. Hillquit: I think so.

Mr. Gompers: And would there be any higher aim after that is established?

Mr. Hillquit: Oh, there will be plenty more. There will be new aims coming every day.

Mr. Gompers: Still more?

Mr. Hillquit: Still further.

Mr. Compers: Still higher?

Mr. Hillquit: Still higher.

Mr. Gompers: Now, if that is so, isn't it a fact that it is not at all a goal, but simply a transitory ideal?

Mr. Hillquit: Sure. It is our goal to-day. It is a transitory goal. There will be a movement toward a higher goal to-morrow.

Mr. Gompers: In other words, you think even if that condition of affairs should be possible, it, like the conditions of to-day, is transitory and continually tending toward improvement?

Mr. Hillquit: Yes.

Mr. Gompers: And not a goal?

Mr. Hillquit: Not an ultimate goal. There is no such thing as an ultimate social goal.

Mr. Gompers: In the Socialist state, would you have each worker rewarded by the full product of his labor, or by an apportionment of the product according to his demands? In other words, would the rule be, to each according to his deeds, or to each according to his needs?

Mr. Hillquit: I think neither, strictly speaking. I don't suppose his Socialist regime would at once radically change established stan-

dards of compensation. I think it would have to grow up and be built up on the existing basis. And I think it will largely be a system of salaries and wages, as nearly as possible, in proportion to the usefulness of the service—but they will be larger than they are to-day, because they will include the profits now paid to the idle capitalists.

Mr. Gompers: So, as a matter of fact, then, if the Co-operative Commonwealth is not a goal, is not an end, then why term it Socialism, and why not term it the ordinary, natural development of the human race to a higher and better state of society?

Mr. Hillquit: We may term it the ordinary and natural development of the human race to the point of Socialism. In other words, Mr. Gompers, we divide the history of mankind pretty arbitrarily into certain periods. We speak of the period of Slavery, the period of Feudalism, the period of Capitalism. Now we foresee the next step in development, and call it the period of Socialism. We cannot draw a line of demarcation where it starts or where it vanishes. It will certainly not be permanent. There will be something superior to it some time. In the meantime every stage of development is superior to the preceding stage; and by the same token as Capitalism is superior to Feudalism, Socialism is superior to Capitalism. That is all.

Mr. Gompers: You simply apply it as a term, and not an end?

Mr. Hillquit: Not an ultimate end in social development, no.

Samuel Gompers, an immigrant from England and a leader in the cigar makers' union, has achieved lasting national and international recognition as the founder and first leader of the modern American trade union movement. One of his early contributions was to assist in the founding of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in 1881.

When that Federation emerged as the American Federation of Labor in 1886, Gompers was elected its first president. He served in that post, with a one-year hiatus in 1894-95, until his death in 1924.

Gompers held a strong and life-long belief in "bread and butter" issues: higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

A highly practical man, he helped the struggling young unions of his time turn away from the dreams of a utopian society to the practical issues of day-to-day union activity which produced tangible benefits for working men and women. Gompers, thus, was a vocal and leading advocate of collective bargaining and written labor-management contracts.

During his presidency, the membership of the AFL rose from 150-000 to 2.9 million.

Gompers vs. Horatio Alger On America's Work Ethic

Stuart B. Kaufman, author of this study, is Associate Professor of History, University of Maryland, and editor, The Samuel Gompers Papers. The paper was originally prepared for delivery at a Centennial Seminar held in January, 1981 at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

Horatio Alger and Samuel Gompers were contemporaries. This is a strange confluence to puzzle out. How could the spirit of a single age have launched both of these careers? And what could this tell us about the spirit of the modern American labor movement?

Horatio Alger's novel "Ragged Dick," about the rise of a young bootblack, is still selling well in a paperback edition more than 100 years after it was written. Alger described his protagonist this way: "Dick's appearance as he stood beside the box was rather peculiar. His pants were torn in several places, and had apparently belonged in the first instance to a boy two sizes larger than himself. He wore a vest, all the buttons of which were gone except two, out of which peeped a shirt which looked as if it had been worn a month. To complete his costume he wore a coat too long for him, dating back, if one might judge from its general appearance, to a remote antiquity."

This was the young man who, before Alger was finished with him, emerged as the distinguished Richard Hunter, the protector of an equally ragged youngster, Mark the Match Boy, who was similarly successful in his rise from rags to riches. Alger ground out the same story with little variation more than a hundred times—the poor young man making it by a combination of intelligence, aggressiveness, and inner moral spirit. He sold some 200 million copies of his books before World War I; his success bred imitation in a proliferation of success stories in dime novels—those cheap weekly publications that anyone could buy and, to judge by late 19th century figures, almost everyone did. "Pluck and Luck" was one of these; "Fame and Fortune Weekly,"

subtitled "Stories of Boys Who Make Money," was another.

This is a starting place for understanding the modern American labor movement. Horatio Alger and Samuel Gompers were contemporaries: the American labor movement as we know it today got its start in the midst of a society that was frantically and passionately insisting that there was room at the top for everyone with the gumption, the pluck to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

It is precisely in the overblown and exaggerated form of the Horatio Alger success story that we come to grips with the workplace anxiety of the modern age. Americans had for a long time prided themselves that, unlike Europe, here in America the race of life was open to all, any right-living common man could win the race. Inherited riches were a marginal advantage at best. Historian Stephen Thernstrom relates a story from a mid-century New England newspaper about an Edward Marvel, an unskilled English laborer. Out of work for weeks, Marvel returns home one night to tell his wife Agnes "The native independence of my character revolts at our present condition . . . every avenue is crowded. . . ." His wife answers, "There is another land where, if what we hear be true, ability finds employment, and talent a sure reward." Edward pauses: "America," he says, and the couple resolves to emigrate to the New World.

And this, after all, was fundamental to American culture—the work ethic, that cluster of values that suggested that doing one's work well and with satisfaction was a man's calling before God. At the end of the 17th century the Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather declared, "Every Christian ordinarily should have a Calling. That is to say, there should be some Special Business, and some Settled Business, wherein a Christian should for the most part spend the most of his Time; and this, that so he may Glorify God, by doing Good for others, and getting of Good for himself." It was at work that an individual practiced piety and came to terms with existence. Mather asked, "Why do you find so many Occupations mentioned in the Scriptures? 'Tis partly, that so you may think on the Scriptures in the midst of your Occupations. . . . The Carpenter may pray: 'May I be built up in my most Holy Faith!' The Goldsmith: 'May I be Enriched with the true Gold tried in the Fire.' The Tailor: 'May my Soul be furnished with the Garments of Salvation!' "

The message from Mather, then, was that if in the course of working, one also rose in one's trade to the status of an independent craftsman, perhaps with some journeymen of one's own, an apprentice or two, owning one's shop, sitting in the better pews in church, this was the natural course of things: not so much the purpose of a life of honest toil as the God-given recognition of a life well lived.

Until the late 19th century, a labor movement like the Knights of Labor could still be built to a membership of hundreds of thousands

upon the idea that the decent folk of this country, the individuals who labored with their hands, worked hard, gave good value, lived temperately and morally—in a word, the producers—could derive meaning and dignity from their work and should expect to achieve some economic independence and, symbolic of that, a measure of regular, meaningful political participation in their communities. Until that time farmers, workers, and small shopkeepers could still think of themselves as having something in common: their work was the central defining element in their lives.

Yet in the impersonal, commercialized and industrializing economy of that period, self-esteem in the workplace was eluding most workers, and the best the General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, Terence Powderly, could propose was that workers try to form cooperative shops to recover collectively the independence that was out of their reach as individuals. Failing that, there was every prospect that most American workers would have to look outside their work life for something to give meaning to their existence.

Already the culture of the day was beckoning to them to begin defining themselves by a new measure—not by what they did at work but rather by what they consumed. Pioneering in this seductive message by the 1880s and 1890s was the cigarette industry, whose testimonials reached down into the darker recesses of the psyche with a brashness that still embarrasses in the 1980s and which pre-saged the 20th-century assault by Madison Avenue on our sensibilities and our senses: "In Spain," one read, "The dark-eyed, olive-skinned Spanish beauty puffs her cigarette with a grace and sangfroid that is enchanting to behold. Lying on her couch, or reclining in an easy chair, surrounded by the prolific and beautiful shrubbery and flowers of her native land, a handsome gallant at her side whispering sweet nothings in her ear, she daintily smoking her cigarette, makes a sensuous dreamy picture well nigh indescribable." And another related, "I have seen some women smoke a cigarette so daintily that it was a beautiful sight to watch the delicate smoke circling up from their rosy lips. . . ."

In the face of all this, what Sampel Gompers did was to embody in a new organization, the American Federation of Labor, a reformulation of the work ethic and a rededication to it. For most workers, he was to repeat over and over again, there was no escape from the working class. This was an idea difficult for many craftsmen to accept then, just as it is today for many teachers and other so-called professionals of the white-collar world. We cannot look to rise into independence individually, he argued; we can only achieve it in the workplace collectively. We are, he said, permanently members of the working class. We must devise ways to have a say in all decisions affecting our work lives because only then can we workers perform what is needed of us with dignity and self-esteem.

Gompers said, "To be free, the workers must have choice. To have choice they must retain in their own hands the right to determine under what conditions they will work." This assertion of the right to be free within the context of a shop or factory or workplace owned by another implied a modification of the traditional definition of property rights, and indeed Gompers was fully aware of that: "One of the greatest impediments to a better appreciation by the capitalists of the devoted efforts of the Trade Unions to establish harmony in the industrial relations has been the perverted view taken by the capitalists in regarding their capital as essentially if not absolutely their own, whereas the Trade Unions, taking a more comprehensive and purer view, regard all capitalists, large and small, as the fruits of labor's economies and discoveries, inventions and institutions. . . ."

Such an assertion of rights by Gompers flowed naturally from the aggressive spirit of the craftsmen of the cigar shops in which Gompers had worked. One is carried back to an episode Gompers recalled in his autobiography as happening in the Eagle Cigar Company in New York City where he worked:

"One of the men was named Cohen. He was a small man, a weakling about forty-five years or so, whose sight was considerably impaired. The loft was lighted by windows in front. Long rows of seats extended across the room with benches or work-tables between. These were extended back into the room four or five rows. I had a seat in the first row as did Cohen, or 'Conchy' as we all called him. Of course, the light was much better nearer the windows than in the back row. One Monday morning, I came into the shop and found that some fellow, who had been a strike breaker in one of the lockouts, was seated at the front bench against the window, in Conchy's seat. Conchy had been removed to one of the seats or benches in the rear. I went up to Conchy and said: 'What is the matter with you?' In a very plaintive tone he said, 'Well, they put me back here this morning and gave the other fellow my seat near the window.' 'What for?' I said. Conchy replied, 'Well, they just put the new fellow there, that's all, just put him there.' . . . I left him, went back to my seat, and called one of the call boys . . . and told him to go down to Mr. Smith, the new foreman, and tell him I wanted to see him. . . . Finally, Mr. Smith came up and said, 'Well, what do you want?' I said, 'Why did you put Conchy away back there in that dark seat for and put the young fellow down there in the light?' The foreman replied, 'None of your damned business.' . . . 'Do you mean to say that you are going to let this young fellow keep that front seat and make Conchy stay back there?' 'Yes, I am. What are you going to do about it?' Smith replied. I began gathering up my tools as I replied, 'Not much except that he can have this seat, too.' Then as if an explosion had occurred, every man in that shop—there were about 50 of us—rose and reiterated one

after another. 'Yes, and he can have this seat too.' 'And this seat,' . . . 'and this seat.' . . . Conchy got his old seat and then we went to work."

Consistently over the next century the labor movement recruited its leaders and organizers heavily from among the aristocrats of the labor force. The stratum of skilled workers, as Andrew Dawson has pointed out, remained remarkably constant even in the face of mechanization. Technology diluted some trades to the point they were no longer skilled—cigarmaking, for instance, and shoemaking and tailoring. In other areas, however, such as construction, skilled workers like the bricklayers and carpenters could not be replaced. Other skilled workers such as the machinists proved remarkably adaptable in redefining their skills in relationship to new machinery without missing a step in maintaining their status on the job. In some cases industrialization actually created whole new skilled occupations.

In order to preserve control of their work lives, the organized skilled workers began to adapt their unions; they organized select groups of lesser-skilled production workers who came into competition with them and amalgamated unions of related crafts in order to maintain the greatest possible leverage in the workplace. To protect the skilled carpenter, for instance, the Carpenters union aggressively expanded its jurisdiction during the 20th century to take in the woodworking industry, the lumber industry, and eventually much of the work that had only at one time involved working with wood; in the course of doing so, it became not so much a craft organization as a mixed craft-industrial organization. The same was true of other AFL unions, such as the Electrical Workers and the Teamsters.

The more we study the advent of the CIO in the 1930s to organize the mass-production workers in steel, automobiles, textiles, rubber and so forth, the more clear it becomes that despite differences in strategy between the AFL and CIO, much of the motivation to organize and much of the field leadership of the CIO organizational campaign came from the craft elite among the mass-production workers. They were the ones most likely to feel they were making a substantial contribution to the production process and to be proportionately more aware that they were powerless individually to maintain a control and discretion over their work lives consistent with dignity and self-esteem.

There were, of course, other impulses to organization besides those emanating from these skilled workers. John Brophy, the miners and CIO leader, remembered the particular quality of coal miners. The coal miner, he said, was "his own boss. His judgment was at work as well as his muscles, and he made his own decisions—how deeply to undercut the face, how much powder to use, how to pace himself in loading the car." That independence at work, coupled with the almost total isolation of the mining communities under an oppressive hegemony of the coal companies and their political allies, seemed consistently to

generate a militant leadership for the coal miners. Many people with a mine union background later led locals in the mass-production industries.

William Banks, a black organizer and later vice president of the Tobacco Workers, recalled how he was drawn to the union during the Great Depression: "I went into the factory because my father got me there. He was one of those men to kinda fit in with the policies, you know how they call 'em. . . . He fit in with the big man . . . you couldn't hardly find a job then. . . . Well anyhow I got a job in the factory through my father. Another man was in there who'd been with the company 30-some years. . . . I'll never forget it. . . . The man took me on and went to that man and told him that that was his last day there. And I remember that man standing up there crying just like a baby. That changed my whole outlook. . . . From that day on the union was in my mind."

Rose Schneiderman rose to leadership in the Ladies' Garment Workers out of a poor Orthodox Russian-Jewish immigrant family background through the camaraderie of her fellow cap makers and the socialism of a family close to her. Schneiderman came to the belief that trade unionism was "so much more than getting that loaf of bread, buttered or not. To me it is the spirit of trade unionism that is most important, the service of fellowship, the feeling that the hurt of one is the concern of all and that the work of the individual benefits all. I came to see that poverty is not ordained by Heaven, that we could help ourselves, that we could bring about a decent standard of living for all and work-hours that would leave us time for intellectual and spiritual growth."

For all these workers, organization promised greater control and dignity in the workplace and in their lives. Rose Schneiderman's contention that trade unionism had something to do with intellectual and spiritual growth was not such a strange notion. It was the essential, humanistic core of the labor movement from its beginnings, though I think it was obscured by the unusual faith Gompers had, for his day, that the workers could be trusted to find their way toward these lofty ends for themselves. Gompers lived in an age in which engineering students in the most prestigious engineering schools were, by the end of the century, beginning to sign up for a curriculum called the "humanistic-social stem" in hopes of learning more about how to manipulate workers the way they manipulated physical material in the workplace. When the field of occupational psychology took off in the 1920s, it was based heavily on Sigmund Freud's insights into the irrational side of man's behavior.

Yet Gompers was building a movement dedicated to the rationality of the workers. In his younger days he would have said: "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class

itself." In his legendary battle with the socialists for the leadership of the labor movement he put it this way: "I have always been impressed with the belief that it was our duty to arouse a spirit of independence, to instill in the hearts and minds of the toilers that it was essential to promote and protect their class interests in order to reach and elevate the entire human family, and that any tangible action that will lead them to take the aggressive in the contest to solidify their ranks, to crystalize their thoughts and to concentrate their efforts was a 'progressive movement.' "

Of late, many outsiders have devised programs for increasing job satisfaction by the reorganization of one or another feature of work, only to find many workers suspicious of outsiders bearing gifts, and obsessed with such supposedly mundane features of their work lives as the grievance procedure, job benefits, the seniority system, job security provisions, pensions, holidays, changes in productivity, and even the pay check. And yet it is difficult to look at these provisions that workers have achieved for themselves without seeing in them a structure of protection against some of the most glaring indignities of workplaces past. What, for example, would an effective grievance procedure mean to someone like Joe Morrison, a southwestern Indiana coal miner who told Studs Terkel: "In '34 I got discharged over a hassle we had with the mine company. I was on the union's grievance committee. They had me blacklisted in the fields there. I never got a job until I went to work in the steelmills in '36. I bummed around a little in some temporary jobs, anything I could get. Had a big family, seven children, they were all small. . . ."

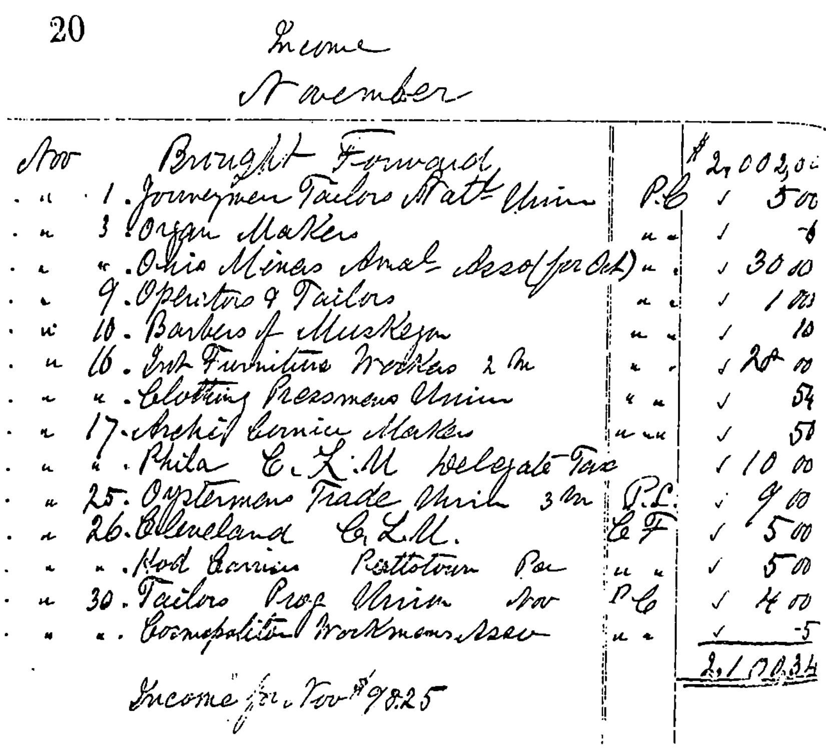
Similarly, the seniority system gave universal recognition and just recompense to a central ethical component of American work lives, durability—the dedication to giving full measure over time. All these provisions, collectively won, were the inheritance that gave workers a modicum of independence, control and reward consistent with a dignified and satisfying work life.

In a piece called "What Does Labor Want?" Samuel Gompers called the trade unions the "only hope of civilization." I have looked in vain for the statement usually attributed to Gompers, that what the labor movement wants, pure and simply, is "more." Taken from context and worded that way, it seems to imply that the sole motivation of the labor movement was simply acquisitiveness. What Gompers said, however, was: "We want more school houses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures, to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful, and childhood more happy and bright."

In both Horatio Alger and Samuel Gompers we find a reborn

faith in the ability of the individual spirit at work to survive and find dignity. Alger reiterated the scenario that was familiar to the 19th century American, who rose, in his words, "By a series of upward steps, partly due to good fortune, but largely to his own determination to improve, and hopeful energy. . . ."

Samuel Gompers gave us a new scenario, a collective one for the people whom Ragged Dick and Mark the Match Boy left behind.


20

Income

November

Nov	Brought Forward			$2,002.0[illegible]
"	1. Journeymen Tailors Natl Union	P.C.	✓	5 00
"	3. Organ Makers	" "	✓	6
"	" . Ohio Miners Amal Asso (for Del)	"	✓	30 00
"	9. Operators & Tailors	" "	✓	1 00
"	10. Barbers of Muskegon	" "	✓	10
"	16. Int Furniture Workers 2 m	" "	✓	20 00
"	" . Clothing Pressmens Union	" "	✓	54
"	17. Architect Cornice Makers	" "	✓	50
"	" . Phila C.L.U. Delegate Tax		✓	10 00
"	25. Oystermens Trade Union 3 m	P.C.	✓	9 00
"	26. Cleveland C.L.U.	C.F.	✓	5 00
"	" . Hod Carriers Pottstown Pa	" "	✓	5 00
"	30. Tailors Prog Union Nov	P.C.	✓	4 00
"	" . Cosmopolitan Workmens Assn	" "	✓	5
				2,1[illegible]0.34

Income for Nov $98.25

Ledger sheet from original records of the A. F. of L. showing income for month of November, 1887.

"The trade union movement has a mission to perform— to establish the brotherhood of man regardless of creed, color or nationality."

—John McBride

"America cannot be a nation of outcasts and remain America. It cannot be a nation of workless men and remain America. We shall bring back work and safety or give everything we are and have in the effort."

—William Green

☆ ☆ ☆

William Green, born in Coshocton, Ohio, first left school to become a coal mine laborer and an active member and official of the United Mine Workers. In 1900 he was elected a UMW sub-district president, and he was elected international secretary-treasurer in 1912.

A year later, he was named to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and he succeeded Samuel Gompers as AFL President on the latter's death in 1924. Despite his earlier ties with John L. Lewis, the two broke long-standing relationships over Lewis' formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which was expelled from AFL in 1936.

As president of the AFL, Green served on numerous government commissions and advisory boards. He spoke out strongly against communist and fascist dictatorships and took the lead in developing AFL programs for helping and seeking to save the lives of victims of persecution of the Nazis and Communists.

Green continued as president of the AFL until his death in 1952.

William Green: Labor's War Record

The A. F. of L. convention in 1943 was the scene of a famous exchange between the Federation president and a guest speaker—a commander of the American Legion—who exhorted labor to a greater war effort by ending strikes. William Green responded in these words.

The American Federation of Labor is an open forum. We speak with frankness; we act the same way; we face all issues. We proclaim our virtues and we admit our faults.

I can with perfect propriety point out that those who seek perfection in an imperfect world are doomed to disappointment. But he who follows the pathway of logic and reason, looking beyond the inconsequential faults of a small minority, will realize that we are making a fine record in a most imperfect world.

Immediately after hearing on the radio [the news of Pearl Harbor] the American Federation of Labor did not hesitate or wait a minute. The Executive Council pledged to the President of the United States a no-strike policy for the duration of this cruel war.

That was made voluntarily, and to understand the pledge, you must understand the real value of the strike weapon . . . the mobilization of our economic strength, our last resort, the means labor uses to protect its standard of life and living. When we pledged to place that behind the door and leave it there until the war was over, labor honestly pledged itself to support the government to the bitter end.

The President of the United States, who keeps the record and studies it carefully, has spoken to us and said, "You have kept that pledge 99.9 percent." And that pledge was kept by imperfect men. I maintain that it is an amazing record made in an imperfect world.

We hold business management in high regard. We feel that business as a whole has made a good record during the war. We do not denounce industry as a whole because of the sins committed by some

managers or some directors or a minority of industry. Consequently, we do not denounce industry as a whole because some steel corporation supplied defective armorplate, because another supplied inferior wire.

Is this a world without sin? Do the members of the Church always live up to the high standards set for them? Do the fraternal organizations maintain their standards of righteousness always? Do you find perfection in family life, the most sacred organization in America?

The American Federation of Labor has never officially ordered or approved a strike of one, five, or ten men, or a hundred men since the dastardly attack was made upon us at Pearl Harbor. We have kept the faith and we are keeping the faith. We are producing the planes, the guns, the tanks, the ships, the war material so necessary in order that our brave men on the battlefields of Africa, in the Southern Pacific, in Italy, and wherever the war is being fought may be adequately supplied.

And, Mr. Commander, it might be of interest to tell you that since Pearl Harbor, while the soldiers of production have been giving their skill, their lives, their training, their genius, and their American service in the production of materials, 80,000 of them have been killed and we have buried them, many of them in unknown graves. Seven million have been injured. Does that mean that we have measured up, or have we not? I ask you to look high, look above the petty things, the human imperfections, and behold portrayed like the new day's sun before your eyes the virtues of American workers. They are the best in the entire world.

We have supported the regimentation of workers during this war in a very large way, because the winning of the war stands over and above every other consideration. But we intend to work with all like-minded people in bringing about a reconversion and a readjustment when the war ends. The children must go back to the homes and to the schools. The wife and the mother must return to her place in the home.

There are 2 million members of the AF of L in the armed services and we are planning for their return. It is our firm determination to see that the seniority rights of all these members are protected when they come back to America, and if necessary we will compel employers to give them their places back where they were before they went away.

I have spoken in response to your address, Mr. Commander, in a sincere and honest way. I have spoken to you in the kindliest manner. I want you to get our point of view. Perhaps on the morning Gabriel blows his trumpet and the dead rise from the earth, we may then construct a perfect world out of imperfect material. But until then, Mr. Commander, we must deal with the imperfections of human nature and serve as best we can. Thank you.

"We are going to continue labor's efforts to make America a better place for all its citizens—not merely union members."

—George Meany

"The liberty we seek . . . is liberty for common people—freedom that arises from economic security and human self-respect."

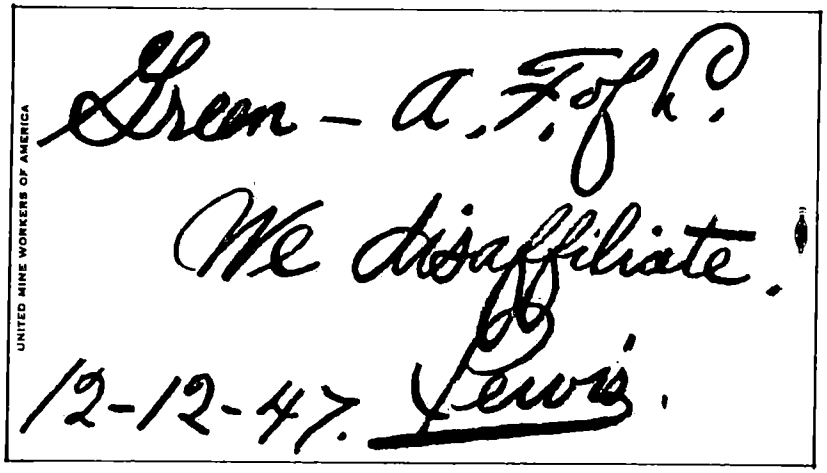
—John L. Lewis

"The future of American labor is inseparably bound together with the future of the whole of America."

—Walter P. Reuther

"What do we want? Food on the table, a rug on the floor, a picture on the wall, music in the home."

—Philip Murray



Handwritten note of disaffiliation.

John L. Lewis: He Spoke His Mind

Few speakers in American life have left so vivid an impression as John L. Lewis in his prime. In these excerpts from both off-the-cuff and prepared remarks during the 1930's and 40's, the strength and color of his personality come roaring through.

To the 1938 CIO Convention

Our people in this movement know how hard it is to preserve their rights and their liberty—even within democracy. They have battled against violence, brutality and calumny. The forces of public order have been perverted against them. And yet our people have not faltered in their conviction that they have rights which must not be destroyed.

The agencies of public information have boiled with jeremiads against the Committee for Industrial Organization. On no other occasion of modern times has the American ideal of a free press been so sullied. The loyalty of members and friends of the CIO through these storms of falsity shows again that American people will not be misled by cynical untruths and bitter misrepresentations. . . .

To millions, because of this movement, the word "liberty" has acquired new meaning. Often those who seek only license for their plundering, cry "liberty." In the guise of this old American ideal, men of vast economic domain would destroy what little liberty remains to those who toil.

The liberty we seek is different. It is liberty for common people—freedom from economic bondage, freedom from the oppressions of the vast bureaucracies of great corporations, freedom to regain again some human initiative, freedom that arises from economic security and human self-respect.

To the Coal Operators After Bargaining Impasse

For four weeks we have sat with you; we attended when you fixed the hour; we departed when weariness affected your pleasure.

Our effort to resolve mutual questions has been in vain; you have been intolerant of suggestions and impatient of analysis.

When we sought surcease from blood-letting, you professed indifference. When we cried aloud for the safety of our numbers you answer "Be content—'twas always thus!"

When we urged that you abate a stench you averred that your nostrils were not offended.

When we emphasized the importance of life you pleaded the priority of profits; when we spoke of little children in unkempt surroundings you said—Look to the State!

You aver that you own the mines; we suggest that, as yet, you do not own the people.

You profess annoyance at our temerity; we condemn your imbecility.

You are smug in your complacency; we are abashed by your shamelessness; you prate your respectibility; we are shocked at your lack of public morality.

You scorn the toils, the abstinence and the perils of the miner; we withhold approval of your luxurious mode of life and the nights you spend in merriment.

You invert the natural order of things and charge to the public the pleasures of your own indolence; we denounce the senseless cupidity that withholds from the miner the rewards of honorable and perilous exertion.

To cavil further is futile. We trust that time, as it shrinks your purse, may modify your niggardly and anti-social propensities.

In Defense of Free Bargaining

We believe in collective bargaining. We believe that collective bargaining is the modern device that will make it possible for Americans to live together in the years that are to follow. We do not believe that there is any other formula that can be substituted for collective bargaining that will adjust our industrial problems to the end that American industry may increase its productivity and constantly contribute toward the economic, social and political well-being and stability of our nation to that destiny which is the heritage of all Americans.

We, with many other Americans, deprecate the tendency in recent years to substitute for collective bargaining the fiats and ukases of governmental agencies and governmental tribunals. We believe in the theory of free contract and we believe that the Constitution of our

Republic protects the right of contract between its citizens. The power to contract is the difference between free men and serfs, and as one traces the history and the development of civilization, and the building of these great nations and states throughout the world, one finds that freedom began when the workman became free to contract with his employer and to have a voice in determining the conditions under which he would work and the compensation that he would receive.

Those voices throughout this land which are raised in favor of compulsory arbitration or the fixation of relations between workmen and their employers by governmental ukase are doing their country a disservice, because the destiny of Americans cannot be achieved except as free men, and our system of individual free enterprise in America cannot continue or prevail when the workers of the country are not to be free to meet their employers on a basis of equality, and to debate, if you please, in the councils provided, such differences of opinion as may exist from the standpoint of their respective interests.

In Opposition to Taft-Hartley Act

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. So runs the Scripture. But the Congress of the United States designated 15,000,000 workers in this country, organized into one form or another of unions, as being cattle that treadeth out the economic corn of our country, and the Congress placed an economic muzzle on each of you. What are you going to do about it? Oh, I see. You are going to change our Constitution. God help us!

The Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. It came into being through an alliance between industrialists and the Republican majority in Congress, aided and abetted by those Democratic legislators who still believe in the institution of human slavery. It was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests of this country, and the Republican party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles for you and the men and women who pay you to intelligently represent them.

It creates an inferior class of citizens, an inferior category and a debased position politically for the men and women who toil by hand or brain for their daily subsistence and to safeguard the future for their loved ones. . . .

Now comes the Taft-Hartley Act . . . in America. where we always believed heretofore that we had a free labor movement. We even presumed at times to lecture the representatives of labor in other countries and chide them because they didn't have a free labor movement.

And yet when this statute is enacted, some 73 pages in length in the printed copy, containing only two lines that say labor has the right to organize and 33 pages of other additional restrictions that dares

labor to try to organize, when that comes to pass, the welkin is filled with the outcries and the lamentations of our great leaders of labor in this country calling upon high heaven to witness that all indeed is lost unless they can grovel on their bellies and come under this infamous act.

The question of signing the anti-Communist affidavit, which is only one small feature of the abrogations of this act, has occupied the minds of our leaders and the columns of the public press now for more than six weeks . . .

I suppose it is hardly necessary for me to say that I am not a Communist. I suppose it is hardly necessary for me to say that I was fighting communism in America, with the other members of my organization, before many people in this country knew what communism stood for in America and throughout the world. In the early 1920s our organization paid for the research and study of the most serious analysis and compilation of Communist activities in industrial America that has ever been gotten out before or since, and that story was published in all the metropolitan newspapers of this country in seven serial issues. That story was made a congressional document and is on files to anyone who cares to read it.

It exemplifies what I say, that the United Mine Workers of America has been in the vanguard of our citizenship in opposing the cast iron Oriental philosophy of communism or any other damned kind of ism in this country. And we expect to remain in that position. We don't expect to change our principles too often; and we do expect some support from the American labor movement, because we think that our attitude reflects the rank and file in these great organizations of labor who work for a living and who want a country tomorrow in which their children and their grandchildren can live.

☆ ☆ ☆

John Llewellyn Lewis, born the son of Welsh immigrants near Lucas, Iowa, became president of the United Mine Workers of America in 1920.

In 1935, successful leadership of a committee to organize mass production workers (the Committee for Industrial Organization) brought him to national prominence. In subsequent years he voiced sharp attacks on the leadership of the AFL, and in 1936-37 took steps leading to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In 1940, after two years as the founding president of the CIO, he promised to retire if the voters did not elect Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate for President, whom he had endorsed in the election. They didn't, and he did.

The UMW left the CIO two years later, briefly rejoined the AFL, and then again "disaffiliated." Lewis retired as UMW president in 1960.

Philip Murray: A Better World Tomorrow

Prepared for publication in The American Magazine in 1948 at a time when the labor movement was under continuing attack, this article by Philip Murray was written in the wake of passage of the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto.

America holds forth the promise of freedom, justice, and opportunity for all. No one has condemned this nation for its failure fully to live up to that promise more vigorously than I. And yet, despite its shortcomings, I sincerely believe this to be the finest country in the world. What other land offers its citizens so much? And where else can people so readily work to change conditions they don't like?

Moreover, although the United States is still far from perfect, it is growing better all the time. There is less racial and religious discrimination now than when I arrived here, back in 1902. There are fewer children in mines and factories and more of them in classrooms than there were 46 years ago. Women have won the right to vote, and are rapidly gaining economic equality with men.

Working conditions, too, have notably improved. When I first went to work in America, health and safety regulations in industry were virtually unknown. There was no such thing as workmen's compensation; and unemployment insurance wasn't even dreamed of. Union busting was a recognized—and lucrative!—profession.

Today, management accepts its obligations to protect its workers against accident and disease while on the job. We have at least the meager beginnings of a system of social insurance. And the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively is upheld by federal law, though still not universally observed in practice. Only last year, dozens of organizers connected with the CIO's Southern membership campaign were beaten up and jailed on unconstitutional charges; hundreds of workers in the same area were demoted or fired outright because

they dared to join unions; and dynamite blasts were set off in two towns in an attempt to break up labor meetings. Nevertheless, the professional strikebreaker has faded from the scene; and the day when labor's just demands could be met by gunfire or police clubs alone has gone, and gone forever.

Management and labor are learning more and more the value of co-operation. Today, progressive businessmen regard their workers, not as antagonists, but as welcome partners in the great task of production. They accept trades unionism not only as part of the inevitable social and economic pattern of the times, but as a constructive force for the all-round improvement of industrial relations.

Unions, for their part, are inviting employers to meet with them and talk over new ideas and new production projects. In the steel industry, especially, we have found that the free and frank exchange of ideas by management and labor at all levels has generated a better spirit and a better understanding of our mutual problems. As a result, collective bargaining has become less a contest and more a collaboration.

American workers today enjoy far shorter hours and far higher wages than they did at the turn of the century. In 1900, the average steelworker labored 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, to earn $19.32. In 1948, the average steelworker puts in an 8-hour day, 5 days a week, and takes home $62.40.

Thanks to modern machinery, more efficient processes, and better co-operation between management and labor, the productive capacity of American workers has spectacularly increased. Today, 5 men working 1 hour are able to produce as much steel as it would have taken 14 men to produce as recently as 1929. This fabulous increase in per-worker output constitutes the real reason why the American people are able to enjoy the highest standard of living the world has ever known. It could have come about only under a system of free enterprise.

I believe wholeheartedly in the free enterprise, initiative, and inventive genius of the American people. I do not believe that "free enterprise" includes the right to gouge the public, suppress competition, bottle up inventions, or exploit labor. None of these practices has any place in our American system.

As an American, I prize above all others my right to speak my mind about this country and its institutions, and to use my ballot for the orderly correction of abuses. Those rights the totalitarians would take away from us. The suppression of free speech and free elections in country after European country where the Communists have gained control proves all too clearly what would happen if they came to power here.

I don't hate the Communists or their fellow travelers; but I hate the things they stand for. I am profoundly shocked by their indifference to the most basic values of American civilization. And I deeply resent their ever-readiness to denounce any step this country takes, while defending every move by Russia.

I recall the debate on the Marshall Plan at a recent labor convention. A party-line orator was holding forth about his right (which no one had denied) to criticize the foreign policy of the United States. I rose and asked if he would extend the same right to criticize *their* government to the heroes of Stalingrad. He did not reply.

For a quarter of a century I have been fighting the Communists in the American labor movement. I shall continue to fight them as long as I have breath; first, because I am opposed to any foreign interference in the affairs of the United States; and, secondly, because I regard their philosophy of government as a betrayal of the free and democratic principles upon which our republic was founded.

We can and must defend democracy against totalitarian attacks. However, it will avail us little to fight Communism abroad only to lose out to reactionary forces at home.

The Taft-Hartley Act is, in my opinion, symptomatic both of a renewed attack on labor and of the dangerous attempt to abridge the constitutional rights of all our citizens. It was because of my strong feeling for free speech and a free press as representing the very cornerstone of our civil liberties that I decided to violate the political provisions of this law and invite prosecution. In order to test the law I wrote an editorial in the *CIO News* backing the candidacy of Edward Garmatz for Congress in Maryland. Incidentally, Mr. Garmatz won. In the judicial proceedings my position was upheld by the Federal District Court, which in a sweeping decision declared that section of the law invalid. The case is now before the Supreme Court for final adjudication.

There are other dangers. Our country emerged from the war with its economy badly out of whack. That was unavoidable. We had been producing for destruction, civilian supplies were low, the pent-up demand was terrific. We let ourselves be talked into relinquishing price controls and the tax on excess profits. This was called "the American way," and we were told that, under free competition, prices would quickly adjust themselves to levels consumers could afford.

We now are paying through the nose.

As an American and a Christian I spurn the barbaric notion that the boom-bust cycle represents the will of God. As a democrat, I believe that our strongest defense against totalitarianism consists of a sound and equitable economy. I believe that the way to beat the Communists is not by speeches or by bullets, but by offering people something better—a democracy that really works.

What needs to be done? Six steps seem to me essential if we would make our ramparts proof against totalitarian attack:

1. *Strengthen civil liberties.* Congress ought to protect by law the rights of all our citizens, including Negoes and other minority groups. The poll tax as a prerequisite for voting; and the rules that sharply limit participation in certain state primaries, need to be abolished.

2. *Furnish federal aid to schools.* Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of liberty." Even more than in Jefferson's time we need informed citizens today if our democracy is to function. Every child should have at least a high-school education; and since many states are already spending all they can on schools, the Federal Government should supply the difference.

3. *Provide adequate housing.* It is a scandal that free-born Americans should be asked to live in shacks or slums. Congress should proceed at once to enact the too-long-delayed legislation for a federal low-cost housing program.

4. *Broaden social security.* Every worker in the United States should be eligible for federal unemployment insurance and old-age benefits. Present meager payments should be upped substantially. And health insurance should be added.

5. *Curb prices and profits.* The Government should maintain effective tax controls on excess profits, and—during periods of national emergency—should control the price of all products and services affecting the cost of living.

6. *Raise minimum wages and assure a minimum annual wage for all workers in industry.* Wages supply the motive power behind our private enterprise system. Three Americans out of four work for salaries or wages; without their purchases industry could not turn a wheel. We've got not only to supply the goods that people want to buy, we've got to make it possible for them to buy these things. Moreover, since our economy is geared to a constantly expanding market, we've got to make it possible for them to buy more and more and more. The only way to do that is by continuing to put more dollars into pay envolopes.

This is not a "class" program I have just outlined. It is a program all Americans can support to their mutual advantage. In fact, we have no classes in this country; that's why the Marxist theory of the class struggle has gained so few adherents.

We're *all* workers here. And in the final analysis the interests of farmers, factory hands, business and professional people, and white-collar toilers prove to be the same. Even the division of industrial workers into "management" and "labor" turns out to be somewhat artificial. Management, as we've discovered, involves plenty of labor; and labor

involves considerable management. Provided we all work together, there is literally nothing the people of this country cannot achieve.

America is still the land of opportunity. Pulling together, we shall surmount the present crisis and go on to build a better country and a better world tomorrow.

☆ ☆ ☆

Born in Scotland, Philip Murray came to the United States in 1902 to work in a Pennsylvania coal mine. Joining the United Mine Workers of America, he became an international board member in 1912 and vice president in 1920.

Murray was appointed to head the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1936. Serving as the committee's chairman until 1942, he was then elected first president of its successor organization, the United Steelworkers of America.

In 1940, Murray was elected president of the CIO, succeeding John L. Lewis, who did not seek re-election. Murray served as CIO president until his death in 1952, a period that saw the expulsion of several Communist-dominated unions from the CIO in the late 1940s.

Labor and the World: Upholding Free Unions

American labor is deeply involved in international affairs—a concern that goes back at least 100 years. Samuel Gompers' role in creating ILO was a high point; another was A. F. of L. Convention action in 1944 supporting the Free Trade Union Committee. Text of that resolution and related statements are reproduced below.

Resolution No. 158

WHEREAS, Victory over Nazi Germany and Japan is rapidly approaching and all nations will soon be freed from their domination and enslavement, and

WHEREAS, Such liberation offers no automatic assurance that freedom and democracy will be restored or that the workers of each country will regain or be secure in their rights as free men and free workers, and

WHEREAS, The record of free, democratic trade union movements in all lands during the past decade and particularly during this war has demonstrated that they are the firmest pillars of peace and democracy and the most uncompromising foes of all forms of tyranny and aggression, and

WHEREAS, Only the earliest possible reestablishment of powerful free and democratic trade unions can protect the workers of each union, assure a constantly rising standard of living to them and reduce and possibly eliminate the unfair competition in international trade of under-paid, regimented and exploited labor abroad which might otherwise constitute a most serious menace to our wage and living standards in America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 64th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recognizes the moral right and obligation of our labor movement to assist our fellow workers in other countries, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the

Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights, official relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, and call upon all affiliated organizations and members to support the campaign for the Free Trade Union Fund of $1,000,000.00 in January 1945, in order to assure prompt practical assistance to the workers of liberated countries in Europe and Asia as well as to the workers of Central and South America in their efforts to organize free democratic trade unions, and that this supervision of a special committee appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor which will issue public reports on all receipts and expenditures of the Fund.

In recommending concurrence in this resolution your Committee wishes to emphasize the importance of re-establishing of free trade unions throughout the world, and in accomplishing this it is imperative that we have the utmost cooperation not only of the trade unions but of the individual members of the organizations as represented by the American Federation of Labor throughout the land. To assure this support and cooperation, your Committee recommends that all national and international unions, as well as state federations of labor and city central bodies call upon their respective members to give their utmost support and cooperation in this campaign to promote free trade unionism throughout the world. It also recommends that the national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor urge its organizers and representatives to cooperate in carrying this campaign to a successful conclusion, and that the American Federation of Labor likewise call upon its organizers and representatives to cooperate in a similar way.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Question of Slave Labor

It is now more than two years since the American Federation of Labor issued its manifesto against the spreading menace of forced labor. This rousing call to action, which has since brought worldwide repercussions, declared that "forced labor has become a postwar institution in many lands." It stressed that "this expanding system of slave labor is a dire threat to the free workers of all countries."

In our historic manifesto we further emphasized that "paradioxical as it may appear, it is the land which calls itself 'Socialist', the government of which parades as a 'workers' republic', that is the worst and biggest slave center on earth today." But we did not limit ourselves to stirring words and an unanswerable indictment. As A. F. of L. consultants to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, (we) placed the

issue before the entire world. For months the democratic governments in the United Nations—our own not excluded—stalled.

But the A. F. of L. persisted and insisted . . .

What happened since is now history. . . . By a vote of 14 to 3, the Economic and Social Council adopted on March 7, 1949—precisely two years to the day after the issuance of our manifesto—the resolution sponsored by the American and Australian representatives to authorize the I.L.O., in cooperation with the U.N. Secretary-General, to take up the whole question of slave labor.

—Matthew Woll, Second Vice-President, A. F. of L., and chairman, Free Trade Union Committee, A. F. of L.

Free Labor and Democracy

The free trade union movement is a bulwark of democrary, indispensable to its defense and progress. No effective cooperation of the democratic countries is possible without world cooperation of free labr. Postwar economic reconstruction will stabilize democratic institutions and enhance their progress only if it is accompanied by improving living standards for the working people everywhere. The safeguarding and improvement of the living standards of the working people are the first task of the free trade unions. In the present world situation, this can be achieved only by international action. The international solidarity of democratic labor and the world-wide and lasting cooperation of the free trade unions are an indispensable practical goal.

—David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in Foregin Affairs, January, 1949.

A Clearly Defined Role

This year is the 100th anniversary of the founding of the national trade union center which evolved over the years into the present AFL-CIO.

This celebration gives us an opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the basic, fundamental purpose of our labor movement—the protection and promotion of the human rights, freedom, dignity and walfare of working people.

The existence of free, democratic labor unions is a fundamental and essential component of a free, democratic society. Where workers

do not have the right to organize and bargain with their employers through institutions and leaders of their own choosing, there is no democracy. That is why the AFL-CIO continues to support the creation and development of free trade unoins among the workers of all countries, wherever our help is needed and wherever that help is requested.

Democracy needs free trade unions, and free trade unions can flourish and perform their proper rale only in a democratic society. Democracy and free trade unions strengthen and reinforce each other. What weakens one, weakens the othr and what strengthens one, strengthens the other.

In the United States there is a revival of anti-union attacks from right-wing forces which seek to turn back the clock on the achievements and improvements in labor-management relations developed over the 45 years since our basic labor law was enacted.

These attacks on unions will not succeed in weakening our determination to effectively represent the working people of America at the bargaining table, on the shop coor and in the halls of the national and the state legislatures.

These attacks will not stop the growth and progress on the American labor movement. There will be substantial gains in union membership in the 1980s—continued growth in sectors in which unions have been gaining members, and expansion in industries and geographic areas where progress has been slow.

Workers, whose buying power is falling daily because of inflation and whose jobs are threatened by growing unemployment, are more likely to seek the income protection and the job protection provided by union membership and by union contracts.

The aging of the workforce and the changing role of women will also encourage union membership. Older workers with family and community ties are more inclined to look to collective action to try to improve the jobs they have. As more women are heading households or are assuming a larger share of the breadwinner's role, women workers also can be expected to want the job security and improved wages that depend on collective action through labor unions.

In spite of the sniping of the right wing, the need for a labor movement in America has never been greater and our role never more clearly defined. Through collective bargaining, we seek to improve the lives and conditions of our members, through political education, we seek to protect those who are unorganized from economic or political exploitation.

—From an address by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to Japan Institute of Labor, Tokyo, Jan. 27, 1981.

☆ ☆ ☆

The son of a trade union activist, Walter Philip Reuther, born in Wheeling, W. Va., became an apprentice tool and die maker at 16, finishing high school and several years of college while working his way to a foreman's job in Detroit.

As president of his Detroit West Side local union, Reuther was a leader of the United Automobile Workers during the organizing efforts and sit-down strikes that established the UAW as a power in the automobile industry in the 1930s and 1940s. He became director of the UAW's General Motors Department in 1939. He was elected president of the UAW in 1946 and served until his death in a plane crash in 1970.

In 1952, Reuther was elected president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, following the death of Philip Murray. President Reuther and AFL President George Meany worked together to bring about the merger of the two organizations into the AFL-CIO in 1955.

In 1968, Reuther led the UAW out of the AFL-CIO after a series of disagreements over federation policy.

Walter P. Reuther: Labor's Central Task

Active both in collective bargaining and in public affairs, Walter P. Reuther often made headlines. At a legislative conference in the nation's capital in 1959, he touched upon many of the views for which he was noted. Excerpts are printed below.

America Not Trying

We are in deep trouble in America, but not because our system of freedom is unequal to the challenge. We are in trouble because we are not trying. We are playing out on the outer fringes of our basic problems for we have failed to fully comprehend the dimension and the character of the challenge we face or to understand the technological revolution shaping our tomorrow, and which is creating serious economic and social dislocations. Yet, the new technology offers us the brightest opportunities for progress and fulfillment that man has ever had.

We have not fully understood the revolution—the rising expectations of nationalism—now shaping the lives of half of the people of the world. Nor have we recognized fully the nature of the social revolution called "civil rights" at home. We are on trial in America. American democracy has all of the advantages, but despite these advantages we are failing because we have failed to commit our resources to meet the real needs of our world.

Talk to the have-not peoples of Asia and Africa and Latin America who have an income of less than $100 a year, who live in poverty and desperation. They are being swept forward in the great revolution of rising expectations, and they are looking at us. They have not made up their minds whether our social system is the answer to their problems or whether the system symbolized by Mr. Khrushchev is the answer.

Nor are these the only have-not people in the world. We have mil-

lions of have-not people right here in America. We have millions of unemployed. We have millions of underprivileged. We have the migratory workers, and the millions in the minority groups who suffer discrimination, denial, and deprivation. Those who live in the sub-basement of the American social structure and who are engulfed in the pockets of poverty are also judging America. They are the forgotten Americans; the invisible poor whose lives are barren and without purpose. They are victims of social neglect and callous indifference, left to shift for themselves by the more affluent part of America. They are judging our society in much the same way as the have-not peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Those whom our society neglects will not be influenced by pious platitudes about the virtues of American democracy. They will not be influenced by the slick slogans of Madison Avenue. They will judge us by the only true standards of worth and quality of any society; not how rich, or productive, or how highly developed in our technology but by what we do with what we now have.

The unemployed in America can't pay their rent, feed their kids or assure them of a decent education with some theoretical economic potential. Their problems will be solved only as American society develops the social mechanisms, policies and programs which translate technological progress into opportunities for human fulfillment.

Labor's Central Task

This is the central task of the American labor movement. The church groups can moralize. That is their role; that is their responsibility. The great industrial firms were not organized to solve human problems. General Motors was organized not even to make automobiles. That is a by-product. General Motors was organized to make profit.

We in the labor movement are the only group with economic and political leverage and social motivation. Unless we make this fight, the fight will not be made and American democracy will be unequal to the challenge it faces at home and in the world. That is why American labor must get on the march.

There are many serious and tragic deficits in the quality of American society. Overcoming these deficits must be given the highest national priority if we are to be equal to this challenge. Education is a case in point. Although we are the richest nation, we have a tragic deficit in education which is robbing millions and millions of children and youth of their chance for maximum growth and development. Dr. Conant has noted that more than one million young Americans are out of work and out of school. They are what he calls the nation's social dynamite.

Young people have great energy. Unless they are given an opportunity to channel that energy creatively, it tends to find expression in anti-social ways. When that happens a hue and cry goes up about juvenile delinquency and the editorial writers dip deeply into their inkwells while learned scholars discourse about the tragic problem. Juvenile delinquency is indeed a serious problem, but there is a more serious problem in America and that is adult delinquency. We, the adults, are the ones who are failing America, not the kids.

Role of Collective Bargaining

I think our free society will stand or fall based upon our ability to develop rational and responsible new concepts within the framework of our free economic system. As a free people, we must harness the abundance of automation, and then relate that abundance to the basic needs of all our people.

And if we fail, then these tools of abundance, instead of building a better society, will create serious economic dislocations and the quality of our society will not achieve the high standards that are necessary if we are to be measured favorably in the eyes of the people of the world.

We have learned to create abundance. Now we need to learn to manage that abundance by learning to share it.

Collective bargaining has to play an important role in that. We believe that collective bargaining has to be based upon the joint exploring of economic facts and not upon the exercise of economic power. And we've got to work out the competing equities at the bargaining table between the worker and the stockholder and the consumer. And when any one of those groups is shortchanged, then we feed into the economy the forces of imbalance that make for recessions and mass unemployment. . . .

The workers whom I represent and who are now unemployed ask a very simple question, but they insist upon an answer. They ask the question: Isn't there something basically wrong with a free society that has the will and the know-how and the moral courage to achieve full employment and full production to achieve the negative ends of war, and hasn't got the good sense to achieve full employment and full production to achieve the rich and rewarding promise of peace?

We can't run away from this problem. And yet we have failed to find the answers. We have mass unemployment. And, therefore, we believe that Congress has to act to implement the purposes of the Employment Act of 1946.

An Opportunity to Work

We don't take the position that every wage earner as a matter of right is entitled to economic security. What we do insist upon is that

every wage earner in our free society is entitled to the opportunity to work and earn that economic security. And when he is victimized by unemployment because of economic and social forces beyond his control as an individual citizen or wage earner, then the whole of society using the instruments of government has the moral obligation and the social responsibility to take such action as is necessary to provide that wage earner with the opportunity of gainful and creative employment.

That's why we come to Congress because in a free society this is the only place that we can come to because there are economic and social forces beyond the influence of those people who control the private sector of our economy. And the government has the responsibility, and obviously the executive can recommend, but the legislative branch of the government must implement those recommendations by appropriate and adequate legislative action.

The Quality of Our Society

I believe that if you were sitting down with someone from another country, and you were trying to convince them of the quality of our society, the two areas in which you ought to measure the quality of our society are: What does the society do to provide education for its children? And what does it do to provide a sense of security and dignity for its older people in the autumn of their lives? And I say that America is failing in both of these vital areas when you measure what we are doing with our resources, and that's the appropriate way to measure it.

We believe that the Congress ought to take affirmative and adequate action to enact the President's aid to education bill. The American labor movement is proud of the fact that we in the early days of the labor movement were in the vanguard of the struggle for free public education, because we share the belief that every child made in the image of God is entitled to the kind of educational opportunity that will facilitate the maximum growth and development of each child. The right to grow to his or her maximum stature as a human being should not be limited by an overcrowded schoolroom or an underpaid school teacher. The right to grow should be limited only as God gave each child the capacity to grow. And yet millions and millions of our young people are being denied that opportunity.

The Soviet Union will turn out three-to-one—scientists and engineers this year compared to what we will be doing. We can have utter contempt, as we should have, for the system of values around which Soviet society is built, but we should not make the tragic mistake of having contempt for their technical competence. Education ought to be high on the Congressional agenda. And we hope that this sterile argument about federal aid and federal control can be put aside because we can have federal aid without federal control. We believe that people

who think that is not possible lack faith in the vigor and the vitality of American democracy at the state and local levels.

The other area is the question of medical care for the aged. We are waging a big ideological windmill fight talking about socializing medicine—that it will destroy medical practice if you put medical care for the aged under social security. We think this is utter nonsense. We think this has nothing to do with how you practice medicine; it's about how you pay for medical care. We believe that the American way to do this is to not to subject our older people to the humiliation of public charity when in the autumn of their lives their medical needs become the greatest at the very time their income is reduced, we do not believe it's the American way to subject these people to the humiliation of public charity. We want to pay for these benefits. And we believe that the social security mechanism is the sensible and workable way to do it so that we can amortize the costs of these benefits during the productive years of the worker's life so that he can get medical care as a part of social security as a matter of right, and get it with a measure of dignity.

Civil Rights Is a Moral Issue

And one other item that I would hope that the Congress will act upon. And if you have had the opportunity of going to India or Africa as some of us have had in the trade union movement, you will find that one of the things that can be the Achilles' heel of American democracy is this great moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights. This is not a political issue; this is a moral issue. It relates to how man lives with man in a free society. And we in the labor movement believe that we have to square what we practice with what we preach. We believe that American democracy will lack the moral credentials which are needed if we are to provide the leadership for the forces of freedom if we do not bridge this moral gap. Unless we do, we will both lack the ability and be unworthy to speak for the forces of freedom.

And so we would hope that American democracy which is richly blessed will find a way to achieve a greater sense of national urgency, a deeper sense of national purpose, and a clearer sense of national direction, so that as a free people we can begin to mobilize the tremendous potential which lies unused in America and relate that potential to the improvement of the quality of our society. And then we will be able to demonstrate to the peoples of the world that a free society can meet the challenge of peace; that we can, because we are motivated by common hopes and a common faith, make a comparable effort in peace as we did in war. This is the kind of situation in human history where nothing less than a measure of greatness will be adequate to the challenge.

I think that America has that measure of greatness. But I think it requires that all of us, regardless of political affiliation or economic status or geographical location, recognize that unemployment is the number one job and that somehow we must get America back to work; and then getting America back to work, gear that abundance to our housing needs, to our school needs, to our medical needs, our many other unfilled human needs.

We Want to Work With All Americans

We in the labor movement, I think, understand that we cannot solve our problems in a vacuum. We can't solve unemployment at the bargaining table; we can't assure our children adequate education sitting at the bargaining table. We can do these kinds of things only as we join with our fellow citizens in trying to find answers to the problems of the whole of our community. We can solve our problems only as America finds answers to its problems. We want to work with all Americans in finding these common answers to our common problems.

☆ ☆ ☆

George Meany, son of a New York City plumber and local trade union leader, influenced his country and the world as no other trade unionist of the Twentieth Century.

Forced by family financial circumstances to leave high school, he became an apprentice plumber in 1912. That marked Meany's entry into a life of trade union activism that left an eduring imprint on American society.

From his election as business agent of his Plumbers' Union local in 1922, Meany broadened his activities, first in the building trades, then in the American Federation of Labor. In 1934, he was elected president of the New York State Federation of Labor; his achievements in that post won him election five years later as secretary-treasurer of the AFL. He succeeded William Green as president of the AFL upon the latter's death in 1952, and quickly announced his aim of reuniting the AFL and CIO. His accomplishment of that aim—and election as founding president of the AFL-CIO—came three years later in December, 1955, at a merger convention in New York City.

Under Meany's leadership, the American trade union movement emerged as a major force for social progress whose interests and accomplishments reached far beyond the bargaining table. The Meany era saw American labor become an influential factor in this country and in world affairs.

Meany never deviated from his outspoken hostility to totalitarianism and dictatorship; and he was equally unswering in his belief in democracy and free trade unionism. He broadened the American labor movement's activity in international affairs; and established units within the AFL-CIO, or supported by it, which have assisted democratic trade unionists in other countries to build their unions and defend their democratic institutions.

Meany retired as AFL-CIO president at the convention in 1979.

George Meany: Power For What?

In his years as head of the A.F. of L. and AFL-CIO, George Meany made hundreds of speeches. In making a selection for this Centennial Anthology, it was thought that his widely-quoted remarks to a Machinists convention in 1959 on "labor power" would be most illustrative.

There's a great deal of talk these days about the "power" of labor. Newspaper editorials and speeches by industrial tycoons emphasize the growing membership of unions, the increase in their financial resources and their developing political potential. The public is led to believe that the trade union movement has become "too powerful."

Too powerful for whom? Too powerful for what?

Are they talking in terms of exploiting the many for the benefit and enrichment of a few? Certainly not! The truth is just the other way around.

Those who have enjoyed monopolistic power over the nation's industrial life naturally fear and resent having to deal with labor on a basis of equality. And, by the same token, the politicians who serve business interests look with alarm at the political education programs conducted by the trade union movement. They are not happy about the political enlightenment of the voters. They know their control is jeopardized when the citizens of our country go to the polls in record-breaking numbers on Election Day.

Human Values

I see no harm in power, if it is power dedicated to human values, if it is power for good—and that is what the trade union movement seeks.

Obviously, concentration of power in the hands of a few can be dangerous to the general welfare. But when unions become more

powerful, it means that the people of this country become more powerful. It is merely a practical application of the basic principle of democracy.

Our forefathers meant it to be that way. They believe that the enjoyment of freedom depended upon rule by the great masses of citizens. They were against monopoly of power by the wealthy. They were against monopoly of power by the military. They were against monopoly of power by the aristocracy. They were convinced that the free way of life could be safeguarded only when power over the economic, social and political life of our country was *shared* by the many. That is exactly what the trade union movement has tried over the years to bring about.

Let us look back a bit to the time when the trade union movement had very little power but consistently used what power it possessed to advance causes of benefit to all the American people.

When Samuel Gompers and his associates lobbied in the state legislatures and the national Congress for an 8-hour day, was their purpose to degrade the worker? When they campaigned for universal free education, was their objective to exploit the worker? When they battled for workmen's compensation laws, were they trying to injure the interests of the American people? When they fought for union recognition and free collective bargaining, were they trying to create new millionaires at the expense of those who worked for wages?

Or was it to make life better for the worker, to obtain for him a larger share of the wealth he helped to produce, to give him greater purchasing power so that American industry and American agriculture could find a ready market for their rapidly growing productive capacity?

The record shows—beyond contradiction—that from its very inception the trade union movement has consistently used whatever power it had to raise the American standard of living, to promote the interests of all the American people and to enhance the power and prestige of the nation as a whole.

Yes, the record is clear. It proves that the trade union movement has always been in the forefront of all action—whether in the shop, in the community or at national and international levels—to obtain a better break for the average citizen. It has been an agency not only for democracy, but for democratization. Because of union efforts the immigrants who came to our shores learned that America was really a haven for the oppressed of the world. They learned through their unions to speak the language and to appreciate the blessings of freedom. They discovered that here in America men and women could stand together and fight for justice and progress with reasonable hope of success.

Concern for Others

America's emancipation from isolationism was won the hard way —and the trade unions made a significant contribution toward the development of a more mature international policy.

We did not shrug our shoulders, as some did, and say it was none of our business if dictators engaged in wholesale murder and the degradation of humanity in other parts of the world. We insisted it was our business. We saw the inherent danger to our free way of life, whenever freedom was destroyed in other lands.

There was a time when many Americans applauded Mussolini for getting the trains to run on time in Italy. But it took an American trade unionist of Italian descent like Luigi Antonini, to awaken our people to the outrages committed by the Fascists. In like manner, labor led the opposition in America to the atrocities of Hitler and the Japanese war lords. We recognized them as enemies of free trade unions and therefore as enemies of all freedom. No group in America, from the very beginning, has been more adamant in its opposition to Communism and more active in resisting Soviet infiltration than the American labor movement.

Labor's influence in foreign affairs has not been merely negative. We have fought for justice and fair play for oppressed peoples everywhere. After the war, we helped the workers of Germany re-establish their free trade unions as a bulwark of democracy, social justice and peace. We played a vital role in rallying support for the Hungarian and Algerian peoples in their struggle for national freedom. We are proud of the fact that we continue to extend a helping hand, through Histadrut, to the people of Israel.

Colonialism is now a dangerous anachronism. We of labor believe that target dates should be set for ending it wherever it still exists. The perpetuation of colonialism by any segment of the free world merely plays into the hands of Communist imperialism.

Along with freedom, labor relies implicitly on the preservation of peace as the only sure road to human progress.

We say very simply, as we have said time and time again, that our country should meet with the other nations of the world, and directly with the Soviet Union, in a continual effort to reach real agreement which will be observed and adhered to by both parties.

But we must point out that our government and the other nations of the free world should bear in mind that the Soviet Union has an unbroken record of making agreements for the purpose of breaking them. Its word is no good.

Let the diplomats of the free world, in their anxiety to obtain concessions, remember always that we cannot rely on words without deeds. Let us be realistic. The Soviet Union can afford to be very

generous with promises for they mean nothing. We cannot relax until an enforceable agreement is made and kept, in spirit as well as in letter. That is the one hope of world peace. Meanwhile, we must shun appeasement. There is no future in it. History has taught us that, if nothing else.

In all dealings with the Soviet Union, we must lead from strength and we must always be prepared.

This advice is offered not in the spirit of saber-rattling, but as cold common sense. Labor regards war as a completely unnecessary evil. The trade unionists of America and their families paid heavily in sweat and blood for the two World Wars, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. We dread the thought of a third World War, which may mean annihilation of all mankind.

Business in Politics

It is rather strange, in view of labor's constructive record, that in this day and age there are still people who cling to the notion that America would be better off without trade unions.

Those who keep insisting that unions are "too powerful" actually want to render unions powerless—powerless to impede big business monopolies, or to seek further improvement in the American way of life.

In this effort to destroy the trade union movement, our opponents have enlisted—for a fee, of course—a small army of professional promoters. They organized a widespread campaign to enact state "Right-to-Work" laws which guarantee no rights to anyone but seek to wreck union security.

These "pitch men" have now come up with another gimmick to exploit. They say businessmen must get more active in politics, learn more about it and do more about it. As if this were something new!

When I was a young boy, workers trying to earn a living encountered "pink slip" days which came around each year just before election time. The workers were told, by way of a pink slip inserted in their pay envelopes, that if a certain party or a particular candidate did not win, the factory would shut down the day after election. This form of intimidation, along with heavy campaign contributions, comprised the main expressions of business political activity. In fact, some businessmen made contributions to both parties, just to make certain they would be in good shape no matter who won.

Yet certain spokesmen now say business must enter the field of politics to meet the "threat" of big labor. Well, all I can say is: "Welcome. Come on in. The water is fine."

The more they get in with their financial resources, the greater interest will be stirred up among workers. Perhaps it will help us

eventually to succeed in our efforts to encourage all workers to perform their duty as citizens by exercising their right to vote.

And when we get down to such a contest between workers and big business we will do all right, because there happen to be a few more of us than there are of them.

The biggest propaganda stick our opponents used against us, of course, was the exposure of corruption in some segments of the labor and management field. They felt this was too good an opportunity to let pass. They were hungry for the kill. They proposed to use the exposure of the sins of a very small minority as a means to bring about the punishment of all labor. They went all out for the enactment of legislation, not to meet the corruption problem, but to hamstring the labor movement as a whole and render it powerless.

The AFL-CIO Position

The trade union movement met this problem head-on at the meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board in April 1958. We pointed out we had taken effective and rigorous steps to clean house. We said we would go further and cooperate with Congress in the drafting of legislation to make it more difficult for anyone to misuse union funds.

Yes, we volunteered to cooperate in writing such legislation. But, we also said in April 1958 that we would not accept punitive legislation designed to hurt the trade union movement under the guise of a law against corruption.

This was a truly significant action. Here was a group of private citizens saying to government: "We will assist you in writing legislation to regulate and govern certain of our actions." Where else in American life was there a parallel? What business organization had ever done such a thing? And the record shows that business is not immune to sin nor free of racketeering elements.

What other group in American life, business or professional, would, in the interests of morality, ethics and self-respect, cut off 10 percent of its membership and income as a self-enforcing action against those responsible for corruption?

The AFL-CIO did that very thing by expelling organizations whose leadership was found to be tainted.

Where is the business or banking association which has shown equal courage under similar circumstances? Show me any business organization which has set up a moral code for its membership which matches the Ethical Practices Codes adopted by the AFL-CIO.

Labor still stands on the position it took in April 1958. We are still willing to cooperate—and we have cooperated—in drafting anti-corruption legislation, but we still make the reservation, and we will not withdraw from it, that we will not accept punitive or anti-labor legislation as part of this package.

The Future

Now, as in the past, labor must continue to fight for its very existence as a free association of free men and women. We still have to fight for the right to conduct our own business in our own way, for the right to make our own mistakes and to correct those mistakes, for the right to make our maximum contributions as free citizens to our free society.

In America, we have a system of government which, while not perfect, has proved itself to be of greater benefit to its citizens than anything else yet devised by the mind of man. At a time when that system faces its greatest challenge, when its very existence is threatened by totalitarian aggression, you would think that the mutual interests of free labor and free management would draw them together. Yet we find American business mounting a furious attack upon the trade union movement which has proved a bulwark of defense to the free enterprise system.

This is typical of the short-sighted, bull-headed policy of big business through the years. Perhaps there are some aspects of life in the Soviet Union that appeal to them. Under the Red Flag there are no strikes, no slow-downs, no absenteeism, no labor problems at all. But our employer friends should realize that the Russians don't have any profit problems either.

Our road is clear. Our ideas are untarnished. Our record means something to us. We know where we are going, what our objective is. Ours is the very simple objective, in a democratic society, of securing for the workers a better and ever better share of the wealth of the nation which they help to create.

And we are going to pursue that objective with all the strength we possess.

When our opponents talk about the power of labor, their exaggerations carry little conviction. Our power is not the power of money. It is the right of free men and women in a free society to withhold their labor in the interests of justice.

Yes, the right to strike is labor's ultimate power—a power which we cannot be deprived of without fracturing the entire democratic structure of our nation. In these modern days we don't like to use the strike weapon unless we are forced to do so. That doesn't mean we have forgotten how to use it. If employers refuse to bargain in good faith and think the time has come to get tough with labor, they will learn this truth to their sorrow.

We also have a basic political power—the power of numbers. The 13.6 million organized workers in the AFL-CIO, together with their families and friends, constitute a significant number of votes in any election.

It is only since 1947 that labor has entered the political area in an organized way. We learned then, from a very simple demonstration by Congress in enacting the Taft-Hartley Act, that the gains and achievements we had won over the years could be taken away from us overnight by legislation. So the decision by labor to go seriously into the political action field was really made not by the leaders of labor but by the architects of anti-labor legislation.

We are determined to pursue our activity in this field with all earnestness. I will concede quite frankly that an effective political organization cannot be built in a day or a year. But we decided in 1947 that we had to get into this political business and stay in it until we succeeded in organizing a permanent, progressive and successful program and we are making steady progress toward that goal. In view of the increasing opposition from big business, I would predict even more rapid progress by labor's political arm in the years to come.

Using our economic strength, our political strength and any other weapon that we have the right to use, we are going to continue labor's efforts to make America a better place for all its citizens—not merely union members. Yes, even to provide a better and more stable climate for constant prosperity for employers and management.

Labor wants America to become more than an idealistic symbol for all the people of the world who believe in human freedom. We want to prove to them and to ourselves that we can make democracy work.

It is our intention to continue the fight against racial and religious discrimination until this ugly blot on our good name is eliminated.

We are going to carry on our drive to wipe out poverty and human misery not only in America but everywhere in our world.

We will use all the power and influence we have to see to it that the great scientific discoveries and inventions of our time are used not for the purposes of destruction, but for the enrichment of human life.

Let no one mistake or distort our purpose. Labor has no desire to take over America or make over America. We are not out to push any one else down or around. What we seek is a balance of power in the economic and political life of the nation. Only thus can the proper atmosphere be created for the gradual but steady improvement in the standards of the American people.

In pursuit of our objectives, we may employ new methods from time to time but we will never depart from the democratic principles laid down for us by the founders of the trade union movement more than 90 years ago.

Yes, labor has gained in power in America. We are proud of the way it has been used. We hope in the years to come that we will achieve greater power to work for the good of all America.

Lane Kirkland: Labor Day, 1981

A major goal of the AFL-CIO in this Centennial year—to revive the spirit of Labor Day—has brought a renewed sense of unity and solidarity to working men and women. In his Labor Day statement, printed in full below, Lane Kirkland pinpoints "Dignity: The Common Bond."

Today, as in each of the 87 years since Labor Day became a national holiday, we pause to honor America's working men and women.

Labor Day 1981 holds a special significance for American trade unionists. This is our centennial year.

One hundred years ago this November a handful of trade unionists gathered in Pittsburgh and laid the cornerstone on which we have built the national trade union center which has evolved into today's AFL-CIO.

Their reasoning was simple: if workers needed unions to achieve collectively what they could not hope to achieve as individuals in a workplace, then it logically followed that unions should come together in a cohesive labor federation.

The new federation did not supplant the individual unions or deprive them of their autonomy. They continued to concentrate on winning justice in their separate crafts and workplaces, while the federation carried that battle into the halls of our state and national legislatures.

But even to the unions of 1881 political action was nothing new. In earlier generations they had struggled to achieve the 10-hour day and to abolish child labor and the debtors prison.

They had led the fight for free public education equally available to the children of the poor as to the children of the rich.

But as these issues were resolved, the union amalgamations they sparked dissolved, and the unions went their separate ways—until 1881.

The instrument forged in Pittsburgh that year has survived a hundred years of testing. We have known good times and bad, administrations friendly and hostile, and changing climates of public opinion. We have tasted victory and defeat. Through it all we have made solid progress for the working people of America.

The trade union movement gives expression to a fundamental human need and value—solidarity. Human beings who share common interests have a natural urge to join together to defend their interests against those who oppose them.

That need can be repressed but never extinguished, as the workers of Poland have reminded us. Against awesome odds, they have created and sustained the first free and independent trade union movement in a Communist country, and that movement—appropriately named Solidarity—has become the vehicle of a whole people's struggle for democratic rights.

They have shown the world that the fight for workers' rights is the fight for human rights.

We of the AFL-CIO are proud of our Polish brothers and sisters. As we celebrate our one hundredth anniversary, we congratulate them on their first.

In countries ruled by dictatorship, whether of the left or the right, workers are valiantly trying to form their own free trade unions and to protect them from government suppression. Sometimes their efforts are well publicized; sometimes the blanket of censorship is so thick, we hear of their unions only after they have been broken and their leaders imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals and labor camps.

But they keep trying. Solidarity runs deep in the human spirit.

Our pluralist democracy is based on the assumption that people have conflicting interests and will band together for self-help and self-protection. Employers have their own associations. So do lawyers, doctors, scientists—and, yes, politicians. Because human beings play different roles in society, we sometimes band together under more than one organization—as consumers, sportsmen, veterans, or ethnics.

Americans have never been comfortable with the notion of a monolithic society in which all elements of the population are subordinated to a central authority or to a single definition of what is good for us. We prefer the conflict of ideas, the competition of interests—all within a democratic framework of fair rules.

So the trade union movement does not object to being called an interest group. We object only to being called a "narrow" interest group. The interests we represent are those of Americans in their role as workers—and they are not a narrow group. With their skills, their industry, and their productivity, they are the backbone of our economic society.

The American trade union movement has come a long way. Born in the twilight of the 19th century, we stand now but two decades away from the dawn of the 21st century.

In the lobby of the AFL-CIO headquarters in our nation's capital there is a mural which depicts the progress which American workers and their industries have made. In that mural is a quotation from the great Scottish essayist and historian, Thomas Carlyle, which says, "Labor is Life."

When Carlyle wrote those words near the end of the last century, they were literally true. For most people life was consumed by work—hard, backbreaking, life-shortening work.

Today, thanks to the determination of American trade unions and the courage and genius of American workers, things have changed. We still respect work, but we have leavened it with leisure, alleviated sheer toil, and, in the process, enriched the lives of working people, both on the job and when the day's work is done.

Yet there are those among us for whom life is still a struggle for survival, barren of even the simplest pleasures to relieve the drudgery of their existence. There are still others for whom gainful employment and full participation in our society are beyond reach.

We have come far toward better wages, shorter hours, and safer working conditions in factories and offices, on farms and in workshops.

Yet there are those among us who still do not receive the full fruits of their labor, and others for whom the workplace remains a threat to their health and safety.

We have come far toward decent schools for all our children, decent homes for our families, decent hospitals to care for us in time of sickness, decent retirement that provides dignity and security as an earned right.

Yet there are those among us to whom equal educational opportunity is still a myth and for whom rat-infested, disease-ridden slums remain the only place they can call home. There are those for whom medical care is priced beyond reach and for whom the inevitable process of aging brings anxiety and uncertainty as they face the prospect of spending their sunset years in a twilight world of abject poverty.

We have come a long way toward expanding access to the ballot box, where the promise of "government by the people" must ultimately be redeemed.

Yet for many among us, the color of their skin, or the accent of their mother tongue, or some other arbitrary and capricious measurement is used to deny them full and free access to the political process.

American workers can take pride in the progress we have made. Certainly our national economy would not be as productive nor our

cultural life as enriched, nor our social and political institutions as compassionate, were it not for the determined efforts of working men and women to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and their country with them.

But that pride should leave no room for complacency, because all victories are only temporary, and what we have gained at the bargaining table and in the legislative halls down through the years can, in an instant, be swept away.

And that instant could be upon us now. We observe Labor Day 1981 in a mood of deep concern for these are difficult and uncertain times, and we in the labor movement are troubled about the direction in which our country appears headed.

Nor are we alone. Our concern is shared by thousands of people in scores of organizations—those who believe with us in civil rights and civil liberties, in equal rights for women, in safeguarding the environment we hold in trust for generations to come, in a safer workplace and safer products, in quality education for all, and in equal access to the polling booth, to jobs, and to opportunity without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or gender.

We intend to dramatize the depth of our concern with a demonstration in our nation's capital on September 19. We call it, aptly, "Solidarity Day."

We will be joined by our allies in the civil rights and women's movements, in the enviromental and consumer movements. We will march with senior citizens, religious groups, and dozens of other organizations, large and small, representing people of serious purpose from every corner of the nation.

September 19 will be a day of hope, a day of rededication to the fulfillment of the American promise of a better quality of life for all of us. We shall stand together in defense of the American spirit.

There is a quality in this land of ours that we do not wish to see despoiled or pillaged.

There is a dignity about the working people of this land, and we do not wish to see them demeaned or degraded.

There is inspiration in our political institutions, aspiring to justice, and we do not wish to see them eroded by cynicism and despair.

The labor movement has been a part of the quality, the dignity, and the inspiration of America. What we have helped to build, we shall fight to defend.

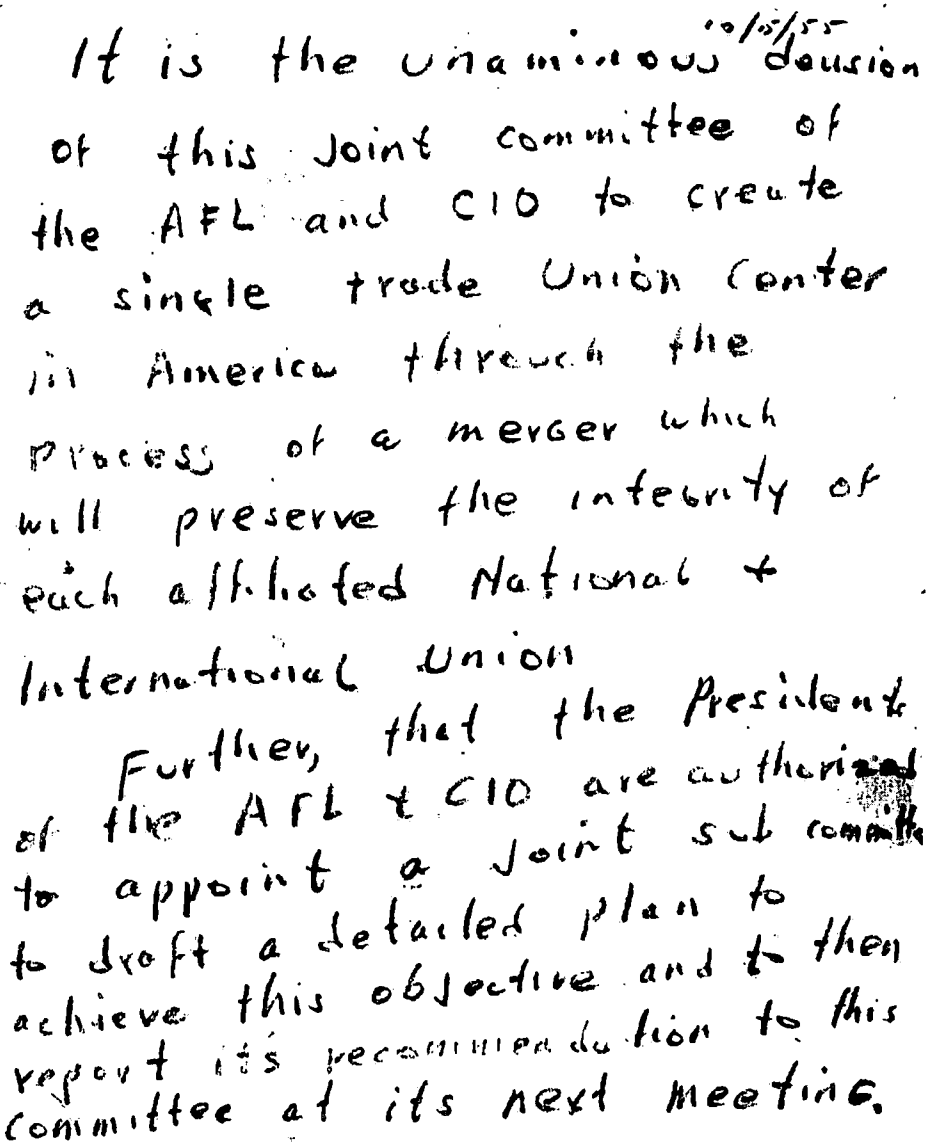
On this Labor Day 1981, we can almost reach out and touch the 21st century. When the year 2001 dawns, many of us will still be alive to see it. But it will be our children and their children who will inherit and inhabit that new century.

It is *our* duty—as trade unionists, as workers, as citizens—building on our past, to give to future generations of Americans a century free from fear and bright with promise.

Lane Kirkland was elected president of the AFL-CIO on Nov. 19, 1979, on the retirement of George Meany. He had previously served for 10 years as AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer.

Born March 12, 1922, in Camden, S.C., Kirkland graduated in 1942 from the Merchant Marine Academy and served in World War II as a merchant marine deck officer and a member of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots. Shortly after receiving a bachelor of science degree from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, he joined the research staff of the American Federation of Labor.

He became director of research and information for the International Union of Operating Engineers in 1958. In 1960, AFL-CIO President Meany named Kirkland his executive assistant, a post he held until his election as secretary-treasurer in 1969. The 1979 AFL-CIO convention elected him president without opposition.



Handwritten note issued by Merger Committee in October, 1955, signifying that a single trade union center—the AFL-CIO—would be created in the United States.

Thomas R. Donahue
'A Battle Never Over'

The struggle for workers' goals goes on and on—and the battle is never over—as Thomas R. Donahue emphasizes in the Labor Day statement issued for release just a few days before Solidarity Day filled the Mall in Washington, D.C. with 400,000 believers.

On Labor Day, the nation pays its respects to those who toil for a living—white-collar workers and blue, skilled and unskilled, those who work with their hands and those who work with their minds—because the enduring strength of America lies in its workers. They are the ones who have given their best efforts to build better lives for themselves, for their families and for future generations and, in the process, they have built a far better nation as well.

America was conceived as a classless nation—the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that principle when it said that "all men are created equal." Yet, workers have struggled for two centuries and more to obtain some measure of that equality that was supposed to be the hallmark of our society and the birthright of its people—and that struggle continues to this day. For two centuries and more, we have struggled to tear down some of the barriers which insulated the wealthy and isolated the workers, depriving us of our right to share more fully in the wealth we have helped to produce—and that struggle continues to this day.

Despite our best efforts, we find ourselves, on this Labor Day 1981, embattled and in danger. What little social and economic equality we have managed to attain are in danger of being swept away.

There is a movement afoot in the country to erect new barriers, to establish an economic caste system alien to America—to create a permanently entrenched, tiny elite of the wealthy and the privileged; to press down new and onerous economic burdens upon workers and their families—the ones already carrying a disproportionately large share of

the cost of government; to set in place a permanent underclass of the unfortunate and the disadvantaged; and, inevitably to set one economic class against the other.

We cannot allow this to happen.

Over the first century and a half of this country's history, we took only tiny, tentative steps toward creating a social order rooted in equity and compassion. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution delineated our hopes, but workers had to fight tooth and nail to give them substance.

Our progress accelerated in the past half century, from the days of Franklin Roosevelt forward. But if the pace of progress accelerated, the programs put in place from the New Deal through the Great Society were enacted neither overnight nor in haste. Far from it. They were born out of long and ardiuous effort, out of extensive public hearings in which the views of all parties were aired and weighed, out of lengthy and often acrimonious debate, and most of the time out of compromise between what was desirable and what was achievable.

Throughout the Administrations of eight Presidents and through 24 consecutive Congresses, these programs were opposed by those who believed in neither equality nor compassion—but they survived. Under eight Presidents and 24 Congresses, these programs were refined and enlarged to make them more effective, amended and modified to make them more efficient—and they survived.

Now we are witnessing efforts to wrench that intricate structure of social legislation from the statute books. The blame falls squarely on the shoulders of an Administration which has distorted the results of the last election into what it claims was a "mandate" for a wholesale and mindless retreat from our solemn obligations.

The blame falls, as well, on a Congress which knuckled under to pressure, not from the general public but from the wealthy and the profit-heavy corporations. Congress surrendered to the few who stand to gain the most—the people of little faith, less hope and absolutely no charity—and agreed to the abandonment of programs and policies which have served our people and their nation well.

To see basically sound and socially desirable programs tossed onto the scrap heap is bad enough; to see this happen without even the semblance of public hearings to gauge the true national temper or to debate these programs' social merits is unthinkable. Not once did the budget-cutters ask, "Are these programs useful?" All they wanted to know was, "How much do they cost?" And when they supplied their own answer, "They cost too much," the programs were thrown out the window, and the people to the wolves.

In the pious name of a "balanced budget"—that last refuge of those who care nothing about the poor, the young, the old, the weak

and the helpless, or indeed, about workers—these programs are being dismantled. We in the AFL-CIO know it's desirable to balance the government's income and outgo. But we object, and strenuously, to having, not the general welfare but the almighty dollar, be the scale on which we weigh the decision to wipe out a half century of progress.

We have been taught that politics is the art of give and take—but that speaks to the notion of compromise. There is no compromise in the great giveaway-takeaway game being played in Washington—the takeaway from the employed and the unemployed, from the elderly, the children, the sick, the poor; the giveaway to the wealthy, the oil barons, the stock speculators, the multi-national corporations.

To our regret, the Congress acquiesced in this scheme. In the debate over economic policy, no clear battlelines were ever drawn between the two political parties. Both engaged in a gigantic bidding war—not over principles, only over imagined votes. The concept of fair play was dispensed with, tax cuts were placed on the block, and only the fat-cat bidders were allowed into the auction.

And what happened?

Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, unemployment insurance and trade adjustment assistance, public service jobs, aid to schools and students, food stamps, school lunches, benefits to the working poor, urban and rural redevelopment—local transit subsidies and aid to our cities—all were put to the ax by the political executioners.

The $214 billion being withdrawn from these programs won't go to balance the federal budget—it will help underwrite $286 billion in tax breaks, most of which will be handed over to the wealthiest of individuals and the most profitable of corporations. To a mere six percent of all taxpayers—the ones earning over $50,000 a year—will go one-third of the tax cuts. To the biggest corporations—particularly the electric and gas utilities and the profit-glutted oil companies—will go another third. The rest will be dribbled out to workers and their families—pennies at a time.

Take the average American family—a worker, a spouse, and two children. If that family earns $15,000 a year, it will find the sum of $1.34 cents more in the weekly pay envelope this October, and $2.54 more next July. If the family income is $20,000 a year, October's tax cut will amount to $2.42 and in July 1982 it will go all the way up to $4.59. At the $25,000 level, the tax cut will be worth $3.59 in October and $7.01 next July.

And what does this Administration say to workers and their families? "Now don't throw this money around," the President says. "Invest it." What nonsense! The increased transit fares in most cities, higher health care costs or a gallon or two of milk for the kids, or a few cans of soup and a loaf of bread, will eat up those extra pennies each week.

The Administration insists it is being fair because, it says, taxes are being cut equally across the board. The $100,000-a-year executive earns five times as much as the $20,000-a-year worker—but the executive's tax cut is going to be twelve times as large.

In the face of these inequities, we in the trade union movement are told not to worry. We are urged to be patient, to endure inflation and unemployment, to put up with poverty and misery, because things will somehow turn out right in the end. We are told that if the government subsidizes the rich, they, in turn, will help middle-income workers and the poor. They call it "supply-side" economics, but that's just the old, discredited "trickle-down" theory dolled up in a new dress—lavishing money on those at the top of the economic heap in the hope that some of the money will seep down, someday, to the rest of society. It's an idea which never held water in the past, and it's just as porous today.

We in the trade union movement are urged to give the Administration's economic theories a chance. These are the same theories which the incumbent Vice President ridiculed, just a little over a year ago, as "voodoo economics." These are the same theories which the President's own Majority Leader in the Senate conceded, as recently as last month, were little more than a "riverboat gamble." We agree with what the Vice President said then, and with what the Republican Majority Leader says now. We think the Administration is recklessly shooting craps with the economic destiny of America, and the dice are loaded against us.

We in the trade union movement are told to stifle our dissent, but this we will not do. We would not wish to have the absence of protest be misinterpreted—we are not silent partners in the Administration's high-stakes gamble with the security of the American people and the welfare of their nation.

We in the trade union movement are told there are political benefits to be reaped. "This is the President's program," we are told, "and when it fails, we'll pick up the pieces the next time around." We reject that counsel. Unless we undo the mischief that is being wrought, there may be no next time, nor any pieces left to pick up.

We in the trade union movement are told to be good losers. That may be fine in games; it has no place in the grim struggle for economic survival. There is no virtue in adopting a "sportsmanlike" posture, not while our system is caving in around our ears.

We in the trade union movement are told that, because Ronald Reagan won last November, we should just roll over and play dead. But that has never been our way, nor will it be. That would imply that ours is a lost cause—and we do not believe that to be true.

So on this Labor Day 1981, we in the AFL-CIO stand straight

and proud and tall, and we proclaim our message loud and clear: We do not intend to abandon our struggle for jobs, justice and social progress. We do not intend to abandon our struggle for a more equitable distribution of the wealth of this nation.

In the hundred years of the American trade union movement, we have learned that the battle is never over. As long as we remain united in spirit and commitment, as long as we have breath in our bodies and blood in our veins, there will be no final defeat on any battleground.

We have lost a round—and we may lose another, and another, and another. But we will always be back—again, and again, and again. And we are going to win, because we are not going to quit. Not today, and not tomorrow.

Thomas Reilly Donahue was elected AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer in 1979 to succeed Lane Kirkland. He had been executive assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany since 1973.

Donahue came to the AFL-CIO from the Service Employees International Union, where he was first vice president from 1969 to 1973, and where he had been executive assistant to the president until an appointment as U.S. assistant secretary of labor for labor-management relations.

Born Sept. 4, 1928, in the Bronx, New York, Donahue holds a bachelor of arts degree in labor relations from Manhattan College and a law degree from Fordham University. He began his labor career as a part-time organizer for the Retail Clerks International Association in 1948, and, from 1949 to 1957, held several staff positions in a New York City local union of the Service Employees.

Looking Backward: Labor's Earliest Roots

Workers have organized—associations, benefit societies, trade unions—since the inception of the Republic. Before the Revolution guild-like organizations were formed by journeyman/masters.

The first strike appears to be that of Polish workers in Jamestown, Va., in 1619 protesting against being denied the right to vote. As members of the revolutionary Sons of Liberty, artisans and laborers agitated in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. Ships carpenters were among those stalwarts who pitched tea into Boston's harbor. The first continuous organization of wage earners, however, was that of the Philadelphia journeymen shoemakers, who organized in 1792.

The first unions were local affairs centered on craft—bakers, carpenters, cordwainers (shoemakers), printers, teamsters—rather than on a workplace. There was no collective bargaining. Typically, journeymen posted a price for their labor, relying on one another not to work for less. Sporadic strikes and ostracism were the weapons of enforcement. Soon, however, journeymen's associations and masters' organizations began appointing committees to meet jointly to discuss demands.

The further development of collective bargaining, however, was set back by the application by the courts of the doctrine that the combination of workmen to raise their wages was a criminal conspiracy. Eight Philadelphia cordwainers were found guilty of that charge in 1806, the most famous of a series of cases that hindered unionism until the doctrine of conspiracy was set aside in an 1842 Massachusetts case involving journeymen bootmakers, *Commonwealth* v. *Hunt*.

By then, workers were experimenting with new forms of organization. "Furrow turners" and "huge paws" formed in 1828 the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workmen. In the decade that followed, workmen organized the first workingmen's parties, the first city bodies. New York's locofocos, a workers' faction of the Democratic Party (so called because the founders lit candles

when their meeting was sabotaged by the turning off of gaslights) elected labor's first congressman, Ely Moore.

The first national trade union federation, comprised of city labor organizations, the National Trades' Union, was founded in 1834. It lasted until 1837; a short-life being a characteristic of these early efforts.

Women and children were employed in the cotton and woolen mills of New England. At first, a high rate of turnover—most stayed no longer than a year—inhibited organization. Long hours and severe wage cuts, however, soon provoked rebellion. "The first turnout" of women workers is that of some two hundred who joined the men in striking a Pawtucket, Rhode Island mill in 1824. The first strike of mill women occurred in Dover, New Hampshire four years later, when hundreds of women paraded to protest new rules such as the imposition of a 12½ cent fine on latecomers after the factory gate had been locked, a ban on talking on the job, and discharges for undefined "debaucheries." Most of these early strikes were lost, including the Lowell strikes of 1834 and 1836 which were better organized than earlier, spontaneous turnouts. Sarah Bagley organized the Lowell Female Labor Reform League, affiliated with the New England Workingmen's Association, to agitate for the ten hour day, becoming the first known woman labor leader.

Working men and women rallied behind—and ultimately achieved—platforms espousing the abolition of imprisonment for debt, universal free education, a mechanic lien law (making wages the employer's first obligation in bankruptcy), the abolition of child labor, credit, currency and land reforms.

Just before the Civil War, the first real attempts were made to establish permanent and exclusive organizations of skilled workmen. The Typographers founded their union—ITU—in 1850. William H. Sylvis (b. November 26, 1828; d. July 26, 1869), the first outstanding figure of the American Labor movement, founded the National Moulders' Union in 1859 and the National Labor Union in 1866. Though short-lived, the NLU proposed a Department of Labor, sent the first American worker—Chicago labor leader A. C. Cameron—to an international conference, the 1869 Basle congress of the First International Workingmen's Association. The eight hour day for federal employees was adopted by Congress in 1869, largely as a result of NLU efforts.

Post-Civil War America was a time of ferment. Within twenty-five years of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the United States became the leading manufacturing nation in the world. Some twenty-three national unions were organized between 1861 and 1871, but the casualty rate was high. The Knights of St. Crispins, the secret organization of shoemakers and the largest union of its day, forced the manufacturers of Lynn, Massachusetts, to sign agreements in 1869-1870.

But two years later, the employers had combined, broke the union with the introduction of new machinery and with the help of the Panic of 1873.

Peter J. McGuire, a founder of the American Federation of Labor, was among the trade unionists and socialists who organized the unemployment demonstrations in New York City that followed the Panic. On January 13, 1874, thousands of workers marched into Tompkins Square where they were met by a charge of club-swinging mounted policemen. Hundreds were injured.

Sam Gompers, McGuire's friend, witnessed the debacle, becoming convinced of the futility of political radicalism. "Professions of radicalism and sensationalism," he said, "concentrated all the forces of organized society against a labor movement and nullified in advance normal, necessary activity."

The rich and the powerful of the 1870's and 1880's were confident that they could handle any such local disturbances as the Tompkins Square affair. Did not railroad magnate and financier Jay Gould boast, "I can hire one-half of the working class to kill the other half?"

The first great clash between capital and labor occurred "on" the railroad. On May 10, 1869, the year that nine Philadelphia tailors founded the Knights of Labor, the last spike connecting the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads was driven into the roadbed at Ogden, Utah. Thirty-three thousand miles of railroad were built between 1867 and 1873. When the Baltimore and Ohio cut wages by ten percent, railmen struck setting off civil conflagrations in nearly all the chief rail centers of the country. When a detachment of militia attempted to disperse strikers in Pittsburgh, a crowd gathered, some boys threw stones and the militia opened fire. Twenty were killed and 29 seriously wounded. The troops were forced to retreat. Trapped in a Pennsy roundhouse, they shot their way out, killing and wounding more. Fires broke out in the freight yard, destroying 104 locomotives, 2,152 cars and 79 buildings.

Though the "Great Upheaval of 1877" burned itself out, as did the Pittsburgh roadhouse, workers, paradoxically, were encouraged to organize. Labor parties flourished in the years that followed. In the fall of 1878, the Greenback Labor party mustered over a million votes in the congressional elections, and fourteen Greenbackers were elected. The Knights of Labor grew in number.

The American Federation of Labor was born.

A Federation Chronology: 100 Years of Labor History

1881 **On November 15,** the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions is established in Pittsburgh by 107 delegates representing Knights of Labor assemblies, the International Typographical Union, the Cigar Makers, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Lake Seaman's Union, Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, various central labor councils among others. John Jarrett of the Iron and Steel Workers, elected chairman; W. H. Foster of the ITU, secretary; Samuel Gompers of the Cigar Makers, chairman of the Legislative Committee.

The new organization, destined to become the first, continuing national trade union center in the United States and the direct predecessor of the AFL-CIO, calls for compulsory free public education, an end to child labor, achievement of the 8-hour day, protection against garnishment, apprenticeship laws, payment of wages in legal tender, repeal of conspiracy laws, creation of a national bureau of labor statistics, workers' compensation, use of the ballot to elect friendly legislators.

In Chicago, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners founded, August 8. Gabriel Edmonston, president; Peter J. McGuire, secretary.

1882 **Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions** endorses 8-hour day at Cleveland convention.

Federation offers representation to all women's labor organizations "on an equal footing with trade organizations of men."

P. J. McGuire "Memorial" to Federation outlines principles of organization—autonomy of each trade and labor

union, no political or religious tests for membership, a true *federation* of trades.

Brotherhood of Telegraphers founded.

First Labor Day parade held in New York City under auspices of Central Labor Union on September 5.

1883 **Brotherhood of** Railroad Trainmen founded.

Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen founded.

Pennsylvania becomes first state to pass legislation authorising voluntary arbitration.

1884 **Federation convention** adopts 8-hour resolution "That eight-hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886", thus launching national campaign of agitation for this major goal that was to be won despite many setbacks.

Federation further resolves: "Women should be organized into trade unions . . . and we demand they receive equal compensation with men for equal service performed."

Hopkins Act creates Federal Labor Bureau within Department of Interior.

1885 **Successful strikes** by Knights of Labor against major railroads force Jay Gould to capitulate, bringing rush of new members to Knights.

National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers is launched.

Bricklayers in New York City gain first collective bargaining agreement in building trades.

1886 **Knights of Labor** lose prestige, die out on Western railroads when strikes by 9,000 shopmen, yardmen and section hands are called off "in public interest" at request of a St. Louis "citizens' committee."

On May 1, the eight-hour movement gets under way with first national general strike; Knights of Labor refuse support as approximately 340,000 men and women demonstrate in several cities for shorter hours.

Haymarket Riot—On May 4, a bomb explodes, kills 4 policemen, at a peaceful Haymarket Square rally in Chicago called to protest police shooting of 4 strikers previous day at McCormick Harvester Company. Police open fire on crowd, starting riot that ends with 7 police, 4 workers dead, hundreds injured. Eight anarchists rounded up, tried and convicted though no evidence links them to bomb and despite labor pleas for fair trial. Said Gompers later, "Bomb not only killed the policemen, but it killed our eight-hour movement for a few years after. . ."

1886 **Knights of Labor** at peak membership of 700,000 ends its October convention in Richmond in disarray as trade unionists in debate over future of the Order suffer defeat at hands of "union-haters" who envision all-embracing organization of workers, farmers and businessmen. Rail strike capitulation, 8-hour movement setback and failure to patch up differences with unionists starts decline. By mid-1890s, Knights cease to be significant factor on labor scene.

December 8-10 American Federation of Labor founded in Columbus, Ohio by delegates from 25 trade unions with 317,000 members, as Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions dissolves into A. F. of L. Samuel Gompers is elected president; P. J. McGuire, secretary; Gabriel Edmonston, treasurer.

1887 **Chicago anarchists**—August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fisher, George Engel—executed in aftermath of Haymarket Riot of 1886.

A. F. of L. convention adopts principle that only one union should be active in a trade, the theory of exclusive jurisdiction.

Eighty "volunteer" organizers appointed by Federation executive council.

Brotherhood of Painters established.

Amalgamated Council of Building Trades established, forerunner of A. F. of L. Department.

Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive Firemen cooperate for first time—work out changes in job classification.

Oregon establishes first Labor Day holiday; Colorado and New York follow later in year.

Homestake Mining Company in North Dakota establishes first company-financed medical department with fulltime staff.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees established.

1888 **A. F. of L. President Gompers** tours 33 cities "advocating the unity of labor," travels nearly 10,000 miles, makes speeches and returns home $90 "out of pocket." (Collections made to finance his travels.)

A. F. of L. engages an organizer for the Ohio Coal Miners' Amalgamated Association; renews drive for 8-hour day.

First federal arbitration law provides "voluntary arbitration" for railroad disputes by a presidentially appointed three-man board. Law never used.

United States Department of Labor established but without cabinet standing.

First federal eight-hour law passed; covers Government Printing Office and letter carriers.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the International Association of Machinists is organized.

1890 **The first fully** accredited female delegate attends A. F. of L. convention—Mary Burke of the Retail Clerks.

United Mine Workers established in Columbus, Ohio.

Resumption of 8-hour day movement; A. F. of L. picks Carpenters to lead; contributes one-half of its total income of $24,000 to support Carpenters' 8-hour strikes. Despite depression, over 23,000 carpenters in 36 cities win 8-hours; another 32,000 in 234 cities secure 9 hours. Building trades follow suit, and 8-hour day spreads.

Brotherhood of Baseball Players formed—first sports union.

1891 **Iron Molders' Union** wins first industry-wide agreement with employers.

Eight-hour-day standard for building trades won in Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, Indianapolis and San Francisco.

1892 **The Homestead strike**—organized labor's first confrontation with a modern manufacturing corporation—is called by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers against the Carnegie Steel Co. at Homestead, Pa. A boatload of Pinkertons, 300 armed men, beaten off by strikers, but state militia takes over and breaks strike after three detectives, seven workers die, and scores are wounded.

1893 **Western Federation** of Miners founded.

American Railway Union established; Eugene V. Debs, president. An industrial union, it enrolls 125,000 railroad workers before first convention in 1894.

A. F. of L. endorses free coinage of silver.

Illinois Central Railroad offers first stock ownership plan as a benefit.

1894 **Pullman strike**—American Railway Union members refuse to handle Pullman cars in sympathy with fellow workers on strike against wage cut, rents at Pullman-owned houses and firing of strike committeemen. Boycott affects 20 railroads rolling in and out of Chicago. Pullman cars hitched to mail trains gain intervention of federal troops, injunction under Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Debs, other strike leaders arrested for "conspiracy"; ARU forced to call off boycott; members blacklisted and starved into submission.

1895 **A. F. of L. sends** first organizers into South—Robert Howard of the Cotton Spinners and Frederich Estes, a printer.

1896 **American Federation** of Musicians formed.

1897 **United Mine Workers** becomes largest union in U.S., retaining this position for nearly three decades.

A. F. of L. convention sends aid to striking textile workers in Atlanta.

Latimer Massacre—Sheriff and deputies gun down miners peacefully marching in support of strike against prices in company stores; 19 killed, 40 wounded.

1898 **Congress passes** the Erdman Act, providing for mediation and arbitration on the railroads.

National union of team drivers established at convention called by A. F. of L.

Coal companies in Virden and Pana, Illinois, erect stockades during strike and import Negro strikebreakers—an act that is denounced by Alabama Afro-American Labor and Protective Association. Seven miners, five guards killed over disembarkment of strikebreakers. Victory assures unionization in Illinois coal fields until early 1920s.

Erdman Act provides for settlement of rail disputes, establishes first permanent federal mediation service. Act sanctions collective bargaining by prohibiting employers from requiring workers to refrain from joining unions as a condition of employment. This provision later declared unconstitutional (*Adair v. U.S.*, 1980).

1899 **John Mitchell** elected president of United Mine Workers.

Order of Railroad Telegraphers becomes first rail union to affiliate with A. F. of L.

A. F. of L. employs first full-time organizers; 17 employed in addition to 550 volunteer organizers. Nine international unions formed; 405 federal and trade locals organized.

Idaho governor calls in federal troops during strike at Coeur d'Alene mines. Mine dynamited; 700 miners arrested; one convicted of second-degree murder, 10 convicted of interfering with the mails.

1900 **International Ladies'** Garment Workers founded.

Fourteen new internationals chartered by A. F. of L.; 734 federal and trade locals affiliate.

A. F. of L. aids Granite Cutters to obtain shorter work day.

Anthracite coal strike settled with 10 per cent increase in rates.

National Civil Federation established by Mark Hanna, Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell, to promote industrial peace.

1901 **Scranton Declaration**—A. F. of L. defines rights of affiliates within their jurisdictions.

58,000 Machinists strike for 9-hour day.

The United Textile Workers of America founded.

National Metal Trades Association announces "open shop" drive, establishes strikebreaking service, employs labor spies.

1902 **Anthracite miners** strike in Pennsylvania. After four months, President Theodore Roosevelt personally intervenes to propose arbitration. Union gains pay increases, shorter work days from Presidential Commission.

1903 **Women's Trade Union League** organized; founded by Mary O'Sullivan, bindery worker and first woman organizer of A. F. of L.; Mary Kehew, Boston philanthropist; Jane Addams, Hull House; Mary Donovan, shoemaker; Leanora O'Reilly, International Ladies Garment Workers; Ellen Landstrom, United Garment Workers; Mary Freetas, Textile Workers.

1904 **Western Federation of Miners** strike at Cripple Creek, Colorado, for shorter hours. Troops called in; bomb kills mine superintendent, dynamite wrecks railroad station, killing 13 non-union miners. Union men driven out.

1905 **Formation of** Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies), William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, president. IWW favors unions running economic institutions; supports direct action, sabotage. It fades after losing the Seattle General Strike of 1919.

1906 **A. F. of L. places** Bucks Stove Company on "We Do Not Patronize" list for discharge of worker; ignores injunction against "boycott"; Gompers and others held in contempt of court.

First "political conference" called by A. F. of L.; 51 internationals meeting with Executive Council issue "Bill of Grievances" declaring Congress unresponsive to labor's needs. Start of drive towards Clayton Act.

A. F. of L. enters political arena; Gompers campaigns against anti-labor Congressman Charles Littlefield of Maine. Republican high command responds—Littlefield re-elected but by a reduced majority.

A. F. of L., railway unions and farmers' organizations hold conference, call for amendment to Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Gompers and several Executive Council members attend both Democratic and Republican conventions.

Twenty unions establish A. F. of L. Building Trades Department.

1908 **Danbury Hatters Case**—U.S. Supreme Court finds Hatters Union members guilty of "conspiracy" under Sherman Anti-Trust Act for pursuing national boycott against a non-union company in Danbury, Connecticut. A. F. of L. runs national fund raising campaign to pay off huge fine and save strikers' homes from being seized.

Metal Trades Department established.

1909 **Uprising of the Twenty Thousand**—First mass strike in needle trades when shirtwaist and dress makers in New York City demonstrate in crucial test for ILGWU.

Strikers—mostly women—win 52-hour week, wage increases.

Strike against U.S. Steel by Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers and Tin Plate Workers begins in July; A. F. of L. organizes support from 36 unions, sparks House (Stanley) investigation of steel industry. Strike drags into following year; company recruits immigrant workers to break strike.

First free speech fight in Spokane, Washington; hundreds of Wobblies converge, soap-box, deliberately court arrest to jam jails.

Railway Employees Department established; (dissolved in 1981.)

Union Label Department established.

1910 **Some 50,000 cloakmakers** call a strike in New York; Louis D. Brandeis, a lawyer later named to Supreme Court, designs "Protocol of Peace" to end dispute on constructive note—establishing machinery for conciliation and arbitration. Workers win preferential union shop, abolition of homework, 10 paid holidays, pay in cash, piece rates fixed by joint union-employer committee.

1911 **Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire**—Women workers trapped; many jump to their deaths; 146 killed. New York sets up Factory Investigation Committee with Frances Perkins; stimulates factory inspection and safety legislation.

1912 **Lawrence, Massachusetts** textile strike—50,000 workers walk out when mill owners, responding to a state legislature action reducing the work week from 54 to 52 hours, cut pay rates without prior notice. IWW provides leadership; 36 strikers arrested; dynamite planted by company provocateurs. When police and militia attack peaceful demonstrations, public sides with unions; 400 children of strikers "adopted" by sympathizers. Women and children clubbed at rail station when authorities decide no more children to be allowed to leave. Public protest forces companies not only to restore pay cuts but boost wages to more realistic levels—gains soon extended to thousands more workers all over New England.

Massachusetts adopts first minimum wage law for women and minors.

Walsh Commission on Industrial Relations is created to investigate industrial unrest in the nation.

1913 **U.S. Department of Labor** created with Cabinet status. William B. Wilson, former secretary-treasurer of UMW, appointed Secretary.

Federal Mediation Service created.

First strike settled by Federal mediators, involves Railway Clerks.

1914 **The Clayton Act** passed by Congress, limiting use of injunctions in labor disputes and providing that picketing and other union activities shall not be considered unlawful; amends Sherman Act to declare labor of a human being is not a "commodity", thus not subject to Sherman Act. A major forward step for unions.

Joe Hill, IWW troubador and organizer, executed in Utah for alleged murder of shopkeeper.

Ludlow Massacre—Colorado militia attacks strikers' tent colony with machine guns, sets fire to tents during night. Thirty-nine men, women and children are killed. Enraged miners rout militia, climaxing 20-year class warefare in Rockies, but fighting ends when President Wilson sends in federal troops. All who participated in massacre are absolved.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America formed.

1915 **The La Follette Seamen's Act** passed by Congress, establishing much-improved working conditions, food and allowances for sailors. It also protects them from human sharks who exploit them in port.

1916 **The Adamson Act** passed by Congress provides eight-hour day for railroad workers, spurs eight-hour drive in industry.

Bricklayers affiliate with A. F. of L.

A. F. of L. Executive Council endorses "voluntary union of nations, a league for peace, to adjust disputes. . ."

First federal child labor legislation (the Keating-Owens Act) prohibits interstate or foreign movement of goods produced by firms employing children under 14. Law declared unconstitutional in 1918.

Bomb explodes during preparedness parade in San Francisco, killing nine marchers and spectators. Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, labor organizers, indicted.

1917 **A strike led** by the IWW in the copper mines of Bisbee, Arizona, ends when the sheriff deports 1,200 strikers.

A. F. of L. active in behalf of pardon for Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. Pardon secured in 1937.

President Woodrow Wilson becomes first Chief Executive to address A. F. of L. Convention.

Supreme Court upholds "yellow dog" contract in *Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchell.*

1918 **A. F. of L. appoints** Committee on Reconstruction to draft post-war program.

Samuel Gompers joins campaign for amnesty for World War I political prisoners, including Eugene Debs.

National committee for organizing iron and steel workers formed by 16 A. F. of L. unions; Gompers, chairman; John Fitzpatrick, Chicago Federation of Labor, vice-chairman; William Z. Foster, secretary.

First distinct U.S. Employment Service created within Department of Labor.

A. F. of L. sends delegation to attend inter-allied labor conference in London.

1919 **Samuel Gompers** plays major role in creation of International Labor Organization under initial sponsorship of League of Nations. (ILO survived the League, became a UN agency after World War II.)

First nationwide steel strike, conducted by A. F. of L., seeks end of 12-hour day and other improvements. Strike broken by steel industry's refusal to bargain, plus armed violence and heavy propaganda.

1920 **Launching of** so-called "American Plan" for the open shop to weaken unions, keep them out of major industrial plants. Mixture of spurious patriotic slogans, intimidation, company unions and "yellow dog" contracts barring union membership, results in heavy losses for the labor movement.

Union membership peaks at 5,047,800.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers launches labor bank movement.

First compulsory arbitration law passed in Kansas. Portion later declared unconstitutional.

Women's Bureau established in Department of Labor.

First federal legislation providing funds for training disabled workers enacted. (Smith-Fess Act.)

Railroads, seized by government during war, returned to private owners.

Tripartite Railroad Labor Board established to determine labor relations.

1921 **Workers' Education Bureau** founded with help of historians Charles and Mary Beard.

Meat Cutters' packinghouse strike broken, in part, by importation of black strikebreakers from the South.

1922 **Conference for** Progressive Political Action formed, sparked by rail unions.

1924 **William Green,** secretary-treasurer of United Mine Workers, becomes president of A. F. of L., following death of Samuel Gompers.

A. F. of L. Executive Council endorses Presidential candidacy of Robert LaFollette on the Progressive Party ticket.

1925 **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters** founded by A. Philip Randolph, Ashley Totten and Milton Webster.

John L. Lewis and UMW hit with 19 injunctions restraining interference with production of coal in non-union mines of West Virginia.

1926 **Railway Labor Act** enacted. Provides for collective bargaining and settlement of disputes on the nation's railroads.

Labor Bank movement of 1920s peaks—35 banks with resources in excess of $126 million.

1927 **Supreme Court,** in *Bedord Cut Stone Co. v. Journeymen Stone Cutters,* holds stone cutters refusal to handle non-union limestone to further unionization unlawful.

1930 **A. F. of L. urges** adoption of 5-day week, vacations with pay, that Federal government establish public employment offices, initiate public works, and appoint a commission to study technological unemployment.

1931 **Congress passes** Davis-Bacon Act; requires payment of prevailing wage for construction workers on government contracts.

First state-wide relief program in New York.

Employment Stabilization Act creates board to advise President on economy.

Unemployment leagues organized.

National Committee on Labor Injunctions formed to promote anti-injunction measures.

1932 **Deep depression** envelops American economy; unemploy-

ment soars to nearly 14 million; union membership plummets.

Congress passes Norris-LaGuardia Act, severely limiting federal court judges from issuing injunctions.

1933 **National Recovery Act's** Section 7a gives unions right to bargain with employers.

Organizing drives launched in coal fields and garment centers sign up 450,000 new members.

1934 **President Roosevelt,** by executive order, extends power of National Labor Board to hold elections to determine employees' choice of collective bargaining representatives.

National Labor Board elections at H. C. Frick Coke Company won by UMW; check-off of union dues awarded.

Pacific Coast longshore and seamen strike sparks general strike in San Francisco; strikers win union recognition, 30-hour, six-day week, joint operation of hiring halls.

Minneapolis teamsters strike ties up city; sparks organization of over-the-road truckers.

Cotton textile workers strike; 10,000 troops called in six states; 13 killed; strike called off at President's behest.

Kohler Company strike illustrates weakness of NRA, Section 7-a; two strikers killed; National Guard called in; Company agrees to an election; "independent" union wins in questionable circumstances.

Electric Auto-Lite strike in Toledo won, sparks further efforts among auto workers.

1935 **Congress passes** National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) vastly broadening right of unions to represent workers, negotiate collective bargaining agreements and protect members from employer intimidation or coercion against unions.

A. F. of L. convention debates craft v. industrial unionism; craft unions win debate.

Committee for Industrial Organization formed by Charles P. Howard, ITU; Sidney Hillman, ACW; David Dubinsky, ILGWU; Thomas T. McMahon, UTW; Harvey C. Fremming, Oil Field, Gas and Refining Workers; Max Zaritsky, Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers; Thomas H. Brown, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers. John Brophy selected as director. Not all participants remained in the CIO.

1936 **Industrial unions** banded in Committee for Industrial Organization launch organizing drives in steel, auto, rubber, textile and other mass production industries.

First CIO strike, which includes a mile-long picket line, ends in victory for rubber workers at Akron, Ohio Goodyear plant.

1937 **Steel workers** win first contracts from U.S. Steel. Other big corporations begin to recognize industrial unions for first time.

Auto workers win bargaining rights after historic sit-down strike at Flint, Mich., GM plant.

"Little Steel" strike at Republic, Bethlehem, Inland and Youngstown Sheet & Tube involves 70,000 workers in confrontation with management.

Memorial Day Massacre—Police fire on unarmed steelworkers outside Republic Steel plant in Chicago. Ten shot; 30 others, including one woman and three minors, wounded; 28 beaten, hospitalized; 30 more injured.

1938 **International Federation of Trade Unions,** with A. F. of L. backing, rejects affiliation of Soviet "unions."

CIO holds first convention, becomes Congress of Industrial Organizations, with John L. Lewis as its president.

Fair Labor Standards Act is passed. It sets a minimum wage and outlaws child labor.

1939 **Supreme Court** declares sit-down strikes illegal.

1940 **John L. Lewis** endorses Wendell Wilkie, pledges resigna-

tion as CIO president if Franklin D. Roosevelt not defeated for third term.

Ford recognizes United Auto Workers after years of bitter opposition.

More than 4,000 strikes in nation involve 2.3 million workers; 23,000,000 man-days lost. Communists active in fomenting many strikes, implementing new line imposed as consequence of Stalin-Hitler Pact.

Lewis steps down, Philip Murray becomes president of CIO.

1941 **March on Washington Movement**—A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatens march on nation's capital against job discrimination. Pres. Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense industries and establishing a Committee on Fair Employment Practices to investigate complaints.

"Little Steel" companies agree to bargain with Steelworkers.

A. F. of L. and CIO begin first joint efforts in support of national war effort. Pres. Roosevelt keeps urging two labor groups to seek unity.

1942 **National War Labor Board** is established; issues the "Little Steel" formula which pegs wage increases to rises in the cost of living.

1943 **CIO-PAC** established.

Bituminous coal miners strike; government seizes mines.

1944 **Sewell Avery,** president of Montgomery Ward, carried out of his office by federal troops as government enforces War Labor Board decision backing Retail Clerks representation rights.

1945 **Postwar strikes** express long pent-up need for wage increases; virtually all industries affected: railroad, auto, steel, agricultural implements, meat-packing, coal, oil, refining, electrical manufacturing, longshoremen.

1946 **When rail strike** halts all trains, President Truman takes over nation's railroads, settles dispute on his terms.

Congress, with labor support, passes full employment law setting goals for national economy.

Maritime Trades Department established.

1947 **Congress passes** Taft-Hartley Act, severely limiting rights previously contained in Wagner Act. Bill becomes law after overriding of Pres. Truman's veto.

A. F. of L. establishes Labor's Educational and Political League; Joseph Keenan, director.

1948 **A. F. of L. and CIO** endorse Marshall Plan for European recovery.

UAW negotiates first cost-of-living "escalator" clause.

1949 **First pension agreements** signed in steel, auto industries, principle spreads quickly to other industries.

Communications Workers of America affiliates with CIO.

1952 **William Green** and Philip Murray die. George Meany, previously AFL secretary-treasurer, is elected AFL president; Walter P. Reuther, president of United Auto Workers, is elected CIO president.

1955 **AFL and CIO merge** into unified labor federation.

Industrial Union Department established.

A. Philip Randolph and Willard S. Townsend, United Transport Service Employees, elected first black members of AFL-CIO Executive Council.

1957 **AFL-CIO convention** resolution spells out plans for COPE, Federation's political arm, expels three unions on charges of corruption.

1959 **Congress passes** Landrum-Griffin Act, containing further amendment of Wagner Act.

1960 **Congress, with labor's support,** passes occupational safety and health law (OSHA).

1962 **President John F. Kennedy** signs Executive Order 10988, declares: "the efficient administration of the government and the well-being of employees require that orderly and constructive relationships be maintained between employees organizations and management." De-facto recognition of collective bargaining by federal government.

1963 **Equal Pay Act for Women** passed by Congress with strong labor support.

A. Philip Randolph, vice-president, AFL-CIO, and president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organizes March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom Aug. 28; blacks, liberals and trade unionists make up crowd of 200,000; Martin Luther King, Jr., gives famed "I have a dream . . ." speech.

1964 **With strong labor backing,** Congress passes Civil Rights Act.

1967 **AFL-CIO rallies support** for Israel during Six-Day War.

Farm Workers win first contract at DiGiorgio in California.

UAW, Rubber Workers and ILGWU negotiate major contracts.

SPACE, forerunner of Department for Professional Employees, chartered by Federation.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act enacted.

1968 **Memphis sanitationmen** strike; AFSCME mounts march, headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

1969 **AFL-CIO** Labor Studies Center opens.

Transportation-Communication Employees merge with Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

Charleston, S.C., hospital workers win major strike.

Two bakery unions merge to form Bakery & Confectionery Workers.

1970 **United Farm Workers** grape boycott wins contracts with 25 major California growers.

Walter P. Reuther killed in airplane crash, May 9.

1971 **Merger forms** Postal Workers.

AFL-CIO urges $2.00 minimum wage.

UAW and AFL-CIO join forces behind National Health Security.

1972 **AFL-CIO sets up** nationwide system of price monitoring.

Mergers form Paperworkers and Graphic Arts unions.

1973 **AFL-CIO calls** for impeachment of President Nixon.

Steelworkers launch Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Hispanic unionists form Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

AFL-CIO raises $1-million in support of Farm Workers.

1974 **Employment** Retirement Income Security Act enacted.

Coalition of Labor Union Women formed.

Cigar Makers merge into RWDSU.

Clothing Workers win first-ever representation election at J. P. Stevens.

Twenty-four unions form AFL-CIO Public Employees Department.

1975 **President Ford's vetoes** prompt special session of AFL-CIO General Board to call for job creation.

Ford vetoes common situs picketing bill he pledged to sign.

AFL-CIO hosts Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's first U.S. address.

AFL-CIO urges acceptance of 100,000 refugees as South Vietnam falls.

AFL-CIO walks out of ILO when Palestinian terrorists are seated.

1976 **Clothing and Textile** unions merge.

Rubber Workers strike four months to win major tire agreements.

Food & Beverage Trades Department chartered.

1977 **Minimum wage law** goes to $3.35 minimum in four steps.

House passes labor law reform.

Boot & Shoe Workers merge with Retail Clerks.

AFL-CIO convention greets Israeli and Egyptian labor ministers.

Congress, with strong labor support, passes Humphrey-Hawkins Act reinforcing government statement in support of philosophy of full employment.

1978 **Senate filibuster** kills labor law reform.

Missouri voters defeat right-to-work.

Steelworkers win election at Newport News shipyard; significant breakthrough for southern organizing.

Sleeping Car Porters merge into BRAC.

Labor steps up ERA drive as ratification deadline is extended.

Merger forms Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers.

1979 **George Meany** steps down as president of AFL-CIO. Lane Kirkland elected president; Thomas R. Donahue, secretary-treasurer.

1979 **Merger of Retail Clerks and Meat Cutters** into United Food and Commercial Workers creates largest union in AFL-CIO.

1980 **George Meany** dies.

J. P. Stevens boycott ends after 17 years when company recognizes Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at seven plants.

Steelworkers win first contract at Newport News (Va.) Shipbuilding.

AFL-CIO creates Polish Workers' Aid Fund.

Joyce Miller elected first woman on AFL-CIO Executive Council.

1981 **September 19, Solidarity Day**—Greatest rally in labor history draws 400,000 working men and women and their allies to the Mall in Washington, D.C. to protest philosophy and actions of the Reagan Administration.

November 16-20—AFL-CIO holds its Centennial convention in New York City.

Bibliography

(Prepared by the staff of the AFL-CIO Library)

Baxandall, Rosalyn, et al., eds. *America's Working Women: A Documentary History—1600 to the Present.* New York, Random, 1976. 408 p. Reveals the changing pattern of labor force participation and the sexual division of labor.

Bernstein, Irving. *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1902-1933.* Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin, 1972. Reprint of 1960 edition. 577 p.

———. *The Turbulent Years: A History of tht American Worker: 1933-1941.* Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin, 1970. 873 p. A comprehensive account of American labor in the period between the two world wars.

Brooks, Thomas R. *Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor.* Rev. ed. New York, Dell, 1972. Traces workers from the early journeymen cordwainers to about 1970.

Cahn, William. *A Pictorial History of American Labor.* New York, Crown, 1972. 341 p. OP. The story of American labor illustrated with photographs, woodcuts, drawings, letters and documents.

Commons, John R., ed. *Documentary History of American Industrial Society.* 2nd ed. Tampa, Fla., Russell, 1958. Reprint of 1909-11 edition. 10 v. A basic source book for American labor history.

Commons, John R. and others. *History of Labor in the United States.* Fairfield, N.J., Augustus Kelley, 1974. Reprint of 1918 edition. 4 v. A basic, seminal history of the American labor movement.

Dubofsky, Melvyn. *We Shall Be All, A History of the Industrial Workers of the World.* New York, Quadrangle, 1974. A comprehensive history of the IWW up to its decline after 1919.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Labor in America, a History.* Arlington Hgts., Ill., AHM Pub., 1968. Traces the rise of American labor since colonial days.

Foner, Philip. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States.*

New York, International Publishers, v. 1-1947, v. 2-1955, v. 3-1964, v. 4-1965, v. 5-1980. "Undertakes to present a new interpretation of the history of the labor movement in the U. S. based on manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets and the existing monographic materials." Preface, p. 11. Latest volume ends in 1915.

Foner, Philip S. *Women and the American Labor Movement, from Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I.* New York, Free Press, 1979. 621 p. "Women have been active in their own behalf since the earliest days of the factory system, often against what must have seemed insurmountable odds."—Preface, p. x.

Galenson, Walter. *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A Hisotry of the American Labor Movement, 1935-1941.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960. 732 p. OP. Covers the period from the formation of the CIO to World War II.

Godson, Roy. *American Labor and European Politics; AFL as a Transnational Force.* New York, Crane, Russak, 1976. 230 p. Arguing that the AFL helped maintain the balance of power in Europe after World War II, Godson demonstrates that "the trade union can play an enormously important role in world politics."

Goldberg, Arthur J. *AFL-CIO: Labor United.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964. 324 p. OP. A participant in the events gives a "personal and unofficial discussion and analysis of the problems, past and future . . . of labor unity."—Preface, p. v.

Horowitz, Ruth L. *Political Ideologies of Organized Labor.* New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1978. 260 p. The American labor movement of the Great Depression decade with emphasis on labor's views toward the protective legislation of the New Deal period.

Kornbluh, Joyce L. *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1964. 432 p. The history of the IWW as told by the "Wobblies" themselves through their tracts, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, etc.

Lorwin, Lewis L. *American Federation of Labor: History, Policies and Prospects.* Fairfield, N.J., Augustus Kelley, 1972. Reprint of 1933 ed. Attempts to show the "historic evolution by which the Federation has come to its present (1933) position."

Meister, Richard and Anne Loftis. *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers.* New York, Macmillan, 1977. 241 p. History of the organizing of farm workers with emphasis on the United Farm Workers.

Meltzer, Milton. *Bread—and Roses; The Struggle of American Labor, 1865-1915.* New York, New American Library, 1977. Reprint

of 1967 ed. Covers the 50 years between the Civil War and World War I, picturing the workers' lives largely through their own words.

Morris, Richard B., ed. *The U.S. Department of Labor Bicentennial History of the American Worker*. Washington, GPO, 1976. 327 p. Illustrated history of the American worker with contributions by leading labor historians. Includes a concise account of union history since World War II by Jack Barbash and the present status and future issues concerning collective bargaining by John Dunlop.

Rayback, Joseph G. *History of American Labor*. New York, Macmillan, 1959. 459 p. Labor's growth against the background of American political, social, economic and industrial history.

Rehmus, Charles M. and Doris B. McLaughlin, eds. *Labor and American Politics; a Book of Readings*. Rev. ed. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1978. 445 p. Organized labor's role in politics from the Revolutionary period on.

Schnapper, M. B. *American Labor: A Pictorial Social History*. Rev. ed. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1979. ". . . . the role of the working people . . . based primarily on contemporary material." Introduction, p. 3.

Stein, Leon. *Triangle Fire*. New York, Lippincott, 1962. 224 p. OP. A recreation of an industrial disaster which killed one hundred and forty-six people, most of them young women.

Taft, Philip. *A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers*. New York, Octagon, 1970. Reprint of 1957 ed. 508 p.

———. *A.F. of L. From the Death of Gompers to the Merger*. New York, Octagon, 1970. Reprint of 1959 ed. 490 p. These two volumes provide a detailed, basic history of the American Federation of Labor.

———. *Defending Freedom: American Labor and Foreign Affairs*. New York, Nash, 1973, 293 p. Charts the course of AFL and AFL-CIO actions in foreign affairs.

———. *Organized Labor in American History*. New York, Harper, 1964. 818 p. OP. A history of American labor from its colonial beginnings to the 1960s.

Stein, Leon, ed. *Out of the Sweatshop: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy*. New York, Quadrangle, 1977. 367 p. A book of readings dramatizing the garment workers' battle against the sweatshop and their struggle to form the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Brief History of the American Labor Movement*. Washington, GPO, 1979. Bulletin No. 1000. A succinct description of two centuries of labor history with a list of selected references for further study.

Ware, Norman. *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895*. Magnolia, Mass., Peter Smith, 1959. 430 p. The Knights of Labor and its relation to the rest of the labor movement.

Wertheimer, Barbara M. *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America*. New York, Pantheon Books, 1977. 427 p. From pre-colonial times to the early twentieth century, the role of women at work and in the labor movement is described.

Yellen, Samuel. *American Labor Struggles*. New York, Monad, 1974. Reprint of 1936 ed. "An attempt to . . . analyze the causes underlying the development, to disclose the tactics and policies . . . and to indicate the contribution . . ." of struggles in a number of basic industries. Preface.

American Federation of Labor.

President, - - SAMUEL GOMPERS, 21 Clinton Place, New York.

Secretary, - - - P. J. McGUIRE, P. O. Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.

REGISTER OF TRADE UNIONS LED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

TRADES.	TITLES OF TRADES UNIONS.	OFFICIAL ADDRESSES.	No. of Local Unions	Total Membership.
Bakers	Journeymen Bakers' National Union	7 New Chambers St., New York	70	19,000
Barbers	National Union of Barbers	Muskegon, Mich., H. G. Hoch	12	5,500
Boatmen	International Boatmen's Union	26 Albany St., New York	2	1,000
Boilermakers	Intern. Brotherhood of Iron Shipbuilders	227 Spring St., "	32	3,500
Bookkeepers	Federation of Bookkeepers	103 Hoyt St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	...	4,000
Bottleblowers	Druggists' Ware Glassblowers' League, E.	19 Third Ave., " "	...	3,500
"	" " " W.	Michigan City, Ind., L. Arrington	...	4,500
Brakemen	Brotherhood of R.R. Brakemen	Galesburgh, Ill., E. F. O'Shea	264	12,000
Brewers	Brewers' National Union	213 Forsyth St., New York	21	2,500
Bricklayers	Intern. Bricklayers' & Stonemasons' Union	Box 1074, Cohoes, N. Y., T. O'Dea	161	23,000
Building Laborers	Building Laborers and Hodcarriers	26 Colony St., S. Boston, Mass.	30	8,000
Carpenters	Amalg. Society of Carpenters and Joiners	627 First Ave., New York	35	2,270
"	Bro. of Carpenters & Joiners of America.	P. O. Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.	484	53,240
Cigarmakers	Cigarmakers' International Union	Buffalo, N. Y., A. Strasser	260	28,000
Carriagemakers	Carriage and Wagonmakers' Union	117 E. Fourth St., N. Y.	...	1,000
Coalminers	Nat. Fed. of Miners and Mine Laborers	New Straitsville, O., C. Evans	...	35,000
"	Miners' and Laborers' Amalg. Association	Scottdale, Pa., W. H. Mullen	...	6,000
"	" " " " "	Kumroy, O., Ebenezer Lewis	...	14,000
"	" " " " "	Carbon, Ind., P. H. Penna	52	7,000
"	Miners' Protective Association	Springfield, Ill., P. H. Donnelly	...	10,000
Conductors	Order of Railroad Conductors	Cedar Rapids, Ia., C. S. Wheaton	...	8,000
Coopers	National Union of Coopers of the U. S.	531 W. 49th St., New York	11	15,000
Elastic Web Weavers	Amalgamated Association U. S. A.	39 William St., Bridgeport, Conn	7	1,000
Engineers	Amalgamated Society of Engineers	333 E. 18th St., New York	47	2,430
"	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	Cleveland, O., P. M. Arthur	394	25,000
"	Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers	Cincinnati, O., G. G. Minor	...	6,000
Firemen	Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen	Terra Haute, Ind., E. V. Debs	380	19,000
Furnitureworkers	Furnitureworkers' Union of America	339 E. 21st St., New York	26	5,800
Glassworkers	Flint Glassworkers' Union of N. America	Pittsburgh, Pa., W. J. Dillon	83	6,000
Granitecutters	Granitecutters' National Union	Lock Drawer H, Barre, Vt.	86	5,000
Hairspinners	Hairspinners' National Union of America	1727 Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.	4	900
Hatters	Hatfinishers' Intern. Assoc. of N. America	56 Pulaski St., Brooklyn	15	4,450
"	Hatmakers' Intern. Assoc. of N. America	39 Union Ave., Jamaica Plain, Mass	12	3,500
"	Silk Hatters' Association	212 Broadway, New York	17	1,000
"	Wool Hatters Association	Matteawan, N. Y., A. M. Taylor	12	800
Horse Collarmakers	Horse Collarmakers' Union	St. Louis, Mo., T. Holland	21	1,500
Horseshoers	Horseshoers' Association	367 E. 67th St., New York	32	6,000
Ironmoulders	Ironmoulders' Union of North America	Cincinnati, O., P. F. Fitzpatrick	250	28,571
Iron & Steelworkers	Amalg. Assoc. of Iron and Steelworkers	Pittsburgh, Pa., W. Weihe	117	35,000
Metalworkers	Metalworkers' Union of North America	Baltimore, Md, George Appell	12	1,200
Musicians	Musicians' National League	1203 Chestnut St., Philadelphia	18	9,000
Oystermen	National Trade Union of Oystermen	254 W. 15th St., New York	11	1,000
Patternmakers	National Patternmakers' League	Philadelphia, Pa., W. J. Johnson	9	1,000
Painters & Decorat's	Broth. of Painters and Decorators of Amer.	Baltimore, Md., T. J. Elliot	116	5,500
Pianomakers	Pianomakers' Union	562 Graham Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.	...	5,000
Plasterers	Operative Plasterers' Internat. Union	St. Louis, Mo., Jos. McDonnell	20	2,500
Plumbers	Journeymen Plumbers and Gasfitters' P. and B. Society	Newark, N. J., J. A. Harris	...	6,000
Printers	International Typographical Union	56 Vance Block, Indianapolis	275	24,000
"	German-American Typographia	115 Park Row, New York	20	1,100
Switchmen	Brotherhood of Railroad Switchmen	Chicago, Ill., Jos. D. Hill	58	5,000
Shoelasters	Lasters Protective Union	Lynn, Mass., Ed. L. Daly	66	9,500
Spinners	Mulespinners' Union	Fall River, Mass., R. Howard	...	10,000
Stonecutters	Stonecutters' Union	Box 2260, St. Paul, Minn., T. Ward	20	1,500
Tailors	Journeymen Tailors' Union of America	85 E. 7th St., New York	70	9,500
Telegraphers	Brotherhood of Telegraphers	76 Cortlandt St., "	...	6,000
Textileworkers	Textileworkers' Prog. Union of America	Philadelphia, P., R. Hoffman	8	1,000
Umbrella and Caneworkers	Umbrella, Pipe & Caneworkers' National Union of America	Jersey City, N. J., T. Mendles	5	1,300
Woodcarvers	Woodcarvers' Union	90 Pitt St., New York	9	1,000
Total, 1888-89				549,461

Facsimile page from "Official Book," A. F. of L. Convention, 1889.