THE AMERICAN LABOR MUSEUM

BOTTO HOUSE NATIONAL LANDMARK

NEWSLETTER

Haledon, New Jersey 9 Spring - Summer, 1989

Labor leaders John Van Slooten (l) and Sol Stetin lead the candlelight ceremony from the Botto House balcony.

"WORKERS MEMORIAL DAY" CEREMONY HELD AT MUSEUM

The nation's first Workers Memorial Day was observed on April 28 with events designed to draw attention to the health and safety of working people.

The Botto House's historic balcony was the setting for a candlelight memorial which involved union members, community leaders and Museum supporters.

Passaic County Labor Council secretary John Van Slooten and Museum President Sol Stetin read the names of fallen workers from the same balcony which served as the speaking platform during the Paterson Silk Strike. Workplace safety was one of the issues which brought thousands to the Botto House during the Silk Strike of 1913.

The dramatic ceremony followed a meeting of the Passaic County AFL-CIO Labor Council. The meeting included a screening of a videotape on the infamous Triangle Fire which killed 146 workers in 1911.

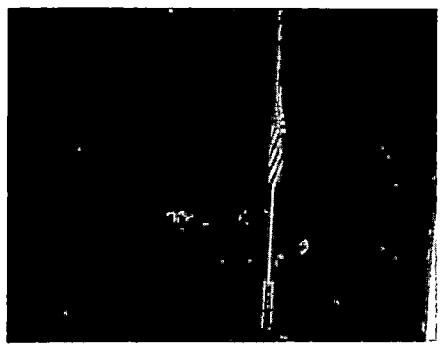
The observance was held on the anniversary of the day in 1971 when the provisions of the Occupational Safety & Health Act (OSHA), the legislation which regulates workplace safety in the United States, went into effect.

Earlier in the day, Museum President Sol Stetin addressed ceremonies in New York City sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union.

Charles Sallee, the ACTWU Sec.-Treas. whose vision led to the establishment of Workers Memorial Day, was memorialized at one of the ceremonies.

Museum Director Edward Rosney spoke at a Workers Memorial Day service sponsored by the Bergen County Central Trades & Labor Council. The Council is led by Museum trustee, Philip McLewin.

Workers Memorial Day was an effort sponsored by the unions of the AFL-CIO to commemorate workers killed, injured or disabled on the job and to focus attention on what needs to be done to prevent future workplace victims. Organizers intend to make the observance an annual event.



Museum volunteer Robert Speisser lowers the Flag to half-staff.

MORTON BAHR NAMED CHAIR OF BOARD

Morton Bahr, the national president of the Communication Workers of America, has been elected to the new position of Chair of the Museum's Board of Trustees.

This action, ratified at the Museum's Annual Meeting on May 21, was hailed by Museum President Sol Stetin as "an important moment in the history of this Museum."

Mr. Bahr's career in the labor movement has included service as president of CWA Local 1172, New York Director and vice president of CWA's District 1.

He was elected to the national presidency of the 700,000 member union on July 16, 1985. In 1986 he led CWA through the difficult negotiations which followed the breakup of the Bell System.

Mr. Bahr serves as a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, and co-chairs the *Jobs with Justice* campaign. He is labor representative to the Export-Import Bank, and serves on the Board of Directors of the Economic Policy Institute.

The CWA has been one of the strongest supporters of the American Labor Museum. Museum vice president Jean Fawcett, a CWA leader in New Jersey, has devoted much time and energy over the years to ensuring that this unique institution will continue to educate far into the future. She was instrumental in persuading Mr. Bahr to become more active with the Museum.

TRIFLE ENGLISH DESSERT

Recipe by Joan Robertshaw

Sponge or pound cake
Sherry or brandy
Jello & custard
Walnuts & bananas
Fruit cocktail
Whipped cream

1. In a glass bowl (wide mouth rather than deep) break up sponge layer or pound cake and line bottom of bowl.
2. Sprinkle sherry or brandy over cake. Do not soak, just give a taste.
3. While sherry is soaking into cake prepare packaged custard mix according to box instructions. Let cooked custard cool a little, but don't let skin form on top.
4. Pour custard over metal spoon, onto cake, covering the cake. (It will sink into cake, so be sure you make enough to cover.) (Metal spoon will take the heat away from glass.)
5. Let this cool in refrigerator (when bowl is cool enough to put in without breaking).
6. While custard is setting, prepare Jello, per instructions on box. Use quick method using ice cubes to jell faster. Let stand.
7. Open can of mixed fruit or fruit cocktail and drain thoroughly. (Save juice, it makes a refreshing drink.) When drained, fold into Jello. (If using 1 color Jello, use half can of fruit-chopped walnuts and 1 large banana.)
8. If using 2 colors of Jello, put fruit in 1 color and banana and nuts in other color.)
9. Let set in refrigerator. Before serving, whip heavy cream and spread over top. Decorate according to holiday. Glass bowl shows layers of color. It looks pretty as well as tasting good.

The above recipe is one of many to be found in the Landmark Guild Cookbook.

The American Labor Museum
Botto House National Landmark
83 Norwood Street
Haledon, NJ 07508
(201) 595-7953

Elaine Petersen (center) presents the Landmark Guild's check to Sol Stetin as Bunny Kuiken observes.

GUILD PRESENTS $1,500 CHECK TO MUSEUM

A highlight of the Museum's Annual Meeting on May 21 was the Landmark Guild's presentation of a $1,500 check to President Sol Stetin.

Elaine Petersen, the Guild's gift shop coordinator, did the honors as an appreciative crowd applauded. The funds will be used to replace twenty-one windows on the rear porch of the Botto House.

The money was raised through a variety of means, including the Guild's monthly luncheons, the annual Bagna Cauda dinner, and sales at the gift shop.

The Guild's report to the meeting indicated that an additional $1,012 had been donated during the Museum's May 1, 1988 to April 30, 1989 fiscal year.

But perhaps the most important donation was the volunteer labor donated by Guild members, a total of 2,836 hours. President Stetin expressed sincere appreciation to the Guild for its many efforts in support of the Museum.

VOLUNTEER SPOTLIGHT

ROBERT SPEISSER, dedicated tour guide, maintenance man and volunteer, was born in Paterson, New Jersey and has resided in Haledon for 76 years.

Bob retired in 1971 from a management position with UniRoyal after thirty-eight years of service. He is the father of two children, Bob and Diane, and one grandchild, Gretchen.

Bob has been actively involved with the Museum for the last three years. In that time he has donated more than 2,100 hours of dedicated service.

Sunday visitors and hundreds of school children, have had the pleasure of receiving a tour of the Botto House from Bob.

Bob's lovely wife KATHRYN SPEISSER also volunteers a significant amount of time by performing projects at home to assist the Museum.

Katy and Bob have enjoyed meeting new people and learning about the Museum's changing exhibits.

Why do they volunteer? Bob sums it up, "When we first came to the Botto House, we liked it so much we couldn't wait to become more active."

We at the Museum are fortunate to have the devoted service of Katy and Bob Speisser.

Robert and Kathryn Speisser.

ANNUAL MEETING HEARS OF PROGRESS, PLANS

The ninth Annual Meeting of the Museum was held under sunny skies on May 21 at the Botto House. Important business conducted at the meeting included the election of trustees and a bylaws amendment creating the position of Chair of the Board.

Seven of the Museum's twenty-one trustees are elected each year. The annual meeting elected the seven members of the Class of 1992. Russell Frignoca, Robert Novicoff, and William Troublefield were re-elected to another term on the Board of Trustees. They were joined on the slate by four new trustees.

Peter Antonellis is New Jersey director for the United Auto Workers. Morton Bahr is the national president of the Communication Workers of America. Salvatore Giardina is the International Ladies Garment Workers Union director for the state of New Jersey. Irwin Nack is a history professor at the William Paterson College, and president of the American Federation of Teachers local at the college.

Museum President Sol Stetin reported that he has been actively promoting the goals of the Museum at union meetings across the country.

Director Edward Rosney reviewed recent activities at the Museum and expressed optimism about the Museum's future.

The Annual Meeting concluded with a tree dedication ceremony on the grounds of the Botto House. The trees were donated as living memorials to Peter Manzo and Thomas A. Nardella. Director Rosney spoke for the Museum when he indicated that the lives of these two gentlemen, lives marked by concern for others, represent the message which the Museum works to convey to visitors — that history is made by people working to help their neighbors.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

We are temporarily departing from our quarterly schedule with this Spring-Summer issue. The Fall issue will be printed in October.

Photo Credits: Robert Speisser, Edward Rosney and Terry Morere (U.S. Postal Service).

New Jersey National History Day essay winner Tara Robbins (r) celebrates by visiting the Botto House with her tcaeher, Linda Hruza. Longtime Museum trustee Dr. Ken Job coordinates the New Jersey National History Day activities.

MUSEUM EXHIBIT CELEBRATES LIFE OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Museum marked the centennial of the birth of labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph with a special exhibit at Paterson, New Jesrey's main Post Office building.

The exhibit was co-sponsored by the U.S. Postal Service, which recently issued a stamp in Randolph's honor as part of its Black Heritage series.

A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979) was president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a railroad union which represented the men who provided service on the Pullman sleeping cars.

The workers employed as porters by the Pullman Company urged him to lead their effort to form a union in the 1920s and, after a decade of struggle, they achieved their goal of a contract with the Pullman Company. This was a remarkable achievement for a union of African-American men, and it is often cited as a milestone of the American civil rights movement.

Randolph's subsequent activism included working for an end to segregation in the armed forces, and for elimination of the "color bar" which limited membership in some unions to whites.

His most memorable achievement occurred in 1963 when a coalition of civil rights leaders persuaded him to serve as the principal organizer of the historic March on Washington. This dramatic event was highlighted by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have A Dream" speech.

Randolph's vision and goals are perpetuated today by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a national organization devoted to promoting civil rights and trade unionism.

The exhibit opened on April 4 and was on view through June 2. The exhibit was mounted by Curator Evelyn Hershey, with the assistance of Mrs. Johnnie Thomas, wife of Paterson Postmaster William Thomas, and employees of the facility. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas have encouraged the use of the building's large lobby area for educational displays.

The Randolph exhibit was seen by more than one thousand postal patrons. It featured photographs and artifacts loaned by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Samuel Gompers Stamp Club, and Museum Director Edward Rosney.

The life of Randolph is chronicled in Jervis Anderson's *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 1972).

(Right to left) Postmaster and Mrs. William B. Thomas with Curator Evelyn Hershey at the Museum's A. Philip Randolph exhibit.

A steady stream of school buses, including those from Piscataway high school (above) and Hunterdon Regional high school, came to the Botto House this spring.

SUMMER EXCURSION

Liberty State Park in Jersey City, New Jersey is featuring an exciting schedule of exhibits this summer.

The American Labor Museum's "Eight Hours for What You Will: Leisure Time Pursuits of the Working Class, 1880-1940" will be on display in the Park's Central Railroad of New Jersey (CRRNJ) Terminal through September 4, 1989.

Eight million immigrants passed through the CRRNJ terminal after being processed on Ellis Island. The structure is now listed on the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

The Park is located near Exit 14-B of the New Jersey Turnpike. For more information, call the Park at (201) 915-3400.

SPRING GROUP VISITATION TOPS LAST YEAR'S ATTENDANCE

The Museum played host to a large number of educational groups during the Spring of 1989. It was a first time visit for many students and instructors. Most group leaders expressed an interest in making the visit a regular part of the school year.

* * *

The social studies department of *Hunterdon Central Regional High School* incorporated the story of the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913 into the history curriculum taught to their freshman class.

The school's four hundred ninth graders toured the Botto House and the Lambert Castle Museum (originally the home of Paterson silk manufacturer Catholina Lambert) as part of a curriculum unit examining industrialization and the development of the labor movement.

* * *

Former silk mill worker, Mrs. Amelia Marchese, spoke with Angelica Santomauro's seventh grade class from *Jersey City's PS 38*, during the group's recent visit to the Botto House.

Mrs. Marchese described her experiences as a child laborer prior to the 1913 strike and then as a single, working mother during the Great Depression. She also related to the students her memories of daily life during the 1913 strike.

Several college classes also toured the Museum. Students from Professor Irwin Nack's "Labor History Through Film" class at *William Paterson College* held one session at the Botto House. Students from the history department of *Rutgers-Newark* visited with Professor Gabor Vermes. The life of immigrant women attracted Professor Joyce Apsel's class from *Sarah Lawrence College* to visit the Landmark.

* * *

General group tours focus on the history of the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913 and the role of the Botto family during the strike. Through the story of this important event the Museum's interpretive staff introduces visitors to the study of labor history.

Next fall the Museum will add a display of trade union artifacts to devote attention to more recent trade union history during group tours.

Group tours may be scheduled by contacting the museum at (201) 595-7953. Reservations are required for groups of 10 or more. Every effort is made to accommodate the interests and special needs of each group.

Spring rains caused this wall on the Botto House property to collapse. Efforts are underway to raise funds to repair it. To assist the effort, contact the Museum.

AWARDS DINNER TO HONOR KUIKEN, CARLOUGH

Botto House founder Bunny Kuiken and Sheet Metal Workers International Association President Edward Carlough have been selected as the honorees for the Seventh Annual Sol Stetin Award.

For the first time in the Museum's history the dinner will be held outside of New Jersey.

The dinner will be at the Washington Hilton in the nation's capital on Sunday, October 15. Members will note that this is a different date than previously announced.

The Sol Stetin Award is presented to honor contributions which have improved the lives of working people in the United States.

Bunny Kuiken, granddaughter of Pietro and Maria Botto, is no stranger to members and visitors to the Museum. In 1974 she began the investigatory process which resulted in the Botto House receiving National Landmark status in 1982.

She has selflessly dedicated herself to preserving her family's contribution to American life and to the American labor movement. Thousands of school children have been the direct beneficiaries of her efforts. Bunny's efforts on behalf of the Museum have included service as Interim Director, and today she serves in the capacity of Assistant to the Director.

Edward Carlough is widely recognized in the labor movement as one of America's outstanding labor leaders. The Sheet Metal Workers International Association is a leader in developing training programs for its members to keep them abreast of changing technology in their industry.

Under Mr. Carlough's leadership the union has also demonstrated its commitment to preserving labor history.

In 1988 the Sheet Metal Workers marked the centennial of the founding of their union by sponsoring a major exhibition on sheet metal craftsmanship at the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C.

The Sol Stetin Award Dinner Dance is one of the major fundraisers for the Museum. The proceeds provide general operating support and assist with the ongoing restoration efforts at the Botto House.

The Sheet Metal Workers are making a major contribution to this year's affair by generously offering to make the arrangements for the dinner. This will enable the Museum's staff to devote more time to the operation of the instiution.

In recognition of the many friends of Bunny Kuiken who may be unable to travel to Washington, D.C. for this year's dinner, the Museum is planning a special affair in the North Jersey area in the spring of 1990.

For additional information about the dinner, contact the Museum.

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE TO STUDY MUSEUM

The Executive Council of the national AFL-CIO on May 2 appointed an Ad Hoc Committee to study the operations of the Museum and to develop ways in which the labor movement can assist activities at the Botto House.

This action was taken in response to a request made by Morton Bahr, the new Chair of the Museum's Board, to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

The committee will be chaired by Mr. Bahr, who serves as the national president of the Communication Workers of America. The other committee members are: Owen Bieber of the United Auto Workers, Gene Upshaw of the Professional Athletes Federation, and William Wynn of the United Food & Commercial Workers. These three national union presidents have previously been honored with the Museum's Sol Stetin Award.

Museum President Sol Stetin was delighted with the AFL-CIO's action. He noted that the Museum's Trustees and staff will be working closely with the committee members in the upcoming months to provide them background on the Museum, and to suggest areas of assistance.

INTERPRETERS NEEDED

The Museum has several opportunities for volunteers who are able to devote at least one-half day per week to ongoing interpretive projects.

Positions available include **Museum Guides** to provide tours for groups and casual visitors, and **Museum Program Assistants** to prepare teacher packets and pre- and post-visit activities for visiting school groups.

Prior experience is helpful but is not required. Training will be provided by the Museum's staff.

Being a volunteer is an ideal way to offer your talents to your community and to gain valuable experience.

We look forward to welcoming new members to our volunteer family. For further details please contact the Museum at (201) 595-7953.

A history-minded robin decided that a National Landmark is an ideal place to raise a family.

The membership rolls of the Museum continue to grow. Members receive a subscription to our quarterly newsletter, discounts in our gift shop, and advance notice of events at the Botto House.

Annual membership fees are on a sliding scale, beginning at $7.50 for students and senior citizens. General, Supporting, Sustaining, and Benefactor memberships are $15, $20, $25 and $50 respectively.

Our new members are from the following states: Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, DC.

MEMBERSHIPS

William R. Bosworth
Jonathan W. Butters
Robert S. Calese
Robert M. Cook
Michael Cowan
Nancy and Michael Driscoll
Arthur Hartman
Pia Hartman
Susan I. Hershey
The Hersheys
Jacqueline Johnson
Harry Katz, M.D.
Lewis C. Maull
Cynthia P. and Don McCaughan
William P. McDonnell
Wilson C. McWilliams
Irene Miller
David Nack
Jenny Natoli
Elizabeth Orfan
Perth Amboy AFT Local 857
Nita Reeves
Patricia Sione
United Storeworkers Local 2567
Elsa M. Vallone
Hazel G. Weyman
Sandra Zickefoose

DONATIONS

AFT 1796
AT&T
Atran Foundation
ILGWU N.J. Region
Ironworkers, Local 483
Nineteen Hearts
Passaic County Labor Council

PLEDGES

UFCW Local 1245

MEMORIALS

CWA Local 1087

MEMORIES OF PASSAIC VALLEY'S 1926 LABOR DISPUTE LIVE ON

A handful of extraordinary strike "veterans" were among the guests at the Museum's Symposium on the Passaic Textile Strike of 1926 held on April 15.

Martha Stone Asher, who participated in the strike's relief efforts as a teenager, and Joseph Magliacano, a retired union official who is 92 years young, fielded questions during a lively session moderated by Museum trustee Howard Green, the Research Director of the New Jersey Historical Commission.

Earlier in the day a crowd gathered at the Botto House to witness the opening of the Museum's exhibit on the Passaic Strike.

Sister strike veterans Josephine (Beck) Mende and Mary (Beck) Wurth were among the scores who viewed the artifacts and dramatic photographs which comprise the exhibit.

The exhibit will be on view at the Museum until September 9, 1989. The Museum is considering traveling the exhibit in conjunction with screenings of the film which the Passaic strikers produced to aid their cause.

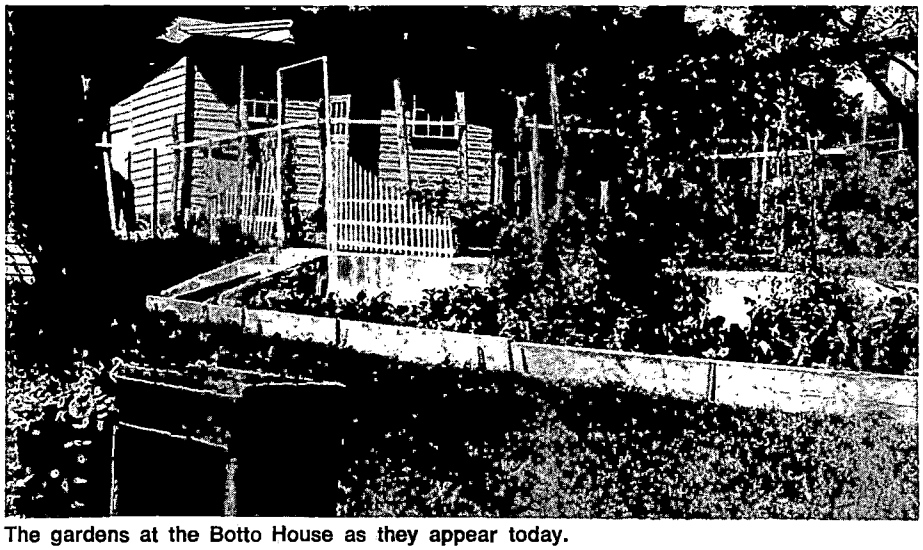
The film was shown as part of the Passaic Strike Symposium, accompanied by Upsala College professor Steve Krinsky's commentary.

The screening followed an excellent presentation by historian David Goldberg of Cleveland State University. His new book, **A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic and Lawrence, 1916-1921,** is on sale at the Museum.

The Symposium was funded by the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities.

The Exhibit was made possible by a grant from the Passaic County Cultural & Heritage Council, through funding from the New Jersey Historical Commission.

Museum officials were pleased that a number of new faces were in evidence, and several expressed their enjoyment of the day's events by becoming members of the Museum.



The gardens at the Botto House as they appear today.

AROUND THE HOUSE

A look at the home and daily life of Maria (Boggio) and Pietro Botto and their four daughters. In this issue, a look outside the Botto House.

The arrival of spring and summer in Haledon beckoned the Botto family out of doors for garden chores and leisure activities. During Pietro Botto's lifetime (Mr. Botto died in 1945) the flower and vegetable gardens at 83 Norwood Street were considered among the finest in the community.

The family's limited free time was spent landscaping the property (a 100' x 125' lot located on the side of a hill) for several years following the completion of their home. Concrete retaining walls were poured to support the terraces, steps were eventually created to provide access to each level.

Like other working families living on the outskirts of industrial Paterson, the Bottos used their grounds for a variety of purposes and made use of every inch of their property. They devoted over one-third of the house lot to food production.

Mr. Botto cultivated three large raised garden beds, tended seedlings in a cold frame, and planted a number of fruit trees and grape vines. He also built a pigeon roost on top of a small barn, constructed a rabbit hutch, and erected a fenced chicken yard.

The produce raised in the gardens was varied and included many green leaf vegetables that the family had been accustomed to eating in Northern Italy.

From the Bottos' gardens came tomatoes, pole beans, cabbage, eggplant, sweet peppers, carrots, beets, leeks, radishes, spinach, chicory, arugula, broccoli, swiss chard, and zucchini.

From the fruit trees and shrubs came pears, plums, sour cherries, and currants. Rosemary, sage, rue, mint, basil, garlic, Italian parsley, and chamomile, spices favored in Piedmontese cooking and used for medicinal purposes, grew in the gardens as well.

Around 1910 a vegetable garden and a few chickens or rabbits of one's own was a guarantee of a fairly self-sufficient lifestyle during a time when paycuts and layoffs were often instituted without warning.

Most of what was harvested by working families from their gardens was canned and stored in a backyard cold cellar for future consumption. Even in the crowded neighborhoods of Paterson, working families planted small gardens in their narrow back lots.

The Bottos were fortunate to possess several lots; they were able to devote modest areas of their ground for relaxation and enjoyment. A shrub rose and various annuals and perennials including asters, zinnias and marigolds occupied flower beds flanking the house's front stairs.

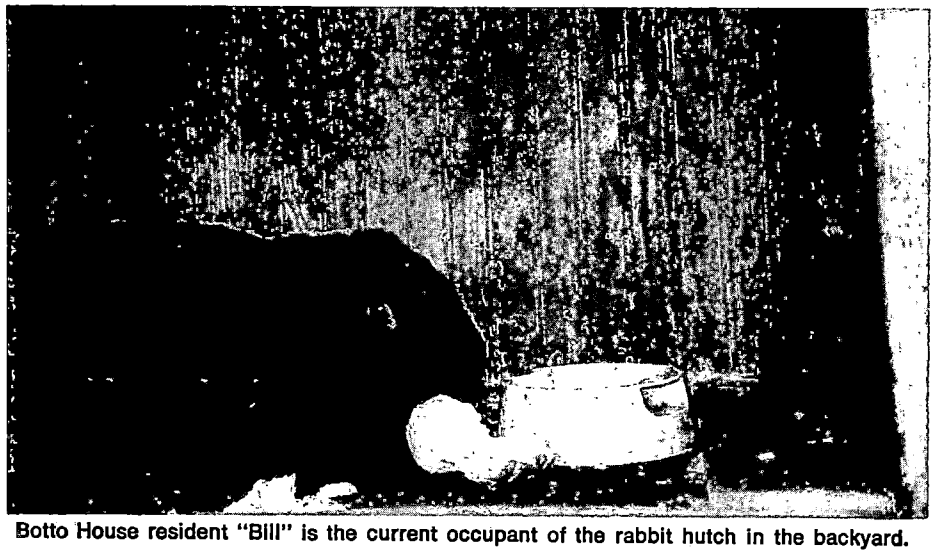
Ornamental gardens were planted on the east side of the property as well. A Boxwood hedge originally served as a border in this area and in the center grew two plum trees and a circular flower garden was cultivated.

Pietro Botto constructed a large grape arbor in the northeast corner of the property. In addition to its obvious function supporting concord grape vines, it served as a favorite gathering place for family and friends on Sunday afternoons. Mr. Botto used his grapes along with others ordered from California to make wine.

Until 1915 the gardens of the Botto house served as an informal public inn. Neighbors were welcome to enjoy a game of bocci or cards or to relax under the grape arbor. For a small fee, Mrs. Botto would provide guests with a simple meal.

Through the decades as the needs of the family changed so did their use of the property. A garage and driveway were installed in the 1920s. Gradually the size of the vegetable garden beds were reduced and more area was devoted to grass lawns. Today only one rabbit resides in the hutch. Pietro Botto's family continues to care for the grounds of the Landmark — one practice that has not changed.

Data for this article was taken from Ms. Theresa Deshefy-Longhi's thesis "A Study of Italian Immigrant Gardens in the Northeast United States, 1900-1945" (University of Connecticut, 1988) a copy of which is available in the Museum library.



Botto House resident "Bill" is the current occupant of the rabbit hutch in the backyard.

Author Dorothy Gallagher discusses her new book, *All the Right Enemies: The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca*, at a publication party held in her honor at the Botto House.

LIBRARY NOTES — VIDEO CASSETTES AVAILABLE

If the summer has you down, consider spending a cool afternoon indoors learning about labor history and the current political and economic events affecting working people.

The Museum's library has a growing collection of VHS video cassettes available for rental and for use at the Museum. A list is available upon request.

The library has several copies of *"The House on the Green"* a half-hour film produced by William Paterson College. The film documents the history of the Botto House and the establishment of the American Labor Museum.

Students, union members and the general public will want to view cassettes from the AFL-CIO's *"America Works"* series. Actress Sabrina Le Beauf (of the Cosby Show) narrates programs focusing on current issues affecting the labor movement.

A look at the history of unions in the Garden State makes *"Good Times, Bad Times: Unions in New Jersey"* worth watching. The program contains footage shot at the Museum.

"They Came to Work" tells the inspiring story of immigrant workers arriving in America in 1900.

These films are excellent tools in the Union Hall or the Classroom. For more information call the Museum.

HELP THE MUSEUM: ADOPT A PROJECT

The Museum is in need of people or groups who want to show their support by meeting some specific needs which we have.

Display Cases/Shelves. Many of the Museum's display modules are cumbersome, outdated and in need of replacement. Lightweight replacements, new or in good used condition, would enhance our "look."

Computer Hardware and Software. Communications functions would be improved with desk top publishing software. A laser printer would allow us to make professional exhibit labels at a low cost.

Copier. The Museum's current machine lacks features needed for a busy office with a national constituency. A new or good used condition photocopier, with sorting and collating features, would free up valuable staff and volunteer time.

Typewriters. The "state of the art" of office equipment is changing overnight. The Museum's machines lack memory and printing features which are now standard in most offices. New or reconditioned machines are needed.

Call or write the Museum to participate in the "Adopt A Project" program. Contributions are tax-deductible and will be acknowledged in this newsletter.

American Labor Museum
Botto House National Landmark
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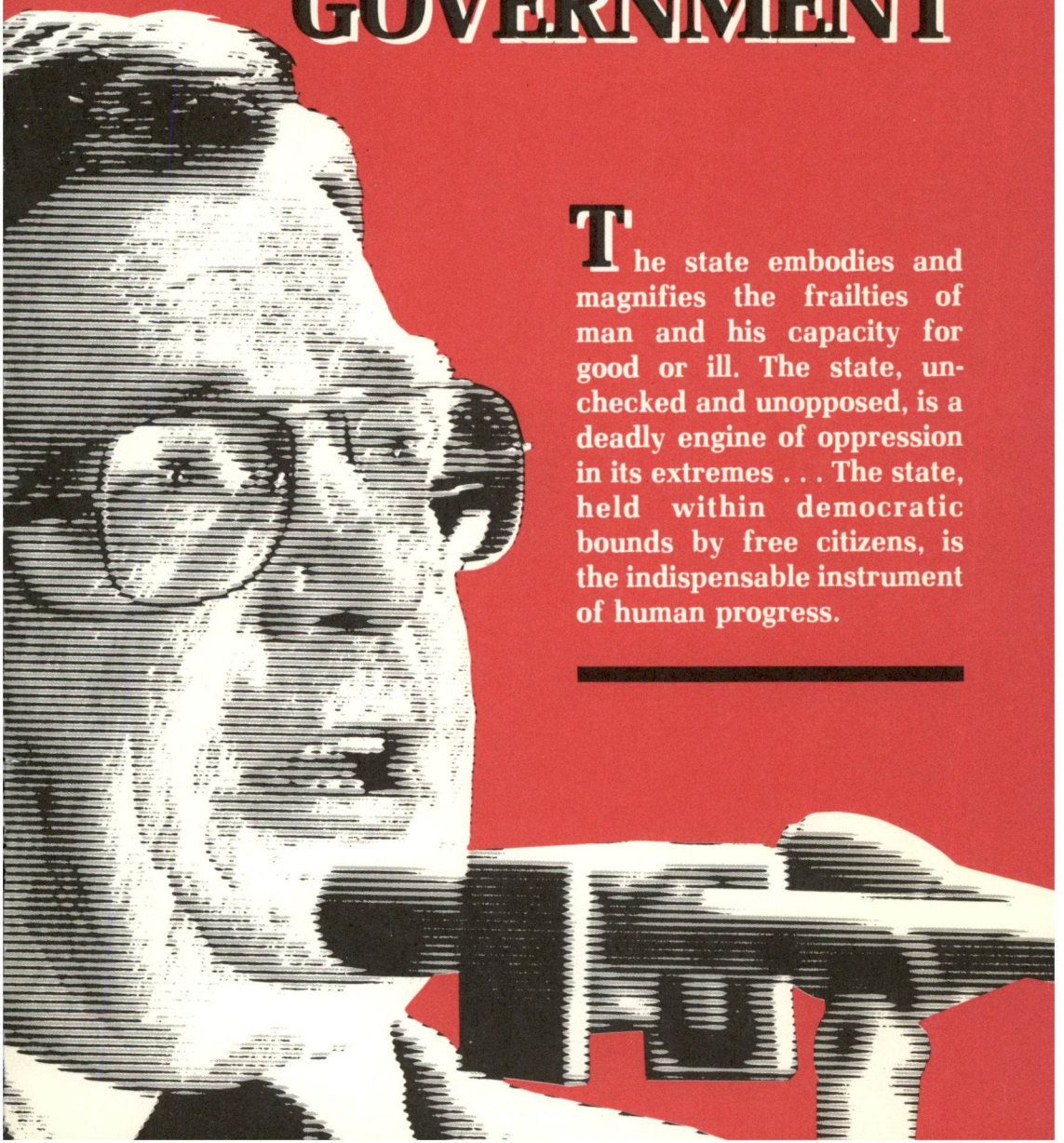
THE CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF GOVERNMENT



The state embodies and magnifies the frailties of man and his capacity for good or ill. The state, unchecked and unopposed, is a deadly engine of oppression in its extremes . . . The state, held within democratic bounds by free citizens, is the indispensable instrument of human progress.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF GOVERNMENT

This is the text of a speech given by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland on Oct. 4, 1982 at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., during his participation in a fellowship program established by the Dartmouth Class of 1930.

I have been graciously invited here through the providence of the Dartmouth Class of 1930, a class that sallied forth to a world of harsher lessons than any conveyed to them in these halls.

As we stand today on eroding economic ground, edging toward a chasm whose distance and depth we cannot reckon, I shall not resist the temptation to draw certain parallels. The invitation did, after all, suggest that it would be in order for me to foretell the past and reminisce about the future.

Recently, following a lengthy meeting with then-Secretary of State Haig, I was asked by a reporter if I had learned anything new. I replied that I have learned nothing new about the world since the Great Depression, Munich, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and Pearl Harbor.

I was not being facetious, but simply using verbal shorthand to describe the filters of experience through which I am obliged to view events. If that is a crippling affliction of myself or my generation, be not proud. You will get yours, I pray at a lesser price.

Today, among journalists, politicians, businessmen and ordinary folk, there seems to be an obsession to perceive events long before they transpire. Political and economic soothsayers prosper and thousands of lovely trees are felled each day for the paper on which their divinations are inscribed. The coming dimensions of the money supply, the ever-receding arrival date of "recovery," the prospective turnover of congressional seats, and many other lines of inquiry reveal the degree of our impatience with the future.

The one forbidden answer for those who traffic in these matters is, unfortunately, the only correct one: "I do not know." Some may believe that to wise and knowledgeable souls coming events have a higher level of visibility and inevitability than that, but the record strongly suggests otherwise. Of the shattering events after 1930 that shaped our destiny, none was anticipated or even regarded as possible by the general wisdom.

Nineteen-thirty was a year, like today, when the man in the White House argued, with the most persuasive sincerity, that recovery was just around the corner if we but held the course and gave him more time at the helm. Candidates for the presidency from both major parties were about to run on platforms calling for balanced budgets, reduced spending and lower taxes as the sure-fire cures for the nation's ills.

The infallible pundit of the day, Walter Lippmann, was soon to write that Mr. Hitler was a reasonable man; that his needs and aims were limited and modest, and would surely be satisfied by the Sudetenland.

You can look it up.

Nazism and communism were, as all but fools knew, so antithetical that any notion that they might join in fraternal amity to draw and quarter Poland was inconceivable. And, of course, Japan was so notorious for shoddy goods as to be incapable of building a battleship that did not capsize on launching.

The point of all this is that nothing in the conventional wisdom, no shadow in the crystal balls of the day, no element of the dogma or doctrine of national leadership prepared the nation for its ordeal.

I suggest that there has been no real change in that essential circumstance. Yesterday, today and tomorrow, administrations are overtaken and driven by events outside their design, events which figure not at all in their campaigns for office.

Lyndon Johnson had his Vietnam; Richard Nixon his Watergate; Jimmy Carter his Khomeini; and Ronald Reagan should—but doubtless will not—profit by their example. Yet the judgment of history rests, not upon the design but the response to the trespass of reality.

My doubts arise not only because this Administration has shown no capacity to

anticipate events, but because it misrepresents events that have long since transpired and are on the record.

In the case of his budget deficits, the President seeks scapegoats in the past. Yet, in fact, during the last years of the Johnson Administration, economic debate revolved around an emerging issue then termed "fiscal drag"—that is to say, the consequences foreseen of a mounting federal surplus that most economists then projected. The Heller-Pechman plan for revenue-sharing with the states was mainly a response to that concern.

And does no one remember that just two and one-half years ago, in the spring of 1980, Jimmy Carter sent to Capitol Hill a balanced federal budget?

President Reagan would have you believe that the financial problem currently facing the social security system is the product of past Democratic profligacy on behalf of the undeserving poor and elderly. Yet, in fact, the problem stems from a plan designed by conservative Republicans during the Nixon Administration—congressmen such as Byrnes of Wisconsin and Conable of New York—to limit statutory benefit increases and remove the issue from politics by the adoption of an annual automatic cost-of-living increase formula. That step, coupled with unemployment, gave rise to the problem that we must now proceed to solve.

Administration spokesmen continue to spread the smoke screen of free trade rhetoric, while our international competitors steal our industries and markets and close their own through the practice of rampant mercantilism.

While Western banks continue to finance Soviet arms and adventures and flagless corporations expose the soft underbelly of freedom to our adversaries, the President clings to the quaint notion that the issue between East and West is not the human rights of plain people, but Free Enterprise versus Communism.

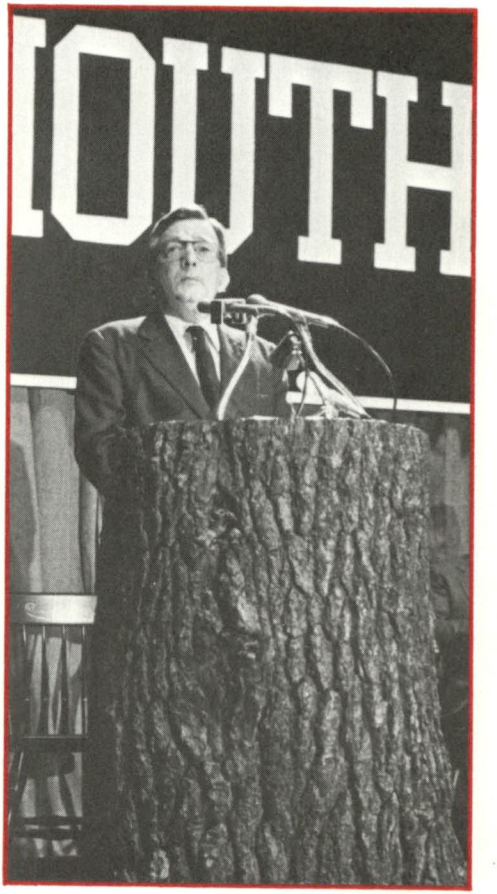
Economic peril is not obsolete. Neither safety nets nor sophisticated computer models render us immune from the prospect faced by the Class of 1930.

Economic mythomania of the kind that has now given voodoo a bad name, that has stripped the public coffers and brought a deficit that will exceed in Reagan's four years that of the previous twenty, may yet exact its full price.

Is there really any reason to safely assume that a Drysdale or a Penn Square are singular aberrations from the business norm, when note is taken of the august institutions which catered to their madness or their infidelity?

Could not a Drysdale doubled, or a Penn Square squared, trigger the kind of mindless panic that aborts transactions and wipes out values and concepts of values?

In such a case, mere facts and figures, whether from a computer or an abacus, point no sure road to salvation. Then one



may begin to see the truth in Chesterton's claim that it is not poets, but mathematicians, who end up in madhouses.

If an impression can be drawn from the first two of these Reagan years, it is that an Administration whose policies are guided so doggedly by myth and fallacy will be undone by its own legislative victories. It has now found itself reduced to retromingency, passing the buck backward to its predecessors—including those of the President's own party.

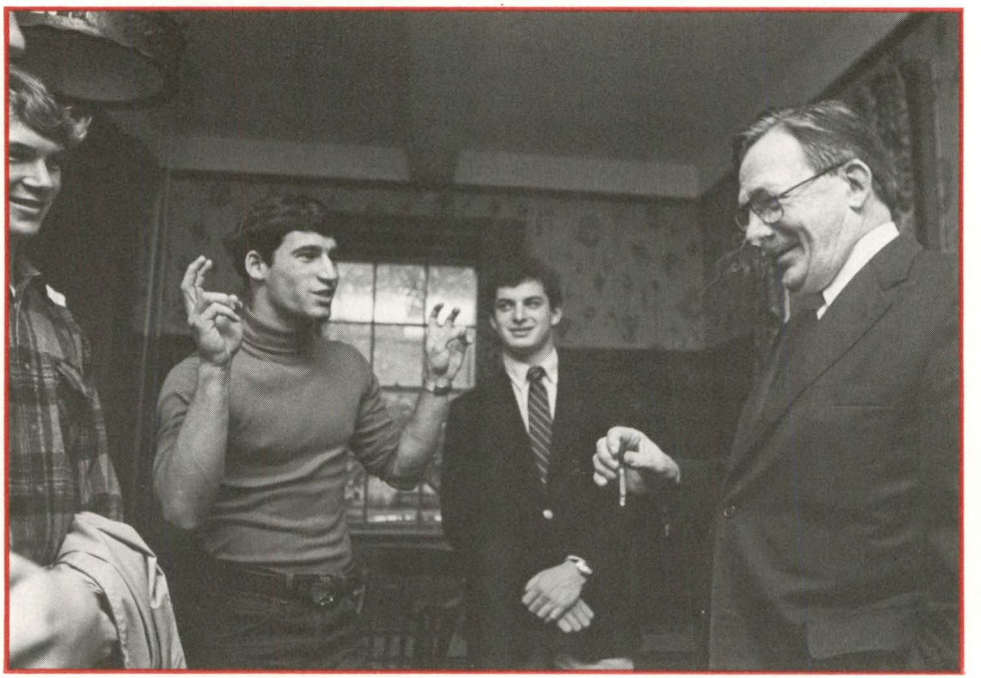
Yet none of these unforeseen events and circumstances of our time are accidents of chance or the random whims of fate. They flow from the central, enduring issue of this day and this century: the dilemma and contradiction posed by the dual nature of the state in human affairs.

The state embodies and magnifies the frailties of man and his capacity for good or ill. The state, unchecked and unopposed, is a deadly engine of oppression in its extremes, a vortex sweeping hordes to concentration camps or Gulags. The state, held within democratic bounds by free citizens, is the indispensable instrument of human progress.

To embrace the former attribute of the state as a shortcut to the goals of the latter, as they define them, is the fatal temptation common to radicals of the left and right. It is an urge that Marxists-Leninists share with the apostles of Senator Helms and the self-designated Moral Majority, who crave to invoke central state power to legislate intolerance and to enforce their rigid view of appropriate patterns of private behavior.

To suppress and dismantle the benign functions of the latter by raising the specter of the former aspect of the state is the temptation of the political agents of private privilege. That is the apparent thrust of an Administration which has taken it as a mission to remove the federal presence from any substantial role save the raising of armies, and overseeing the detaxing, deregulating and unleashing of private business enterprise.

Business, thus unleashed, has responded with a general collapse, corporate cannibalism, and the fabrication of golden parachutes by and for the executives thus en-



gaged. So much for the doctrine of risk as the grounds for gross rewards.

The definition of the proper bounds and uses of the constructive channels of state power is the central task of this era, here and abroad. The free trade union movement must and does accept its share of that common responsibility.

In Poland, the issue is posed in starkest relief today, and Solidarity, the free labor movement now underground, is the custodian of the struggle for its humane resolution. Hundreds have died and thousands rot in jail for their faith and courage in that cause.

From its birth, Solidarity has been enriched by the close support of intellectuals and students who organized chapters at their universities. That is a natural alliance, for the freedom to think, to speak and to write as one wills is inevitably linked to freedom of association, the essence of trade unionism, which fosters and defends those rights.

Besides, those who dwell in academia and deal in ideas, exposition and argument should, like other workers, have some responsibility for and exposure to the consequences, wholesome or otherwise, of their endeavors.

John Maynard Keynes put it best when he wrote, in 1936, that:

". . . The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is generally understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back."

The founders of this nation were certainly not immune from the ideas of "academic scribblers of a few years back." They derived from philosophy the notion of the existence of government as a badge of lost innocence and a constant threat to the natural rights of man. They wrote elaborate checks and balances into the Constitution, one of which—the requirement of a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress to initiate an amendment—has just saved the country from an act of outrageous political folly.

They left us a system where the elected are constantly re-examined. The strength of this democracy does not lie in the notion that the people can't be wrong or that the voters always do the right or the

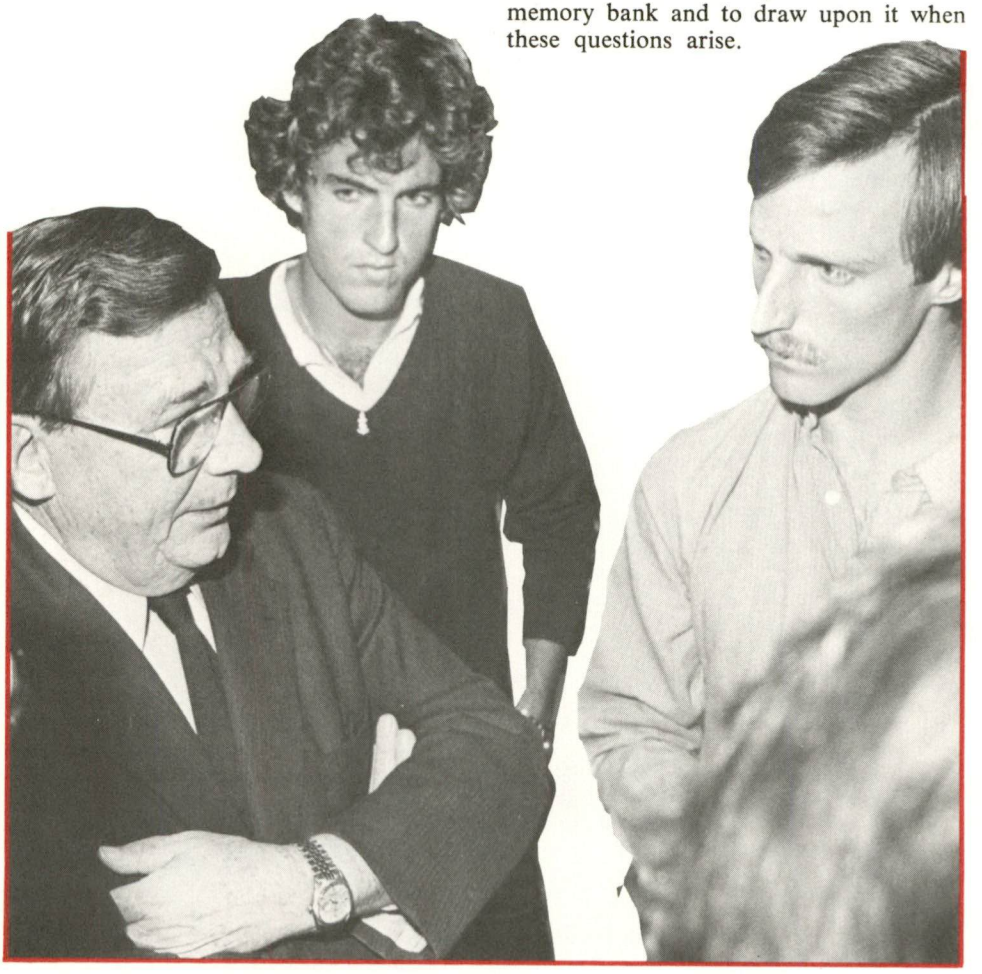
wisest thing. If one believed that, he would quit the struggle after his first defeat.

Rather, the saving grace is that the process is self-correcting over time; there is always another chance, and no proposition can long escape the test of lively opposition.

These safeguards make us free to promote the benign uses of the state as an instrument of constructive ends. That pursuit is just as vital to our future as is constant vigilance against the dark side of authority. The trade union movement of America is equally committed both to steadfast resistance to the abuse of state power and the vigorous advocacy of democratic solutions to our national problems through political and legislative action.

Today, we have an Administration devoted to the attrition of the positive and the emphasis of the negative aspect of governance. The avowed aim is to "get government off our backs," and to turn civic responsibility over to private enterprise or to the various states. The old Pledge of Allegiance to "one nation, indivisible . . . with liberty and justice for all" is apparently subject to further amendment or qualification.

Such a program must rely heavily upon the assumed exhaustion of the nation's collective memory bank, from which the delinquencies of the glorified past need to be from time to time recalled. Enduring free institutions such as trade unions and universities share a duty to maintain that memory bank and to draw upon it when these questions arise.



Let me do so briefly now and note what it was really like for many before the New Deal, when the federal presence was remote, when the states had every chance to address any problem, and what business wanted, business got.

Old folks were not universally sheltered in the bosom of a warm and loving family. If they couldn't work until they dropped. the county poorhouse awaited. Then, a federal social security system came along and tore those poorhouses down, liberating both young and old from dependency.

Regions of the country were stripped of trees, and gullied by erosion, until the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps reforested and restored the land, for the ultimate benefit of private industry as well as society at large.

Most roads were unpaved and often impassable until a federal highway program developed the infrastructure on which the automobile and trucking industries depend.

Farmhouses were isolated and lit by kerosene until the federal REA electrified and humanized them, to the great advantage of the appliance industry.

Pellagra, hookworm, malaria and other diseases were endemic in much of the country, until the federal Public Health Service got the resources to eliminate them, to the vast improvement of our productivity and vitality as a nation.

That list of real national and human problems that were answered only when the federal government got "on our backs" could be extended at tedious length, but let it just be noted that while they profited handsomely from federal action, neither the states nor private industry rose to meet those occasions.

Over the years between then and now, democratic government has safely steered this nation through social revolutions that no other nation has managed peacefully or so well. From a not-too-distant day of local lynch law and a pattern of racial apartheid every bit as brutal as that of South Africa, we have approached the goal of full and equal rights and opportunities. The American people should be proud, rather than contemptuous, of the role of their government in that achievement.

In those same years, the rise of free trade unionism has effected another quiet but profound revolution, one that has enhanced—in ways perhaps unrecognized—the lives of all of you here. The students of this college may well be part of the first generation in the history of man on earth for whom the necessity of working for somebody else will occupy the lesser part of your total lifespan.

I do not mean to scorn the work ethic or to suggest that it has waned. But let us not glorify it unduly. As a friend of mine in the Caribbean trade union movement once put it: "If hard work were really such a great thing, the rich would have kept it all to themselves."

Largely through trade union collective bargaining and legislative endeavors, working hours have been reduced, paid leisure time gained and expanded, family incomes raised, educational opportunities broadened, and earlier pensions gained. As a consequence, the average age of entry into the workforce has been delayed significantly and the time of voluntary exit advanced.

The evolution of trade unionism in my lifetime has brought about the democratization of privilege—that is to say, of education, leisure, travel, good health care and housing, and other advantages for centuries reserved to the few—to an extent previously unknown in history. That process, in turn, has created new industries, services, markets and opportunities for enterprise.

Can anyone reasonably hold that these advances, these revolutions of our time, have impaired rather than enhanced the capacity of man and woman to stand free and independent before the state or any other stronghold of power?

These are no mean achievements. They ought not to be undone.

This is no time for retreat from the struggle for human betterment. Urgent new challenges and tasks await the prudent

and measured invocation of the federal instrument.

Equal rights for women, especially those now so rapidly swelling the workforce, is a goal whose time is long past due.

Concerted attention to the decaying infrastructure that supports our economic and community life must be organized and applied. Must active national concern await a string of tragedies? Must rotten bridges collapse under loaded school buses before work can begin?

If we are to preserve a measure of independence from coercion by foreign cartels and offer our youth brighter prospects than employment in the servicing of Atari games or the dispensing of junk food, the broad industrial base of this country must be reconstructed and modernized. That task must call for the cooperation of labor, management and government in the development and execution of a sound national industrial policy.

If I have talked a little treason here, excuse me, but it goes with my territory.

Before I leave you in peace, let me address a canard that has dogged American labor for many years. It has found its way into textbooks, learned papers and baser prose, and may be no stranger here. That is the legend that our founder, Samuel Gompers, when asked what labor wanted, responded simply: "More." That has become a synonym for our alleged innocence of ideals, if not unbridled avarice, in the accepted wisdom.

A university group from the University of Maryland recently completed the task of copying and indexing all of Gompers' recorded papers and works. I asked them to find that quote and was informed that it did not exist. The only source from which it could have been derived was an item dated 1893, when Gompers declared:

> "What does labor want? . . . We want more schoolhouses 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 . . ."

On that, I am willing to stand.

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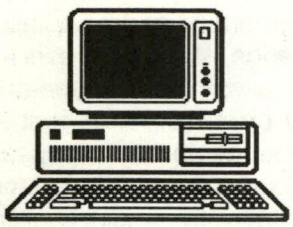

Union PC Users Group NewsLetter

Personal Computers in the Labor Movement

Volume 1, Number 1 *April, 1989*

Electronic Bulletin Board for the Labor Movement

by John Griffin

Preparations are under way for starting an Electronic Bulletin Board System (BBS) devoted exclusively to union-related topics. Over the next few months the system will be loaded and tested. Thanks to HRDI and the George Meany Center, the computer, 2400-baud modem and phone line have been installed. Next we will be installing the software and developing end-user documentation. It is expected that the system will be ready for users to log-on by June. There will be no charge for using the BBS.

Those familiar with any of the many BBSs around the country that use PC Board software will feel right at home on this system. PC Board supports electronic mail and file transfer with ease. This will allow users to exchange messages and/or data files. It also enables UPCUG to conduct surveys and issue log-on announcements. Like other BBSs, all users will be required to register to use the system initially and choose a password which will be necessary for gaining full access to the system.

Your participation is most important for the Labor BBS to succeed. Your comments in the public message area, any tips and techniques you have discovered about using personal computers and shareware/public domain software programs which you have found useful will all be worthwhile contributions to the success of the board.

Can anyone suggest a name for the BBS? Forward any ideas you may have to Chuck Hodell at the Meany Center (301-431-6400).

PC Lab Established at Meany Center

A personal computer lab equipped with six Zenith PCs has been established at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies for trade unionists seeking to upgrade their computer skills. In the last six months, several international unions -- including CWA, BCTWU, UFCW, and BMWE -- have used the lab to train staff and leadership in MS-DOS, WordPerfect, Lotus 1-2-3, dBase, and other software applications. The Meany Center also offers several PC-related classes as part of its regular course schedule (see related story on page 2).

A labor organization may schedule to use the lab by contacting Janice Underwood, Registrar, at the Meany Center. The lab fee is $250 per day or $150 per half-day, for up to 12 learners, excluding instructor or materials.

For further information about the lab, contact Chuck Hodell at the Meany Center.

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Next Union PC Users Group Meeting

Wednesday, April 19
AFSCME, 1625 L Street, NW, Washington, DC
5:15 pm - General Meeting
6:00 pm - Desktop Publishing Using PageMaker by Aldus

The Evolving PC Curriculum at the George Meany Center For Labor Studies

by David Alexander

Having been associated with the computer courses at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies since their inception, I think that tracing the development and growth of the these programs clearly illustrates how the computer needs of unions have changed in the past decade.

The first program, Computers for Local Unions, was designed in 1983 by Lisa Portman, then Assistant Director of the George Meany Center. Lisa believed that the Meany Center should help to create greater acceptance among unions of the benefits of using mini and microcomputers in areas such as standardizing procedures and automating the flow of information. Lisa was fortunate to find Michael Roberts, a former trade unionist who started a small company to bring to unions an understanding of how computers could be integrated into their day-to-day activities. Mike was the first instructor in the Meany Center programs, and has continued to be an invaluable source of information and inspiration.

Most of the students in the early programs had no computer knowledge, Many had never even sat at a computer keyboard or turned on a PC. Low cost PCs were just beginning to appear in small businesses and the Meany Center faced the unique challenge of helping unions determine how this powerful and complex technology could be used. Our early courses were not only designed to provide "hands-on" experience with computers, but also to increase utilization of computers in unions. These courses provided unions with an alternative to more centralized mainframe-based approaches.

Over the years, the George Meany Center expanded its computer programs to focus on areas such as union administration, contract negotiation and administration, and organizing. Teaching programs in these new areas have allowed us to challenge the imagination of those who were more skeptical that computers could help union staff and leadership carry out functions which are basic to the goals of American trade unions.

The George Meany Center will continue to provide computer education for trade unionists by attempting to combine the use of computer technology with the need for more efficient and productive unions. We see this as a crucial role in our mandate to provide education, training, and leadership development to the American labor movement.

Note: The Meany Center's next PC course is "Using Microcomputers in Negotiations," to be taught by Jeff MacDonald, May 7-12. Limited space available - contact the Registrar at the Meany Center.

International News

Canadian Labour Congress Computer Survey

by Pete Hoefer

In recognition of the increased and very diverse nature of computer applications utilized by Canadian labor, the Canadian Labour Congress conducted a detailed survey of computer usage among its affiliates in August 1986. As a follow-up to this undertaking, the CLC's Technology Committee sponsored a two-day Computers in Unions Conference that October. Committee Co-Chairperson and CLC Vice-President Dick Martin described in an interview in Canadian Labour (12/86) the conference's three primary goals: "to share information about computers among trade unions; to demonstrate what was currently available and its benefits; and to enable the technical experts to establish contacts in other unions to exchange technical information and to avoid 'reinventing the wheel'."

A review of both the survey findings, (which has been released in summary form) and the article describing the conference reveal that union computerists in the US have much in common with their Canadian brothers and sisters in striving to make the computer revolution work for the labor movement. Both countries have over the past eight and more years suffered serious setbacks under conservative governments, including declining memberships. Unions using computers in the US and Canada, at all levels of organizational structure, have, however, been able to become more cost effective and efficient in providing services to members.

Since the 1986 survey, the CLC has been pushing ahead with its own in-house automation program primarily focused on administrative rather than research functions. New literature regarding computer usage in Canada and other countries abroad will be forthcoming in future editions of this newsletter.

Pete Hoefer works at the Meany Archives.

Computers Enhance Organizing Efforts

by Joe Uehlein

Today, many unions are using computers for organizing in a variety of exciting ways. The bottom line is that the computer functions as an incredible tool for increasing an organizer's productivity.

It saves an organizer valuable time in record keeping and sorting - information management - and freeing time for the critical job of making one-on-one contact, identifying leaders, building a committee and developing an action campaign for a successful election.

I'll describe the way in which a computer can be useful to organizers by talking about the software most often used and how the computer's functions fit into the organizing process.

Database Management

In order to keep track of information about prospective members, unions are using database management software such as DBase or PowerBase. There are many software packages available that can handle the task.

When I first started using computers in organizing in 1983, I was using an old CP/M Kaypro machine and the Perfect Filer software that came bundled with the computer. Believe me, both hardware and software improvements over the past five years have made the learning process much quicker and the task much easier.

All the information an organizer would normally keep on a 3X5 card, plus a great deal more, can be entered into the computer, and can be sorted by criteria. For example, in one big campaign, in Georgia, we used the computer to better target our house calling, and therefore greatly enhanced the productive time of the organizer. Let's say an organizer and a committee person would come in to the union hall to get house call assignments.

We could pull the record on the committee person and make sure that the house calls assigned were with people in the same neighborhood, work the same shift, in the same department, go to the same church, are of similar age, or by whatever criteria makes sense. Obviously, geographic targeting made sense form the standpoint of relationships and effectiveness. Notes entered into the computer concerning the last contact with a particular worker certainly helps the next person making the contact.

The bottom line is that the computer functions as an incredible tool for increasing an organizer's productivity.

The same concept can be applied in terms of our work in building community coalitions to support organizing drives. In fact, it was a community organization that initially developed the "OrgSort" system before computers became available to the general public. When you ordered the OrgSort system you received large 5X7 inch custom made cards with 99 holes around the edge of the card, a paper punch that would punch out the edge of the hole and transform it into an open "U", and a #10 knitting needle. Every hole was assigned a "sortable" category. For example, the first 26 holes would be the letters of the alphabet. Other holes would be assigned as department, shift, rate of pay, address, NLRB charges, etc. The cards never had to be kept in any order because by inserting the knitting needle in the appropriate hole, holding the entire stack of cards and shaking them, all the cards for which that hole had been punched into an open "U" would fall out. You could then take that sub-group and sort again and again. This provided a low-tech computer-type function.

Word Processing and Desktop Publishing

Being able to cut and frame issues quickly, and in an attractive and effective fashion, can be important in an organizing drive. Stock art can be stored in the computer, and new art created. An entire leaflet can be laid-out and printed in a very short period of time. More importantly, shop floor/campaign newsletters can be facilitated more easily with word processing and desktop publishing functions.

Although direct mail has not proven universally effective in organizing, when properly used, it can work in certain situations. Using the word processing and database management software together, the organizer can customize a letter with a special paragraph targeted toward special sub-groups of workers. For example, in one campaign we had an industrial facility with five buildings on one huge piece of property. Workers in each building performed different functions, and issues were different from building to building. In the re-melt operation, safety and health was

continued on page 4 . . .

Queries

Advice about Authoring Systems Wanted

Are you currently using an authoring system to develop your own educational or training software?

The AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute received a grant from the U. S. Department of Labor to survey adult literacy programs, particularly involving unions. Besides reviewing available educational software (including field-testing with adult learners), HRDI is planning to purchase an authoring system. Among those being reviewed are Tencore, Instruct, and several hypercard/hypertext systems.

Labor educators, apprenticeship or training directors who have relevant experience are asked to contact Tony Sarmiento, HRDI, (202-638-3912).

continued on page 6 . . .

Organizing continued . . .

of prime importance. In the wood products shop forced overtime was the issue. Our letter would contain general information about the union, or specific information about an upcoming meeting, but could also contain special targeted information about the special issues of importance to that sub-group.

Delivering this kind of targeted message to sub-groups is much more difficult to do with leaflets. However, as a general rule of thumb, personal one-on-one communications is most effective. The computer with database management software can obviously make this task easier as well.

Communications Software - Electronic Mail - Research

You've heard the saying that information is power. Communications software allows the organizer to send and receive information over telephone lines and via satellites. There are many information databases to which a union can subscribe. The organizer can tap into databases, such as Dialog and retrieve financial analysis, listing of subsidiaries, listing of directors, plant locations, news articles, and more. Special information, such as safety and health data, can also be retrieved.

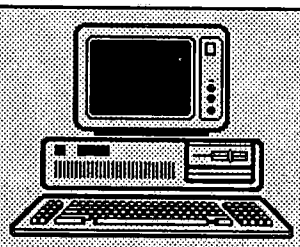
For example, in one campaign I housecalled a woman who complained about a rash on her arm that she knew was caused by something at work. She worked in a plant that made furniture from pressboard. I asked her to bring in a sample, and on the sample was stamped: "Caution, this product contains formaldehyde". I got on my computer that night, searched databases, and found a good description of the hazards of working with that substance. Within 24 hours I was back to that woman with impressive information.

Some unions use electronic communications as a way for organizers to file reports quickly and easily. Certain data about organizing drives, such as the date organizing began, election filing date, numbers of cards signed, general strategy, number of workers, industry, plant locations, etc., can be sent electronically to headquarters, allowing the organizing director to more easily monitor a large number of projects at once.

It's been said, and I believe that it's true, that organizing is the toughest job in the labor movement. I won't say that computers will make the job easier. But I will say that computers will free valuable time now spent on managing information that could be better spent doing the important person to person organizing work. Computer capabilities will also help make the critical person to person work more productive and affective.

The Organizing SIG of the Union PC Users Group will seek to help spread the use of computers throughout the labor movement by offering assistance conceptually, srategically, and technically to unions or organizers interested in doing more.

Joe Uehlein works for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.



The Union PC Users Group Newsletter

The Union PC Users Group NewsLetter is published bimonthly by the Union PC Users Group, an informal, voluntary organization of unionists who use personal computers.

Articles, suggestions, and comments should be mailed to the NewsLetter c/o Chuck Hodell at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 20903. Telephone 301/431-6400, ext. 476.

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Meany Archives
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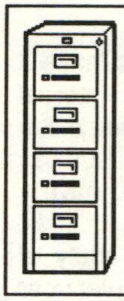


Mary's Computer Files

by Mary Ford

Microcomputer Revolution

In the last few years the AFL-CIO has undergone a microcomputer revolution - with the expansion into the world of automation, we have actively enhanced the mission and objectives of the AFL-CIO, especially in the critical areas of:

- o Organizing
- o Political Action
- o Research
- o Legislation

The following cases are examples of the prudent usage of computers by the AFL-CIO in order to better serve the internationals, affiliates, local bodies and union members. We consider computer technology a wonderful tool for communication and information processing. Their use greatly enhances our ability to support the positions and policies of the AFL-CIO - by producing professional results within day-to-day time constraints and at a reduced expense. They also permit us to discern new information by giving us new ways to assess data.

LIBRARY ON-LINE RESEARCH

The AFL-CIO library holds approximately 20,000 records. Access is by author, title, or subject filed in the card catalog - on a manual basis. The Ohio College Library Catalog (OCLC) database is an on-line cataloging network with over 19 million bibliographic records compiled from libraries throughout the US. Information located on-line is borrowed from libraries which participate in the Interlibrary Loan System. An on-line search on selected DIALOG databases for information on "corporate governance" resulted in several citations to publications which were not available in the library. A search of the OCLC database located these publications in libraries throughout the US, and they were borrowed through the Interlibrary Loan System. An on-line search may take from 2 to 10 minutes. (Additional time is spent in formulating the search strategy, selecting records and printing output.)

RESULT: Research is done rapidly and thoroughly. Recently a department needed to locate an article on Frank Lorenzo. Within minutes, the article was located on the Nexis database, providing vital ammunition for the battle against Eastern.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION - COPE

Mapping - Labor Member Counts, Electoral College Outlook. With the recent addition of a sophisticated mapping system, COPE has taken labor counts and then created Labor count maps by congressional district and county. In addition, COPE has mapped the trends in democratic growth and voting behavior. Just a few years ago, creating graphic maps such as these required $100,000 mainframe computers and $10,000 plotters. This may be the first time in the history of the labor movement that membership has been mapped to a thematic map of the U.S.

This kind of mapping is especially effective and useful for:

- o Detecting subtle trends over a period of time -- i.e., shifts in labor membership over a period of years.
- o Searching for patterns from a vast amount of data -- i.e., you can see at a glance where our membership is concentrated.
- o Analyzing relationships among variables or to compare pattern changes over a period of time. For example, it is easy to see that our labor membership is concentrated in states that are democratic, not republican.
- o To make lasting impressions with large amounts of data -- i.e., translating your electoral college outlook into a visible map of what we need to do to win the presidential election.

The system used has many unique capabilities not available with other mapping software. We can create bivariate maps to analyze the relationship of two or more variables that pertain to the same region. Overlaying maps can help make an impact that two maps cannot show separately.

Mary Ford works for AFL-CIO COPE.

Don't Forget the Union PC Users Group Meeting on April 19 at 5:15 pm.

AFSCME
1625 L Street, NW

Around the Users Group

Reggie Cole (LIPA), Chairperson of OPEIU Local #2's Education Committee at the AFL-CIO, is leading an effort to prepare a chart comparing the wordprocessing commands for the Xerox 860 with WordPerfect 5.0 on the PC. The chart is designed to help secretaries who are switching to PCs from dedicated wordprocessors. **Pat Connelly, Helen Dabney, Kim Mercer, Mary Sneden,** and **Lori Sommerkamp** are other Local #2 members working on this project.

Jack Flynn of the **Operating Engineers** is downloading Harvard Graphics files into a video format for state-of-the-art presentations. Computer generated titles and credits are then mixed with standard footage for high quality video tapes. Also at the Operators, **Research Director Ted Reed** is leaving for retirement to Ontario. Ted was one of the pioneer personal computer users in the labor movement and will be missed. But knowing Ted, he will probably keep in touch with UPCUG via his laptop, modem, and Telenet credit card.

Larry Barrett of the **Meany Center** reports that the new SuperCalc 5 is working great except for some problems with printing files converted from earlier SuperCalc versions.

Desktop Publishing

by Chuck Hodell

Desktop publishing is receiving increased attention and interest among labor organizations. From organizing to local union internal communications, the production of professional looking documents is now within the reach of most unionists. And, when you top off a first-class camera-ready piece of art with a union bug at the printer, you have a winning combination.

The term desktop publishing actually applies to a variety of software packages and hardware peripherals that allow a computer user to produce documents that formerly required the time-honored tradition of cut and paste. Now a computer screen replaces the traditional layout table, and scissors and wax have been replaced with a mouse and scanner.

Several of the most popular desktop publishing software include Aldus PageMaker and Xerox Ventura Publisher. PageMaker was the original desktop publishing package and arrived on the computer scene in 1985 for the Apple Macintosh. In the four short years since its introduction, PageMaker has spawned an industry that has grown to include literally thousands of products, including a version for IBM-compatibles. This issue of the Union PC Users Group Newsletter was produced with PageMaker. The pages that you see within the newsletter are exactly as they appeared on the computer monitor. No cut and paste of any type was used. From banner to graphics, everything was produced electronically.

In the next several issues of the UPCUG Newsletter, we will explore the use of desktop publishing and the many aspects of software and hardware options available today. Anyone interested in working on future issues and gaining hands-on desktop publishing experience should contact the desktop publishing SIG. A final note: the April 19 meeting of the Union PC Users Group will feature a desktop publishing demonstration by Aldus featuring PageMaker. Plan to attend and see the state-of-the-art in desktop publishing.

Queries

continued from page 4. . .

SIU, IAM, and UAW Operate Computer Labs for Officers and Staff

UPCUG knows of three international unions that have been operating personal computer labs at their educational facilities: the Seafarers at Piney Point, Machinists at Placid Harbor, and the UAW at Black Lake. All are equipped with IBM-compatibles and have been training union staff and leadership for over a year.

Future issues will feature a closer look at these labs. Contact UPCUG if your international union has a PC lab.

Automating the Union Office

Genevieve Lutz, Administrative Associate at the George Meany Center, would like to know how unions have automated their secretarial and clerical functions with personal computers. What equipment configurations have proven to be sound? What's a good ratio of PCs to laser printers? What training approaches have been effective? What software was chosen and why?

A survey or meeting of union office managers is being considered. Anyone interested should contact Genevieve at the Meany Center or UPCUG.

John's Tips

by John Barry

This column will offer hints, tips and shortcuts that can brighten the life of a computer user, or at least ease some of the pain. More experienced readers may already be aware of most of them, but even they may find a nugget now and then. If you've got shortcuts that have worked for you, please send them to the Newsletter, and we'll pass them along.

It takes a while to get used to the enhanced, 101-key keyboard if you've been working with the 83-key PC keyboard. Eventually I grew accustomed to its features, but one thing continued to bug me--finding that the numerical pad was active, with the numlock key on, every time I rebooted.

Even though the bigger keyboard has a separate pad for cursor keys, if you're used to the old keyboard you tend to use the cursor keys on the numeric pad. When you try this just after rebooting, you get numbers instead of cursor movement. Not until then do you remember to turn off the numlock.

Along comes the March issue of REMark, the monthly magazine of the Zenith/Heath national users' group, with a program by Robert A. Metz to get rid of this irritation. There are undoubtedly other programs around that will do the job, but this is the first I've come across.

If you're interested in Metz's explanation of how the program works, get the magazine at the Heath/Zenith store. If not, just copy the program as it appears below. It is created with the MS-DOS program DEBUG, so make sure that you have a path to that program or are in the drive and/or directory where it appears.

At your DOS prompt (shown here as C>), type the text just as it appears below. The data shown in boldface, including numbers represented by XXXX, will appear on your screen. <CR> represents the Enter key.

```
C>debug<CR>
-numlokof.com<CR>
-a100<CR>
XXXX:0100 mov ax,40<CR>
XXXX:0103 mov ds,ax<CR>
XXXX:0105 and byte ptr
  [17],df<CR>
XXXX:010A int 20<CR>
XXXX:010C <CR>
-rcx<CR>
CX XXXX
: c<CR>
-w<CR>
Writing 000C bytes
-<CR>
C>
```

The resulting program, NUMLOKOF.COM in the current directory, forces the numlock state off so that the numerical keypad has cursor control function. The numlock key continues to function normally.

Make sure the command "numlokof" is placed in the AUTOEXEC.BAT file on your boot disk.

In my case, since I didn't want to retype the entire AUTOEXEC.BAT file or go into the word processor to edit it, I simply appended the command to the file using COPY and the plus sign, a DOS feature that some readers may not be aware of. You copy the existing file plus what you want to add to it to a new file, in this case using the same filename, thus:

```
C>copy autoexec.bat + con
autoexec.bat
numlokof
^Z
```

John Barry recently retired from the AFL-CIO Information Department.

Yes . . . Add My Name to the Mailing List

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ **State:** _____ **Zip:** _____

Organization: _____ **Title:** _____

Office Phone: _____

Mail to the Union PC Users Group,
C/O Chuck Hodell, George Meany Center,10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 20903

What is UPCUG?

by Tony Sarmiento

The Union Personal Computer User Group (UPCUG) is an informal voluntary organization of union officers and staff who use personal computers in their union-related work. It was formed in 1985 by the George Meany Center for Labor Studies and the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute in response to the growing interest and use of personal computers among trade unionists.

UPCUG is not a group of hobbyists. Its purpose is to promote self-help among individuals who use personal computers to accomplish the objectives of their labor organization. By gathering and sharing information, UPCUG aims to help unions not only avoid "reinventing the wheel," but also gain from the collective experience of trade unionists who have used PCs to perform similar tasks or solve common problems.

Who Can Join UPCUG?

Any officer, representative, or staff employee of an AFL-CIO affiliate is invited to join.

What Does UPCUG Do?

Besides this newsletter, current and planned activities include:

* monthly meetings for union PC users in the Washington, D. C. area;
* PC classes using the new computer lab at the Meany Center;
* an electronic bulletin board for union PC users (starting June 1989);
* an information clearinghouse about PC hardware, software, and exemplary uses of PCs by labor organizations; and
* a library of union "shareware:" software templates, macros, databases, programs, etc. developed by trade unionists for trade unionists.

Why Was UPCUG Started?

In general, personal computer users frequently rely on other users for the latest information and most reliable advice on a computer question or problem. In some metropolitan areas, one may find over 100 user groups organized around a specific type of computer, software, or interest. Other user groups may be found among corporations, schools, and agencies. Promoting self-help and self-instruction is the common purpose of these groups.

The Union PC Users Group is not aiming to duplicate or compete with other user groups. Instead, UPCUG seeks to provide a forum for trade unionists to discuss how PCs are being used to carry out tasks that are unique to the labor movement, such as contract costing, organizing campaigns, corporate research, and local union administration.

Over the last four years, PC-related activity among unions has not only widened but also deepened. Not only are greater numbers of union staff, officers, and representatives using PCs, but many are acquiring sophisticated, field-tested knowledge of how best to use PCs to meet union objectives. Sharing this knowledge can help capture greater returns for organized labor's investment in personal computers and the people who use them.

Union PC Users Group

10000 New Hampshire Avenue
Silver Spring, MD 20903

Coming In Future Issues . . .

PC Networks, Desktop Publishing, Computing at a State Fed., Local Union Administration Software

How Can The Labor Learning Lab Help?

Computer systems and software can assist organized labor in a variety of important ways. Almost every facet of union administration, negotiating, organizing, arbitration and grievancer handling, and related activities can be enhanced by utilization of the appropriate computer systems.

All labor organizations need comprehensive information concerning their membership to remain effective. Proper utilization of database systems can provide accurate and managable information for a multitude of purposes. A database can consolidate all member information into one computerised package. From that information mailing lists can be developed that allow sorting and provisioning by department, title, seniority or a variety of criteria.

Wordprocessing software does much more than duplicate a typewriter. State-of-the-art software offers individualized form letters, a multitude of formats including newspaper and newsletter production, page-layout options, and output to a range of printers including sofisticated laser systems.

Spreadsheet software makes money management and accounting chores a breeze. Annual reports and audits are made much easier and contract costing for negotiations takes much less time with computerised costing models.

Background

One of the major challenges facing the labor movement in the years ahead is the need to be computer literate. Increasingly, American workers and organized labor are forced to compete with employers, regulatory agencies, and anti-union organizations that have automated their resources against us.

The Labor Learning Lab at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies is equiped with computer systems and software that are representative of the state-of-the-art technology available today. Skilled instructors present Information Age concepts in non-threatening courses covering a variety of computer-based skills.

Classes range from basic computer literacy to courses taking the mystery out of using sophisticated word processing, data base, and spreadsheet software systems. Practical hands-on instruction allows unionists from all levels of computer experience to expand their skills.

Unionists can take advantage of the Labor Learning Lab's resources in a variety of ways. The labor offers regularly scheduled classes in various software systems. Classes range from beginning level classes to more advanced courses for experienced users.

Several Meany Center offerings include using the Labor Learning Lab as an integral part of their instruction. The Lab is also available to International unions and other organizations of a per-diem basis.

The Labor Learning Lab is a joint project between the Human

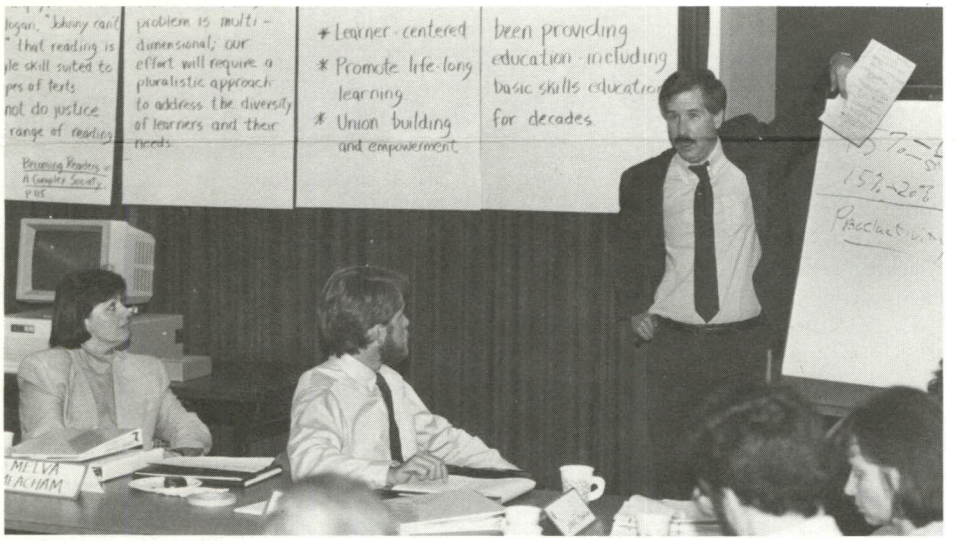
Resources Development Institute, the AFL-CIO Department of Education, and the Meany Center for Labor Studies.

HRDI Advisory

Human Resources Development Institute, AFL-CIO

Vol. XVII, No. 4, July-August 1989

Skill Upgrading Project Underway



Forrest Chisman, president of the Southport Institute, reviews the basic skills problem and program objectives. Looking on are HRDI National Coordinator Melva Meacham and Tim Songer of Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte, N.C.

Literacy Issues Explored

For learning programs to be truly effective, the needs of workers must be foremost in setting the program content and design. This was a central conclusion of representatives of 20 union education and training programs who participated in a two-day Labor Symposium on Basic Skills at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies near Washington.

The symposium, sponsored by HRDI, the AFL-CIO Department of Education, and the Meany Center, focused on workplace-related basic skills programs for presently employed or recently displaced workers.

The current literacy debate among public and private policy makers was reviewed by Forrest Chisman, president of the Southport Institute and author of the widely recognized "Jump Start" study of adult literacy, and Judy Koloski, executive director of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.

In a roundtable discussion moderated by HRDI Assistant Director Tony Sarmiento, the union educators explored major issues confronting labor organizations seeking to meet the basic skill needs of their members. Participants considered various definitions of literacy and generally agreed that programs help not only the relatively few who cannot read but also the many more workers who need to strengthen their reading and math skills to get and hold jobs.

The group talked about testing and assessment of adult learners, reviewing the methods used by their programs and stressing the need to protect the confidentiality and privacy of workers in such programs.

Participants also considered the need to respond to worker fears that low scores or slow progress could cost them their jobs or limit their advancement. And they reviewed union part-

See Basic Skill Needs, page 3

HRDI is conducting a research and demonstration program to develop effective ways of upgrading worker skills through a system of structured workplace training.

The system will be tested at three or more locations across the country. The idea is to build on the apprenticeship concept, integrating on-the-job training and classroom instruction to upgrade the skills of workers in manufacturing, high technology, service, and other expanding occupations not traditionally associated with apprenticeship.

The objective will be to enable workers to master new technologies changing their jobs or move up to higher skilled positions.

The Upgrading and Career Ladder Program, supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, will be conducted over an 18-month period from July 1989 through December 1990.

To secure expert guidance on the

See Upgrading, page 3

Director Joins Disability Panel

In recognition of the Institute's extensive services for the disabled, the AFL-CIO suggested that HRDI Director Mike McMillan be considered for appointment to the Executive Committee of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities.

McMillan, along with other Executive Committee members, will be responsible for advising the chairman of the President's Committee on its work. Other functions are to study the problems of people with disabilities in securing and retaining suitable jobs and to develop projects for promoting employment of the disabled.

See Disability, page 2

JTPA Amendments Focus on Hard-to-Serve

Changes in JTPA Title II to target more activities on the hard-to-serve and improve coordination of human services programs are proposed in the administration's JTPA Amendments.

The amendments have been introduced in the House by Rep. William Goodling of Pennsylvania as HR 2803 and in the Senate by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah as S 1300.

The measure would establish separate Title II parts for adult and youth programs and require that all youth and 50 percent of adult participants have substantial barriers to employment such as basic skills deficiencies or welfare dependency. It would carry over the current requirement that 90 percent of participants be economically disadvantaged, retaining the 10 percent window for serving disabled and other persons with major employment problems.

These changes largely parallel revisions in adult and youth programs proposed by House Education and Labor Committee Chairman Augustus Hawkins (HR 2039) and Senator Paul Simon (S 543). One difference is that the Hawkins and Simon bills would continue the present summer jobs programs, whereas the Administration calls for year-round youth services, permitting summer work experience, with education and training, only as one element of a youth's service strategy.

All three bills would change the allocation formula to improve targeting of funds to the economically disadvantaged. Although the proposed formulas differ considerably, all would take account of concentrations of disadvantaged persons in service delivery areas, replacing the present system based mainly on numbers of unemployed.

In keeping with the new emphasis on assisting the hard-to-serve, the three proposals would raise the present 30-percent limit on administrative costs and supportive services combined. The cap on support and related services is set at 20 percent by the administration and Hawkins bills, with higher levels allowed at the SDAs' option in the administration and Simon proposals.

Every bill would reduce the governors' setasides, with the administration proposing to eliminate the 8 percent for state education and coordination and the 3 percent for older workers and the other bills cutting or eliminating certain setasides.

But the three bills differ in important respects. One is the funding levels proposed for JTPA Title II programs, which the Hawkins bill would increase by about $500 million and the Simon bill by $150 million for program year 1990. In contrast, the only increase proposed by the administration is $25 million for a grant program for poor youth in areas of severe poverty.

In a change of crucial importance to organized labor, the Simon bill provides that at least 15 percent of Private Industry Council members must be representatives of labor and community-based organizations, whereas the other bills would retain the present council membership.

Another difference is that the administration proposes to merge the State Job Training Coordinating Councils with other state-level planning bodies into state human resource investment councils that would advise governors on coordinating adult and vocational education, JOBS, rehabilitation, JTPA, and other programs. Organized labor, along with community organizations, would have the same 30-percent representation on the new panels as on the present state JTPA councils.

Although this change is not proposed in the other bills to amend Title II, it is similar to a provision of the vocational education reauthorization bill establishing new councils to replace the SJTCCs.

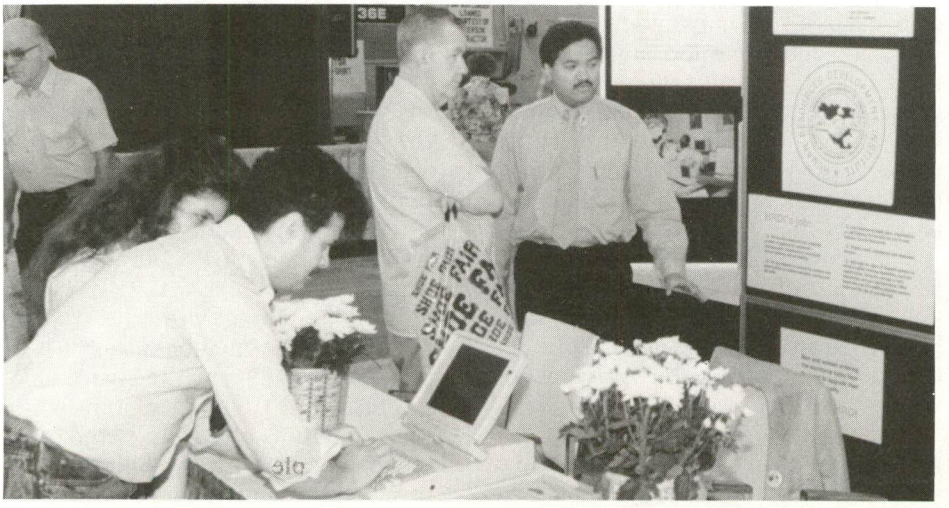
Other JTPA changes proposed by the administration would:

- Curtail the use of fixed-unit-price, performance-based contracting by requiring that all program expenditures, except certain commercial training packages and college tuition payments, be charged to appropriate cost categories.
- Create a new Title II-C program of state linkage and coordination grants funded by the Secretary of Labor.

Disability Group

Continued from page 1

The HRDI director will be one of three labor representatives serving on the 21-member policy-making group. The others are President Lenore Miller of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union and Charles Bradford, director of training and rehabilitation programs for the Machinists and Aerospace Workers.



HRDI Assistant Director Tony Sarmiento discusses the Institute's services with a visitor to the AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show in San Jose, Calif., while other visitors try out computer-assisted learning equipment.

HRDI Advisory

A publication of the AFL-CIO
Human Resources Development Institute

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Editor

Participants explore issues confronting union basic skills programs. Shown (left to right) are Lee Schore of the Center for Working Life in Oakland; Michael Brailove of State, County & Municipal Employees District 37 Education Fund in New York City; Fredrick Dunn and Joe McDermott of the Consortium for Worker Education in New York City; and Joseph Ortego of the United Steelworkers' Houston Area Reemployment Challenge.

Basic Skill Needs Debated

Continued from page 1

nerships with employers, educators, and others, with many reporting that a stronger union voice in deciding on the curriculum, course content, and teaching staff has often led to more effective programs.

Other presenters included Jules Goodison, associate director of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, and Tim Songer, director of a project at Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte, N.C., that is developing computer software for adult learners.

An important objective of the symposium was to enable HRDI to supplement the findings of its workplace literacy study with the perspectives of experienced program operators. Their ideas and information are contributing to the Institute's technical assistance guide for unions on workplace literacy programs, to be released this fall.

Panels Review Workplace Issues

Reflecting broad concern about workplace issues, more than 400 labor representatives, employers, and state and regional government officials from Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri gathered in Lake of the Ozarks, Mo., for the Fourth Annual Mid-America Labor-Management Conference.

Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service along with state labor departments, the sessions brought together a strong contingent of trade unionists, including the principal officers of the Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri AFL-CIOs, to consider workplace health and safety, education, job training, and other topics.

Introduced by President Daniel McVey of the Missouri State Labor Council, Director Joe Velasquez of the AFL-CIO Department of Community Services reviewed the organization's extensive services for unemployed union members.

In a series of workshops over the three-day gathering, participants explored such issues as cooperative education and training activities, cost-saving strategies related to workers' compensation, and the operation of labor-management committees.

HRDI Assistant Director Lynn Meyers told the group about the Institute's services and work to develop joint labor-management programs for dislocated workers, and Assistant Director Tony Sarmiento talked about union involvement in workplace literacy programs during a session moderated by National Coordinator Steve Ingram. One of labor's most extensive efforts, the Consortium for Worker Education, was reviewed by Joe McDermott, education director of Teamsters Local 237 in New York.

Administered by the Teamsters local, the Consortium sponsors classes in basic education, English as a second language, and high school equivalency for over 7,000 members of 18 participating unions in New York City, McDermott reported.

Considering an issue of growing concern to both unions and employers, Director Ken Ogran of the Menninger Foundation's Return to Work Centers and the directors of similar centers in Kansas advised the gathering on what works best in assisting recently disabled workers.

Skill Upgrading

Continued from page 1

venture, HRDI has formed a Program Steering Committee drawn from prominent leaders of industry, labor, and education, including former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Reese Hammond, education and training director of the Operating Engineers.

The program will be staffed by a national coordinator and three training specialists at the demonstration sites.

The program will be a two-phase demonstration, with the first phase devoted to research and developmental activities. HRDI will review apprenticeship-related materials and confer with employers, unions, and others to identify industries, occupations, and prospective locations for at least three demonstration projects. Health care, automotive electronics, banking, insurance, and food service are among the occupational areas to be explored.

During the second phase, HRDI will develop the projects, to be dispersed across the country. First, program staff will analyze training needs and design a schedule of work processes and educational materials and review these plans with industry, labor, education, and state governments.

Next, HRDI will select program sites and complete all arrangements for the projects, to operate for at least nine months starting next spring. While the training is underway, staff will monitor participants for success on the job and satisfactory progress in classroom instruction.

Staff will identify any problems at work or school and arrange for needed assistance, and they will visit work sites regularly to monitor the effectiveness of the training. Finally, HRDI will evaluate the operation and effectiveness of the projects and prepare a final report, including recommendations for future training.

Labor Confers on New Laws

HRDI Regional Coordinator Mike White registers participants for the regional conference in Las Vegas, while Regional Coordinator Ken DeBey looks on.

With regional conferences in St. Louis and Las Vegas during June, HRDI has completed comprehensive training on the worker adjustment and related programs for labor representatives throughout the country.

Nearly 400 trade unionists—state AFL-CIO officers and labor's JTPA coordinators, state council representatives, and program operators—took part in four sessions centered on active and informed labor participation in the new programs.

The conferences in St. Louis and Las Vegas, each sponsored jointly by HRDI and three regional offices of the Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration, brought together labor representatives from the 29 states from Ohio to the West Coast.

At the two sessions, HRDI national office staff and regional coordinators presented detailed information about the EDWAA, advance notice (WARN), and trade adjustment assistance laws, and they talked about developing basic skills programs. ETA regional administrators and other officials addressed the gatherings, and state AFL-CIO presidents and leaders of local labor bodies reviewed employment and training concerns in their areas.

In panel discussions, representatives of the National Governors' Association, state agencies, and others considered state and local approaches to worker adjustment. And National Alliance of Business representatives, labor leaders, employers, and joint labor-management program operators advised the gatherings on effective cooperation in dislocated worker programs.

At other sessions, panelists from the National Association of Counties, economic development, and education explored coordination of employment, training, and other human resources. Finally, participants at the two conferences gathered in informal workshops to talk about EDWAA implementation in their states, problems and successes, and the nuts and bolts of labor involvement in the new programs.

IUE Examines Worker Services

Continuing HRDI's work to help the Electronic & Electrical Workers Union develop comprehensive readjustment services for its displaced members, Assistant Director Lynn Meyers described the advance notice (WARN), JTPA, and EDWAA laws to local union members participating in the IUE's annual Women's Conference at Lake Kiamesha, N.Y.

Illustrating his remarks with a slide presentation, Meyers presented detailed technical information about the legislation during a program on Back to Basics: Training for Tomorrow.

The program, which included presentations by Gloria Johnson, director of the IUE Department of Social Action, and Charles Bremer, assistant social action director, was designed to familiarize local union leaders with dislocated worker issues and activities. It was conducted in conjunction with the union's District Three convention.

HRDI Advisory

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Mine Workers complete historic reunion

All major unions back in AFL-CIO

By Eugene C. Zack

In an historic action, the AFL-CIO welcomed the United Mine Workers back to the federation, underscoring what President Lane Kirkland called "a further indication of the strong spirit of solidarity that is manifest throughout the entire labor movement."

UMWA President Richard L. Trumka presented Kirkland with a memo that read: "Lane, we affiliate. Rich." Trumka's note reversed the famous "we disaffiliate" note which then Mine Workers President John L. Lewis gave AFL President William Green in 1947.

Announcing the UMWA executive board's decision to return to the house of labor, Trumka emphasized that the action formalizes "our ever-closer working relations with the AFL-CIO and its member unions."

That cooperation has ranged from combined safety and health efforts to joint action in the Shell boycott as part of the battle against the racist regime in South Africa. The solidarity culminated

Related stories, photos on Page 2.

in the mobilization of federation resources in the Mine Workers battle against the attempt by the absentee owners of Pittston Coal Group to bust the UMWA out of its mines.

It has been a two-way street, Kirkland emphasized. Miners "have been steadfast in their support for their brothers and sisters at Eastern Air Lines, at the regional telephone companies, at New York City's hospitals, and wherever trade unionists struggle," he said.

The UMWA's return fulfills the mandate given Kirkland by the 1979 AFL-CIO convention when he was first elected president—"to explore avenues for affiliation of those unions outside the federation's ranks."

In his 1979 acceptance speech, Kirkland explained his philosophy this way: "All citizens owe fealty to their country; all workers belong in the unions of their trade or industry; and all true unions belong in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

In the decade since then, such major unions of the CIO and AFL as the UAW, Teamsters and now the Mine Workers have affiliated, and the federation also has issued the first AFL-CIO charters to the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the Locomotive Engineers and the Writers Guild of America, East. The Mine Workers' labor federation history reaches back nearly a century, when the union's founding convention of 1890 voted to join the old AFL.

The UMWA was instrumental in the 1935 formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It left the CIO in 1942, rejoined the AFL in 1946 and disaffiliated a year later.

AFL-CIO NEWS

VOLUME 34, NUMBER 21 OCTOBER 14, 1989

The famed 1947 note draws the attention of AFL-CIO and UMWA officers. From left are Thomas R. Donahue, Rich Trumka, Lane Kirkland, UMWA Sec.-Treas. John Banovic and Vice President Cecil Roberts.

Eastern workers win Senate vote

First hurdle cleared as cloture vote passes 61-36

By Candice Johnson

Union workers at Eastern Air Lines won a big victory as the Senate voted to cut off debate on a bill that would establish a blue ribbon panel to investigate the seven-month strike.

By a 61-36 margin, the Senate voted to invoke cloture—limiting further debate—and proceed with the legislation.

The measure approved by the House last April, H.R. 1231, would have formed a presidential emergency board—as called for under the Railway Labor Act—to review and help resolve the dispute.

The Senate version—a substitute for H.R. 1231—would create a three-member commission which would investigate the Eastern dispute and other industry concerns. The panel would complete its review and issue recommendations within 45 days.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland applauded the Senate for taking steps to "bring the Eastern Air Lines strike to a fair and equitable conclusion."

"Throughout their seven month strike, Eastern's workers have been denied any access to such a process. The President has refused to accept the recommendation of the National Mediation Board and appoint an emergency panel while the bankruptcy court has demonstrated that it has no interest in protecting people from the ravages of corporate raiding and asset stripping," Kirkland declared.

He called the vote "an important step" in realizing fairness for the Eastern workers and called on the Senate to take action on the legislation.

In addition to examining the Eastern crisis, the panel would review the hiring of scabs and its impact on aviation safety and investigate the concentration of foreign ownership of domestic carriers.

In a mail ballot to 40,000 members, a majority of Air Line Pilots voted to continue the special membership assessment that funds strike benefits for Eastern pilots. Benefits will be paid for another six months, ALPA said.

RWDSU settles with hospitals in New York

New York

The Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union delivered a breakthrough settlement with 56 private hospitals and nursing homes that provides pay gains of 24.6 percent for some 50,000 health care workers over three years.

The agreement ends more than five months of intense negotiations with New York's League of Voluntary Hospitals. A concerted and creative approach to bargaining earned the hospital workers widespread attention and support during the five-month ordeal.

The new contract includes pay raises of 7.5 percent retroactive to July 1, 7.5 percent next year, and 5 percent along with a $500 bonus in the third year.

Local 1199 RWDSU members ratified the agreement by a decisive margin. The contract covers service, maintenance, professional, technical and clerical workers—some that were the among the lowest paid in the New York City area.

Picture on Page 9.

Union and management negotiators bargained down to the wire and reached the breakthrough just hours before an Oct. 4 strike deadline.

RWDSU President Lenore Miller commended Dennis Rivera, the head of the local's 97-member rank-and-file bargaining committee for hammering out the settlement.

"These negotiations won us something more important than money," Rivera said. "They earned us respect. We can walk tall with our heads held high."

The new contract provides a 3.5 percent increase in management payments to the workers' health plan and major improvements in pensions, training and upgrading, child care, vacations, benefits for part-timers and salary adjustments for professional employees and other selected job classifications.

An early break in negotiations came in July when four Catholic hospitals dropped the stand-pat stance of the Hospital League and reached a two-year settlement with the union bringing annual pay raises of 8.5 percent as well as other improvements.

But the league continued to hold its best offer at about 12 percent over three years until the final settlement reached before the strike deadline.

ICFTU tour appalled at Pittston, U.S. law

The eyes of world labor were trained on the Appalachian coalfields, as a team of international union leaders met with American government, management and union leaders to assess the tragedy accompanying the six-month-old strike forced on the Mine Workers by Pittston Coal Group.

Headed by General Sec. John Vanderveken of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the special mission urged legal, political and economic sanctions against Pittston's absentee owners, unless they abandon 19th-century union-busting tactics that have idled 2,000 miners in Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky.

After briefings in the nation's capital by UMWA President Richard L. Trumka, Sec.-Treas. John Banovic and AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue, the ICFTU team flew to Greenwich, Conn., for a face-to-face meeting with Paul Douglas Jr., Pittston's chief executive officer.

From Connecticut, the delegation flew to southwestern Virginia for a first-hand look at the picketlines, where Pittston's heavily armed, private paramilitary force has terrorized strikers at gunpoint, and where Virginia State Police have arrested more than 2,500 peaceful demonstrators.

Later, the foreign union leaders attended a giant rally with UMWA members and supporters to underscore the solidarity of world labor with the striking miners, their families and retirees who are paying the price for Pittston's reneging on its pension commitments.

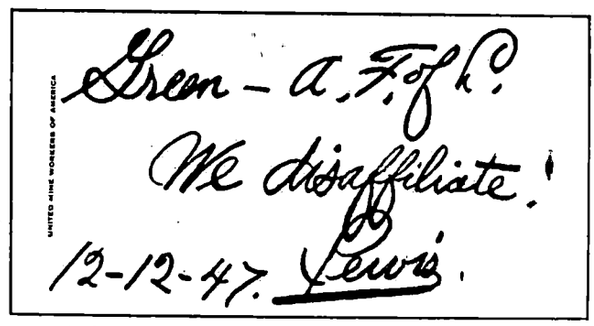
Back in Washington, the ICFTU group met with Labor Sec. Elizabeth Dole, who announced her plans to go to the Virginia mines the following day.

At a press conference, Vanderveken announced the ICFTU would file a complaint with the International Labor Organization based on U.S. violations of ILO Conventions on freedom of association (Convention 87) and the right to organize and collective bargaining (Convention 98).

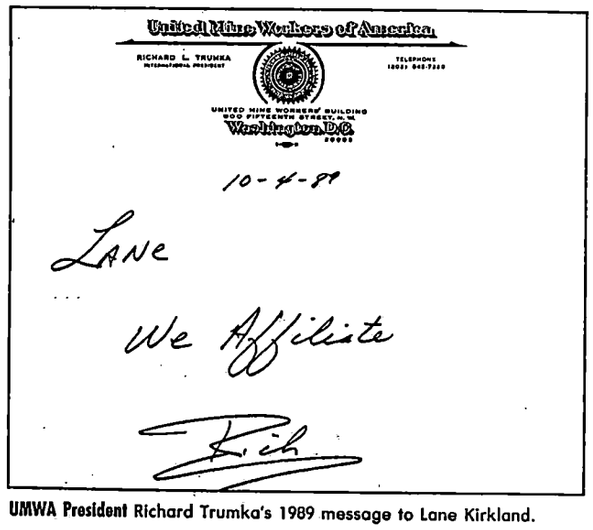
General Sec. Peter Michalzik of the Miners International Federation expressed dismay at being followed and photographed by Virginia police while at the coal fields—and this in the United States, not one of the nations with notoriously repressive governments.

Vanderveken stressed the group's feeling that government treatment of the UMWA has not been neutral and said the wider question "we have to ask ourselves is if it is possible under the United States labor legislation for this to go on, then there must a something wrong with the legislation."

Joining Vanderveken and Michalzik on the delegation were General Sec. Marcello Malentacchi of the International Metal-worker Federation, Director Jerzy Milewski of the Solidarnosc Coordinating Office Abroad, and Nigel Harris, British Trades Union Congress.



UMWA President John L. Lewis's 1947 note to AFL President William Green.



UMWA President Richard Trumka's 1989 message to Lane Kirkland.

A decade of success in mergers, affiliations

1979: Upon election as AFL-CIO President, Lane Kirkland says to the convention "I take special note of your injunction to explore anew the affiliation of those organizations outside our ranks."

Total AFL-CIO unions: 103

1980: The Railway Supervisors merge with Railway, & Airline Clerks (BRAC); the Jewelry Workers merge with Service Employees (SEIU).

Total AFL-CIO unions: 101

1981: The UAW reaffiliates July 1. The Barbers merge with the Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and the Aluminum Workers join with Brick and Clay Workers to form Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 100

1982: The Glass Bottle Blowers join with Pottery Workers to form Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers; Aluminum, Brick and Clay joins with Glass and Ceramic Workers to form Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 98

1983: Granite cutters and Tile and Marble merge to form Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers, Shopworkers and Granite Cutters; Graphic Arts merges with Printing and Graphic Communications to form Graphic Communications International Union (GCIU); Hatter, Cap and Millinery Workers merge with Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) and Insurance Workers merge with UFCW.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 95

1984: The Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) receives an AFL-CIO charter; Cement, Lime, Gypsum merges with Boilermakers; the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees receive an AFL-CIO charter.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 96

1985: The Upholsterers merge with Steelworkers (USWA); the Railroad Yardmasters merge with United Transportation Union (UTU).

Total AFL-CIO unions: 94

1986: The Railway Carmen merge with BRAC; the Furniture Workers merge with Electronic Workers (IUE); UTU disaffiliates; the Telegraph Workers merge with Communications Workers (CWA).

Total AFL-CIO Unions: 90

1987: The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) reaffiliates on November 1; the Typographical Union (ITU) merges with the Communications Workers.

Total AFL-CIO Unions: 90

1988: The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union affiliates in August; the Glass Workers merge with the Molders to form the Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers; the National Maritime Union merges with the Marine Engineers (MEBA); the Shipbuilders merge with the Machinists (IAM); the Tile and Granite Cutters merge with the Carpenters.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 86

1989: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Writer's Guild East receive their first AFL-CIO charters; the UTU reaffiliates; the United Mine Workers (UMWA) affiliates October 1.

Total AFL-CIO unions: 90

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LEGISLATION

House rejects change, passes child care bill

As part of its budget reconciliation package, the House approved a labor-supported child care package that would expand community care and education programs and set quality standards for centers.

The House voted to retain the Early Childhood Education & Development Act—H.R. 3—by a 230-195 vote, defeating a proposal by Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-Tex.) that would have eliminated requirements for inspections and quality standards in child care centers and provisions that care providers receive appropriate training. The Stenholm measure also would have reduced funds for child care programs.

The House measure—reported by the Education & Labor Committee—will go to conference to reconcile differences with the Senate version, the Act for Better Child Care, which was adopted in June.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue called the congressional action "good news for America's working parents" with affordable child care taking "a significant step forward."

"Few issues before the 101st Congress will mean as much to working families as child care legislation—and few issues will be as important to our nation's future as adequate nurturing of our future generations," he said. Donahue urged Congress to agree on a final version "which retains the three essentials of quality child care—affordability, access and safety."

By a 285-140 vote, the House also rejected a Bush Administration proposal that would provide only limited tax credits for families and would make no effort to improve the quality and availability of day care options.

Also rejected was a proposal by the House Ways & Means Committee that would have incorporated increased funds for child care in block grants.

The adopted measure authorizes $1.75 billion for child care services through expanded Head Start programs, the establishment of early childhood education and before- and after-school programs and development of programs for children up to age 13 through community-based and other providers.

Senators urged to resist capital gains tax loophole

As the Senate continued work on its budget reconciliation package, AFL-CIO legislative director Robert McGlotten wrote to senators on labor's concerns on tax, pension and other provisions.

McGlotten urged that the fairness of the 1986 tax reforms be maintained. He called on senators to reject the Bush Administration's tax break for the wealthy through a reduction in the capital gains tax and urged support for a proposal by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) that would expand the benefits of Individual Retirement Accounts for working and middle-income families.

Earlier, the House swayed under special interest pressure and cut the capital gains tax rate from 28 percent to 19.6 percent for the next 27 months.

McGlotten also urged support for provisions that would curb the abuses of pension plan termination-reversions, by setting restrictions on the use of assets following a fund termination. If employers are permitted to transfer "excess" assets, the AFL-CIO believes those funds should only be used for health benefits for retirees and pension plan participants, McGlotten stressed.

In other action, the House voted to repeal expanded Medicare benefits for catastrophic health care by an overwhelming 360-66 vote. A labor-supported proposal by Reps. Fortney H. "Pete" Stark and Henry Waxman (D-Calif.) was defeated 269-156. The substitute proposal would have abolished the surtax—paid by Medicare recipients and determined by a sliding income scale—and retained the drug, home-care and some other benefits.

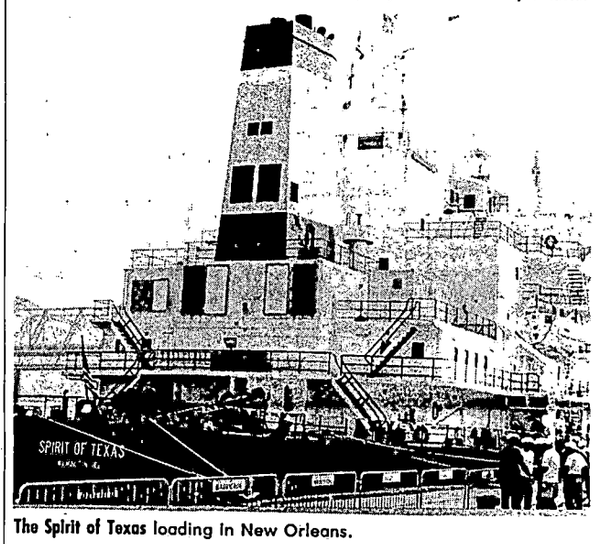
- Negotiations to renew steel voluntary restraint agreements are continuing, despite the Senate's failure to renew the agreed-to import levels by an Oct. 1, deadline. The House approved a Bush Administration measure to extend the program for another 30 months while negotiations continue.

Under the program, steel imports from 29 countries are held to 17-20 percent of the U.S. market. Tentative agreements have been reached with most eastern European nations and China, while talks are continuing with the five largest suppliers—Japan, South Korea, Mexico, the European Community and Brazil. Those countries accoutn for 87 percent of all steel imported under the VRAs.

- The Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee will begin an investigation into the five-month-long strike by Mine Workers at Pittston Coal Group.

A report issued in July by the majority staff of the House Education & Labor Committee raised some questions about the "apparent discrepancy in how the legal system is working." The staff report noted a "highly effective government response to charges of misconduct on the part of striking miners," while union charges of illegal conduct by Pittston have not yet been considered.

The National Labor Relations Board has set an Oct. 23 hearing date for the first round of unfair labor practice charges made by the union.



The Spirit of Texas loading in New Orleans.

Seafarers head to Poland with 11,500 tons of grain

The Solidarity movement in Poland is again being aided by the American trade union movement—this time by the shipload.

Early this month the Spirit of Texas, a U.S. flag vessel, left a port in New Orleans bound for Gdansk, loaded with 11,500 metric tons of sorghum seed grain.

Congressional representatives Lindy Boggs and Robert Livingston, top officers from the maritime unions and other leaders bid bon voyage at an afternoon ceremony.

"Today, as merchant seamen on the vessel carrying the first food aid to Poland, we also salute Solidarity and the people of Poland for their courage, their teancity and their commitment to a democratic process," said Thomas Glidewell, vice president of the Seafarers.

The grain was grown by American farmers and the program is part of the American aid program to Poland announced by President George Bush on his trip to Eastern Europe earlier this year.

The ship is expected to arrive in Gdansk around October 26.

When the ship is met by Solidarity leaders, they will be presented with a letter from Seafarers President Michael Sacco to Lech Walesa.

"We are proud of the role the democratic Polish trade union movement, under your leadership, in making this expression of our relationship possible" is the message from the SIU president to the Polish free trade union leader.

The Seafarers will also give much needed dictaphones to the Solidarity activists.

The program is sponsored by Falcon Shipping, operators of the Spirit of Texas and District 2 Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the SIU.

Change blood rule, unions tell OSHA

Unions called on the Occupational Safety & Health Administration to strengthen its proposed standard on blood-borne infectious diseases to reduce the risks faced by hundreds of thousands of workers on the job.

Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, testifying before OSHA, suggested a number of changes in the proposed rule, and urged Labor Sec. Elizabeth Dole to honor the commitment made by her predecessor, Ann McLaughlin, that the agency would produce a final standard by the end of 1989.

The OSHA proposal came as a response to a September 1986 petition by SEIU, AFSCME, and the Teachers for an emergency standard covering blood-borne diseases. In 1987, OSHA rejected the petition and began the lengthy rulemaking process.

Sweeney pointed out that OSHA estimates 12,000 to 18,000 health care workers are infected by hepatitis B each year, with several hundred dying from the disease. He charged that hospitals have been using scare tactics over costs to deflect attention from the "overwhelming need for a permanent standard."

AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee said that OSHA failed to give adequate weight to two studies that show a more significant risk among health care workers exposed to the AIDS virus. The lifetime risk of contracting AIDS due to multiple needlesticks would be one in 100, according to one study, and there is a 50 percent probability that at least one worker in many large urban medical centers would become infected with the AIDS virus over a four-year period.

SEIU member Alice Donovan, a licensed practical nurse from Pennsylvania, urged OSHA to require hospitals to provides specific training to all departments, free vaccines and adequate equipment. "We are on the eve of a devastating epidemic," she said.

SEIU District 1199E-DC President Robert Moore agreed and pointed out that needlestick injuries among health care workers can be reduced by using self-sheathing needles and by making more needle disposal boxes available.

House votes on pension, child care, capital gains

***Vote No. I:** By a 250-173 margin, the House voted to strike a labor-supported amendment from its budget reconciliation package that would have given workers equal representation with management on the boards of single-employer pension plans. A vote supporting the Visclosky amendment is Right (R).*

***Vote No. II:** The House rejected the labor-supported substitute in place of the Bush Administration's capital gains tax cut, a loophole for the wealthy. In the 190-239 rejection, a vote for the substitute is a Right (R) vote against the capital gains loophole.*

***Vote No. III:** In a labor victory, the House rejected an effort to cut funds and eliminate quality standards for child care programs by a 230-195 vote. A vote for labor-supported child care legislation in the budget reconciliation package is a Right (R) vote.*

	I	II	III
ALABAMA			
1. Callahan (R)	W	W	W
2. Dickinson (R)	W	W	W
3. Browder (D)	W	W	W
4. Bevill (D)	W	R	W
5. Flippo (D)	W	W	W
6. Erdreich (D)	W	W	W
7. Harris (D)	W	W	W
ALASKA			
AL Young, D. (R)	R	W	W
ARIZONA			
1. Rhodes (R)	W	W	W
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R
3. Stump (R)	W	W	W
4. Kyl (R)	W	W	W
5. Kolbe (R)	W	W	W
ARKANSAS			
1. Alexander (D)	R	W	R
2. Robinson (D)	W	W	W
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	W
4. Anthony (D)	A	W	R
CALIFORNIA			
1. Bosco (D)	R	W	R
2. Herger (R)	W	W	W
3. Matsui (D)	R	R	R
4. Fazio (D)	R	R	R
5. Pelosi (D)	R	R	R
6. Boxer (D)	R	R	R
7. Miller, G. (D)	R	R	R
8. Dellums (D)	R	R	R
9. Stark (D)	R	R	R
10. Edwards, D. (D)	R	R	R
11. Lantos (D)	R	R	R
12. Campbell (R)	W	W	W
13. Mineta (D)	R	W	R
14. Shumway (R)	W	W	W
15. Condit (D)	R	R	R
16. Panetta (D)	R	R	R
17. Pashayan (R)	R	W	W
18. Lehman, R. (D)	R	R	R
19. Lagomarsino (R)	W	W	W
20. Thomas, W. (R)	W	W	W
21. Gallegly (R)	W	W	W
22. Moorhead (R)	W	W	W
23. Beilenson (D)	R	R	R
24. Waxman (D)	R	R	R
25. Roybal (D)	R	R	R
26. Berman (D)	R	R	R
27. Levine (D)	R	R	R
28. Dixon (D)	R	R	R
29. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R
30. Martinez (D)	R	W	R
31. Dymally (D)	R	R	R
32. Anderson (D)	R	W	R
33. Dreier (R)	W	W	W
34. Torres (D)	R	R	R
35. Lewis, J. (R)	W	W	W
36. Brown, G. (D)	R	R	R
37. McCandless (R)	A	W	W
38. Dornan (R)	W	W	W
39. Dannemeyer (R)	W	W	W
40. Cox (R)	W	W	W
41. Lowery (R)	W	W	W
42. Rohrabacher (D)	W	W	W
43. Packard (R)	W	W	W
44. Bates (D)	R	R	R
45. Hunter (R)	W	W	W
COLORADO			
1. Schroeder (D)	R	R	R
2. Skaggs (D)	W	R	R
3. Campbell (D)	R	W	R
4. Brown, H. (R)	W	W	W
5. Hefley (R)	W	W	W
6. Schaefer (R)	W	W	W
CONNECTICUT			
1. Kennelly (D)	W	R	R
2. Gejdenson (D)	R	R	R
3. Morrison, B. (D)	R	R	R
4. Shays (R)	W	W	R
5. Rowland, J. G. (R)	W	W	W
6. Johnson (R)	W	W	W
DELAWARE			
AL Carper (D)	R	R	R
FLORIDA			
1. Hutto (D)	W	W	W
2. Grant (D)	W	W	W
3. Bennett (D)	R	R	W
4. James (R)	W	W	W
5. McCollum (R)	W	W	W
6. Stearns (R)	W	W	W
7. Gibbons (D)	W	R	R
8. Young, C. (R)	W	W	W
9. Bilirakis (R)	W	W	W
10. Ireland (R)	W	W	W
11. Nelson (D)	W	R	R
12. Lewis, T. (R)	W	W	W
13. Goss (R)	W	W	W
14. Johnston (D)	W	W	W
15. Shaw (R)	W	R	R
16. Smith, L. (D)	R	R	R
17. Lehman, W. (D)	R	R	R
18. Ros-Lehtinen (R)	W	W	W
19. Fascell (D)	R	R	R
GEORGIA			
1. Thomas, L. (D)	W	W	W
2. Hatcher (D)	W	W	W
3. Ray (D)	W	W	W
4. Jones (R)	W	W	W
5. Lewis (D)	R	R	R
6. Gingrich (R)	W	W	W
7. Darden (D)	W	W	W
8. Rowland (D)	W	W	W
9. Jenkins (D)	W	W	R
10. Barnard (D)	W	W	W
HAWAII			
1. Saiki (R)	W	W	R
2. Akaka (D)	R	R	R
IDAHO			
1. Craig (R)	W	W	W
2. Stallings (D)	W	W	W
ILLINOIS			
1. Hayes (D)	R	R	R
2. Savage (D)	R	R	R
3. Russo (D)	W	R	R
4. Sangmeister (D)	W	R	R
5. Lipinski (D)	R	R	R
6. Hyde (R)	W	W	W
7. Collins (D)	R	R	R
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R	R
9. Yates (D)	R	R	R
10. Porter (R)	W	W	W
11. Annunzio (D)	R	R	R
12. Crane, P. (R)	W	W	W
13. Fawell (R)	W	W	W
14. Hastert (R)	W	W	W
15. Madigan (R)	W	W	W
16. Martin, L. (R)	W	W	W
17. Evans, L. (D)	R	R	R
18. Michel (R)	W	W	W
19. Bruce (D)	R	R	R
20. Durbin (D)	R	R	R
21. Costello (D)	R	R	R
22. Poshard (D)	R	R	R
INDIANA			
1. Visclosky (D)	R	R	R
2. Sharp (D)	R	R	R
3. Hiler (R)	W	W	W
4. Long (D)	R	W	R
5. Jontz (D)	R	R	R
6. Burton, D. (R)	W	W	W
7. Myers (R)	W	W	W
8. McCloskey (D)	R	R	R
9. Hamilton (D)	W	R	R
10. Jacobs (D)	R	W	R
IOWA			
1. Leach (R)	W	W	R
2. Tauke (R)	W	W	W
3. Nagle (D)	R	R	R
4. Smith, N. (D)	R	W	R
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W	W
6. Grandy (R)	W	W	W
KANSAS			
1. Roberts (R)	W	W	W
2. Slattery (D)	W	R	W
3. Meyers (R)	W	W	W
FLORIDA			
1. Hutto (D)	W	W	W
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15. Shaw (R)	W	R	R
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18. Ros-Lehtinen (R)	W	W	W
19. Fascell (D)	R	R	R
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12. Crane, P. (R)	W	W	W
13. Fawell (R)	W	W	W
14. Hastert (R)	W	W	W
15. Madigan (R)	W	W	W
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18. Michel (R)	W	W	W
19. Bruce (D)	R	R	R
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21. Costello (D)	R	R	R
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9. Hamilton (D)	W	R	R
10. Jacobs (D)	R	W	R
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2. Tauke (R)	W	W	W
3. Nagle (D)	R	R	R
4. Smith, N. (D)	R	W	R
5. Lightfoot (R)	W	W	W
6. Grandy (R)	W	W	W
KANSAS			
1. Roberts (R)	W	W	W
2. Slattery (D)	W	R	W
3. Meyers (R)	W	W	W
4. Glickman (D)	W	R	R
5. Whittaker (R)	W	W	W
KENTUCKY			
1. Hubbard (D)	W	W	W
2. Natcher (D)	W	W	R
3. Mazzoli (D)	W	W	R
4. Bunning (R)	W	W	W
5. Rogers (R)	W	W	W
6. Hopkins (R)	W	W	W
7. Perkins (D)	R	W	R
LOUISIANA			
1. Livingston (R)	W	W	W
2. Boggs (D)	W	R	R
3. Tauzin (D)	W	W	W
4. McCrery (R)	W	W	W
5. Huckaby (D)	W	W	W
6. Baker (R)	W	W	W
7. Hayes (D)	W	W	R
8. Holloway (R)	W	W	W
MAINE			
1. Brennan (D)	R	R	R
2. Snowe (R)	W	W	R
MARYLAND			
1. Dyson (D)	R	W	R
2. Bentley (R)	W	W	W
3. Cardin (D)	R	R	R
4. McMillen (D)	R	W	R
5. Hoyer (D)	R	R	R
6. Byron (D)	W	W	W
7. Mfume (D)	R	R	R
8. Morella (R)	W	W	R
MASSACHUSETTS			
1. Conte (R)	R	W	R
2. Neal (D)	R	R	R
3. Early (D)	W	W	R
4. Frank (D)	R	R	R
5. Atkins (D)	R	R	R
6. Mavroules (D)	R	R	R
7. Markey (D)	R	R	R
8. Kennedy (D)	R	R	R
9. Moakley (D)	A	R	R
10. Studds (D)	R	R	R
11. Donnelly (D)	R	R	R
MICHIGAN			
1. Conyers (D)	R	R	R
2. Pursell (R)	W	W	W
3. Wolpe (D)	R	R	R
4. Upton (R)	W	W	W
5. Henry (R)	W	W	W
6. Carr (D)	R	W	R
7. Kildee (D)	R	R	R
8. Traxler (D)	R	R	A
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W	W
10. Schuette (R)	W	W	W
11. Davis (R)	R	W	R
12. Bonior (D)	R	R	R
13. Crockett (D)	R	R	R
14. Hertel (D)	R	R	R
15. Ford, W. (D)	R	R	R
16. Dingell (D)	R	R	R
17. Levin (D)	R	R	R
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W	W
MINNESOTA			
1. Penny (D)	R	R	W
2. Weber (R)	W	W	W
3. Frenzel (R)	W	W	W
4. Vento (D)	R	R	R
5. Sabo (D)	R	R	R
6. Sikorski (D)	R	R	R
7. Stangeland (R)	W	W	W
8. Oberstar (D)	R	R	R
MISSISSIPPI			
1. Whitten (D)	W	W	R
2. Espy (D)	R	R	R
3. Montgomery (D)	W	W	W
4. Parker (D)	W	W	W
5. Vacancy			
MISSOURI			
1. Clay (D)	R	R	R
2. Buechner (R)	W	W	W
3. Gephardt (D)	R	R	R
4. Skelton (D)	W	W	W
5. Wheat (D)	R	R	R
6. Coleman, E. (R)	W	W	W
7. Hancock (R)	W	W	W
8. Emerson (R)	W	W	W
9. Volkmer (D)	R	R	R
MONTANA			
1. Williams, P. (D)	R	R	R
2. Marlenee (R)	W	W	W
NEBRASKA			
1. Bereuter (R)	W	R	W
2. Hoagland (D)	R	R	R
3. Smith, V. (R)	W	W	W
NEVADA			
1. Bilbray (D)	W	R	R
2. Vucanovich (R)	W	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1. Smith, R. (R)	W	W	W
2. Douglas (R)	W	W	W
NEW JERSEY			
1. Florio (D)	A	A	A
2. Hughes (D)	W	R	W
3. Pallone (D)	R	R	R
4. Smith, C. (R)	R	W	W
5. Roukema (R)	W	W	R
6. Dwyer (D)	R	R	R
7. Rinaldo (R)	R	W	R
8. Roe (D)	R	W	R
9. Torricelli (D)	R	R	R
10. Payne (D)	R	R	R
11. Gallo (R)	W	W	W
12. Courter (R)	A	W	A
13. Saxton (R)	W	W	W
14. Guarini (D)	W	R	R
NEW MEXICO			
1. Schiff (R)	W	W	W
2. Skeen (R)	W	W	W
3. Richardson (D)	W	R	R
NEW YORK			
1. Hochbrueckner (D)	R	R	R
2. Downey (D)	R	R	R
3. Mrazek (D)	R	W	R
4. Lent (R)	W	W	W
5. McGrath (R)	W	W	W
6. Flake (D)	R	R	A
7. Ackerman (D)	R	R	R
8. Scheuer (D)	R	R	R
9. Manton (D)	R	R	R
10. Schumer (D)	R	R	R
11. Towns (D)	R	R	R
12. Owens (D)	R	R	R
13. Solarz (D)	R	R	R
14. Molinari (R)	W	W	W
15. Green (R)	W	W	W
16. Rangel (D)	R	R	R
17. Weiss (D)	R	R	R
18. Garcia (D)	A	A	A
19. Engel (D)	R	R	R
20. Lowey (D)	R	R	R
21. Fish (R)	W	W	R
22. Gilman (R)	R	W	R
23. McNulty (D)	R	R	R
24. Solomon (R)	W	W	W
25. Boehlert (R)	W	W	R
26. Martin, D. (R)	W	W	W
27. Walsh (R)	W	W	W
28. McHugh (D)	R	R	R
29. Horton (R)	R	W	R
30. Slaughter (D)	R	R	R
31. Paxon (R)	W	W	W
32. LaFalce (D)	W	R	R
33. Nowak (D)	R	R	R
34. Houghton (R)	W	W	W
NORTH CAROLINA			
1. Jones, W. (D)	W	R	R
2. Valentine (D)	W	R	R
3. Lancaster (D)	W	R	W
4. Price (D)	W	R	R
5. Neal (D)	W	R	R
6. Coble (R)	W	W	W
7. Rose (D)	W	R	R
8. Hefner (D)	W	R	R
9. McMillan (R)	W	W	W
10. Ballenger (R)	W	W	W
11. Clarke (D)	R	W	R
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL Dorgan (D)	W	R	R
OHIO			
1. Luken (D)	R	W	R
2. Gradison (R)	W	W	W
3. Hall, T. (D)	W	R	R
4. Oxley (R)	W	W	W
5. Gillmor (R)	W	W	W
6. McEwen (R)	W	W	W
7. DeWine (R)	W	W	W
8. Lukens (R)	W	W	W
9. Kaptur (D)	R	R	P
10. Miller, C. (R)	W	W	W
11. Eckart (D)	R	R	R
12. Kasich (R)	W	W	W
13. Pease (D)	R	R	R
14. Sawyer (D)	R	R	R
15. Wylie (R)	W	W	W
16. Regula (R)	W	W	W
17. Traficant (D)	R	R	R
18. Applegate (D)	W	R	R
19. Feighan (D)	R	R	R
20. Oakar (D)	R	R	R
21. Stokes (D)	R	R	R
OKLAHOMA			
1. Inhofe (R)	W	W	W
2. Synar (D)	R	R	R
3. Watkins (D)	W	W	W
4. McCurdy (D)	W	R	W
5. Edwards, M. (R)	W	W	W
6. English (D)	W	W	W
OREGON			
1. AuCoin (D)	R	R	R
2. Smith, R. (R)	W	W	W
3. Wyden (D)	R	W	R
4. DeFazio (D)	R	R	R
5. Smith, D. (R)	W	W	W
PENNSYLVANIA			
1. Foglietta (D)	R	R	R
2. Gray (D)	R	R	R
3. Borski (D)	W	R	R
4. Kolter (D)	R	R	R
5. Schulze (R)	W	W	W
6. Yatron (D)	A	A	A
7. Weldon (R)	W	W	W
8. Kostmayer (D)	W	R	R
9. Shuster (R)	W	W	W
10. McDade (R)	W	W	W
11. Kanjorski (D)	R	R	R
12. Murtha (D)	R	R	R
13. Coughlin (R)	W	W	W
14. Coyne (D)	R	R	R
15. Ritter (R)	W	W	W
16. Walker (R)	W	W	W
17. Gekas (R)	W	W	W
18. Walgren (D)	R	R	R
19. Goodling (R)	W	W	W
20. Gaydos (D)	R	R	R
21. Ridge (R)	W	W	W
22. Murphy (D)	R	R	R
23. Clinger (R)	W	W	W
RHODE ISLAND			
1. Machtley (R)	R	W	R
2. Schneider (R)	W	W	R
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1. Ravenel (R)	W	W	W
2. Spence (R)	W	W	W
3. Derrick (D)	W	W	W
4. Patterson (D)	W	W	W
5. Spratt (D)	W	R	R
6. Tallon (D)	W	W	R
SOUTH DAKOTA			
AL Johnson (D)	R	R	R
TENNESSEE			
1. Quillen (R)	W	W	W
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	W
3. Lloyd (D)	A	W	W
4. Cooper (D)	W	R	R
5. Clement (D)	W	R	R
6. Gordon (D)	W	R	R
7. Sundquist (R)	W	W	W
8. Tanner (D)	W	W	R
9. Ford, H. (D)	R	R	R
TEXAS			
1. Chapman (D)	W	R	R
2. Wilson (D)	R	W	R
3. Bartlett (R)	W	W	W
4. Hall, R. (D)	W	W	W
5. Bryant (D)	R	R	R
6. Barton (R)	W	W	W
7. Archer (R)	W	W	W
8. Fields (R)	W	W	W
9. Brooks (D)	W	W	R
10. Pickle (D)	W	W	R
11. Leath (D)	W	W	W
12. Geren (D)	W	W	R
13. Sarpalius (D)	W	R	W
14. Laughlin (D)	W	W	R
15. De la Garza (D)	A	R	R
16. Coleman, R. (D)	W	R	R
17. Stenholm (D)	W	R	W
18. Vacancy			
19. Combest (R)	W	W	W
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R
21. Smith, L. (R)	W	W	W
22. DeLay (R)	W	W	W
23. Bustamante (D)	R	R	R
24. Frost (D)	W	R	R
25. Andrews, M. (D)	W	W	R
26. Armey (R)	W	W	W
27. Ortiz (D)	W	W	R
UTAH			
1. Hansen, J. (R)	W	W	W
2. Owens (D)	R	W	R
3. Nielson (R)	W	W	W
VERMONT			
AL Smith (R)	W	W	R
VIRGINIA			
1. Bateman (R)	W	W	W
2. Pickett (D)	W	W	R
3. Bliley (R)	W	W	W
4. Sisisky (D)	W	R	R
5. Payne (D)	W	W	W
6. Olin (D)	W	R	R
7. Slaughter (R)	W	W	W
8. Parris (R)	W	W	W
9. Boucher (D)	R	R	R
10. Wolf (R)	W	W	W
WASHINGTON			
1. Miller, J. (R)	W	W	W
2. Swift (D)	R	R	R
3. Unsoeld (D)	R	R	R
4. Morrison, S. (R)	W	W	W
5. Foley (D)	Speaker		
6. Dicks (D)	R	R	R
7. McDermott (D)	R	R	R
8. Chandler (R)	W	W	W
WEST VIRGINIA			
1. Mollohan (D)	W	R	R
2. Staggers (D)	W	R	R
3. Wise (D)	R	R	R
4. Rahall (D)	R	R	R
WISCONSIN			
1. Aspin (D)	R	R	R
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R
3. Gunderson (R)	W	W	W
4. Kleczka (D)	R	R	R
5. Moody (D)	R	R	R
6. Petri (R)	W	W	W
7. Obey (D)	R	R	R
8. Roth (R)	W	W	W
9. Sensenbrenner (R)	W	W	W
WYOMING			
AL Thomas (R)	W	W	W

Young families seek out cool water. Right, Chiro Hernandez of HERE Local 610 stacks supplies.

AFL-CIO creates fund to aid Hugo victims

The AFL-CIO has established a relief program to aid victims of Hurricane Hugo with a $10,000 contribution each to the South Carolina and Puerto Rico state federation relief efforts.

Donations have been received from unions and individuals, including Transportation Communications Union, New York Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, and state federations.

Contributions may be made to the Hurricane Hugo Relief Fund or the South Carolina AFL-CIO Emergency Assistance Fund and sent to the AFL-CIO, Room 703, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Hugo victims get helping hands, hearts of unionists

From food to tractors to chain saws, whatever is needed is being sent

By Candice Johnson

In the wake of Hurricane Hugo, the AFL-CIO's national community services network and state AFL-CIOs joined forces to fortify relief efforts in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and South Carolina.

And affiliated unions pitched in with immediate assistance—UAW members cleared yards full of debris, Communications Workers collected food, Teamsters distributed supplies and building trades workers pitched in on building repairs.

Puerto Rico

San Juan

In Puerto Rico, Longshoremen's Local 1575 donated headquarters and warehouse space, transportation, parking and other facilities to house the Red Cross headquarters—a donation of more than $20,000 a month. The ILA local also played a leading role in supporting relief efforts in the Virgin Islands, said ILA local president Guillermo Ortiz.

The move to ILA Local 1575 headquarters was a welcome change for Red Cross relief workers after they worked out of tight quarters that lacked water, sanitary facilities and sometimes electricity.

State AFL-CIO President Jose Cadiz said the labor body had temporarily moved its offices to the ILA hall headquarters to better coordinate relief efforts. Cadiz, who also serves as secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 901, had trucks rolling almost immediately, "transporting bulk supplies, providing water and assisting the Red Cross in its warehouse."

Cadiz said many union members lost their homes and thousands more are without paychecks as scores of companies are still not operating.

Sec.-Treas. Valentin "Chiro" Hernandez of Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Local 610 said the union movement was mobilized "right after the hurricane hit." Most of the storm damage occurred in the eastern end of the island, outside the city of San Juan. There, homeless families double up in school rooms and wonder "where will we go from here."

"We had a meeting of all union leaders and divided the affected areas into sections. Teams of local union members visited those areas, checking on what was needed for children and families," Hernandez said. Then the union crews went to the warehouse for supplies and made them available to needy families.

Union teams also surveyed the Red Cross shelters and feeding centers "to see what supplies and equipment was needed, and delivered those," Cadiz added.

Families waited patiently in the Red Cross center where interviewers and counselors see more than 100 people a day and a mobile wagon distributes baby needs, water, juice and sometimes ice. Most will be without electricity for months. As many as 40,000 persons were affected by the storm, with 12,000 homes destroyed, the Red Cross said.

A relief effort spearheaded by the Postal Workers brought five tons of food to Puerto Rico, with supplies also slated for St. Croix and St. Thomas. APWU President Moe Biller arrived with stores of generators, chain saws, food and batteries, to be distributed to needy residents through the post offices. The APWU contributed $20,000 to the hurricane relief effort and is seeking donations from locals.

In the islands—particularly St. Croix where 95 percent of all homes were destroyed—Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch said the union established distribution centers to aid Red Cross efforts. Relief programs there are hampered by widespread damage to phone and utility lines with estimates that electricity will not be restored for at least six months.

The post office was closed, churches and schools destroyed, Lynch said, while residents waited in long lines for everything. Some refineries began calling union members back to work, so at least some families will be receiving a paycheck, he noted.

The USWA also is aiding residents in filing their applications for disaster relief funds, Lynch said.

South Carolina

Columbia

In South Carolina, where the hurricane cut a wide swath, local unions and the state federation are focusing relief efforts on rural and poorer areas which otherwise might have been overlooked.

A call from Clothing & Textile Workers in Andrews, S.C., alerted State AFL-CIO President G.O. Smoak and labor community services representatives to the fact that Red Cross aid was not reaching the town of 4,000.

After meeting with James Johnson, who heads the ACTWU South Carolina Coastal Joint Board, and Anthony Coles, president of ACTWU Local 1900, the unionists arranged for the mayor to provide an old gymnasium, where kitchen facilities were brought in for hot food distribution. Bulk supplies—including clothing, baby formula, food, roofing supplies, water mattresses and other goods—were distributed from the ACTWU hall and food and goods were trucked in by Davis Self, president of the South Carolina Building & Construction Trades Council, and other unionists.

Learning that a garment shop that employed 80 Ladies' Garment Workers in rural Bishopville was destroyed, the State AFL-CIO and community services team met with county disaster officials stocking a food and clothing distribution center at the middle school Although the county is about 100 miles from the coast, it was devastated by the storm. Nearly 2,500 homes were completely destroyed or made unliveable—out of a county population of 20,000—and many didn't have electricity or water three weeks later.

The State AFL-CIO is surveying union members' needs throughout South Carolina, alerting them to available services and asking for volunteers.

Public service announcements sponsored by the state federation are being aired on local radio stations to provide union members and residents with information on relief efforts.

The UAW is lining up tractors to help residents move trailers and clear yards, retired IBT members are driving supply trucks, vans and Red Cross units and Iron Workers Local 601 is housing homeless families in Charleston.

CWA locals are collecting food while State APWU President Charles Bush is coordinating distribution of food and needed goods from post offices. ILA Local 1422 also is overseeing food distribution. A crew of 20 UAW members cleared yards and debris for elderly and poor residents in Camden while crews from CWA and APWU used chain saws on homes and projects in Charleston and Manning.

A contingent of Mine Workers—from the Pittston picket lines in Virginia—arrived to help clear away debris in McClellanville while Machinists volunteered to clear areas with chain saws. Members of UMW Local 7154 in Jasper. Ala.,—who have been on strike nearly a year—also joined in relief efforts, loading and distributing Red Cross supplies.

And unions from along the east coast also are responding to the call for help. Fire Fighters Local 793 sent trucks filled with emergency supplies from Maine and Florida union members are participating in special blood drives. Truckloads of food from the Midwest are headed for the Metal Trades Council at the Navy shipyard, the Harvest food bank, local union halls and other distribution centers.

ILGWU plant in Bishopville, S.C. was battered by the storm.

FOCUS

United States provides best buy in labor

America's workers are the world's most productive . . . but they no longer are the highest paid

The United States has an advantage over other nations in natural resources, technology, and a large domestic market for its goods. But the ability of other nations to manage their economies and promote their exports with a variety of policies has often enabled them to gain a competitive edge.

Job security and an adequate standard of living depends on the ability of American industries to compete with imports in U.S. markets and to export U.S. goods to other nations.

To be competitive the United States must counter the damaging unfair trade practices of other nations and adopt policies to keep the economy healthy and growing. A healthy, growing economy with low interest rates provides the best environment for productivity growth, investment, research and development and other factors that affect competitiveness.

Labor costs are often singled out as the factor affecting competitiveness. Labor costs are affected by productivity, wages, and exchange rates. Comparing U.S. labor costs with those of other countries shows that high wages in the United States are not the major or sole problem in competitiveness.

Productivity

Today, the United States still leads other industrialized nations in productivity, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures on Gross Domestic Product per employed person. These figures are arrived at by taking the total output of goods and services of a nation and dividing by the number of jobholders.

The BLS figures show that the average French worker produced 86 percent as much as the American worker in 1988, while German workers produced only 81 percent as much. Production by workers in Britain and Japan were only 72 percent of the level of the American worker, and Korean workers were well behind at 40 percent.

There are no official figures for manufacturing that compare the level of production of workers in the United States and other countries. The official productivity data for manufacturing show the percent change in productivity from year to year.

Comparisons of productivity changes can be misleading. A country where workers produce less than U.S. workers can have higher productivity growth. That country may be catching up, but not outperforming the United States.

Productivity growth in U.S. manufacturing achieved a respectable 3.3 percent average yearly rate for the 1979-88 period according to BLS. That's about average for the industrialized countries. America's 3.3 percent yearly rate was higher than France's 3.1 percent, Sweden's 3.0 percent, Germany's 2.6 percent and Canada's 2.2 percent yearly average. Japan, Britain, and Italy had growth rates higher than the United States. Japan's productivity growth rate was 5.8 percent per year from 1979-88. Productivity in Britain grew 4.7 percent per year and Italy 4.1 percent.

Wages and Benefits

Wage and benefit (compensation) comparisons with other countries show that U.S. workers are no longer the highest paid in the world. Workers' wages and benefits in some industrial nations have caught and surpassed those of U.S. workers.

Hourly wages and benefits in manufacturing are now much higher in Germany, Sweden and several other European countries. German workers were paid 30 percent more than U.S. workers in 1988, and Swedish workers 21 percent more.

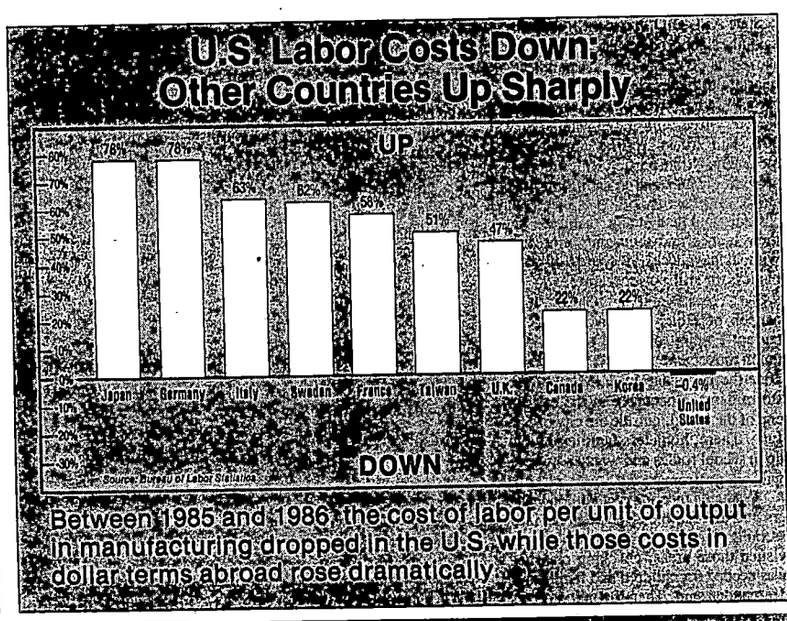
The high wages in Sweden and Germany and their success in international competition demonstrates that high wages do not have to be a disadvantage in competitiveness. Sweden and Germany are very successful in international trade with exports much larger than their imports.

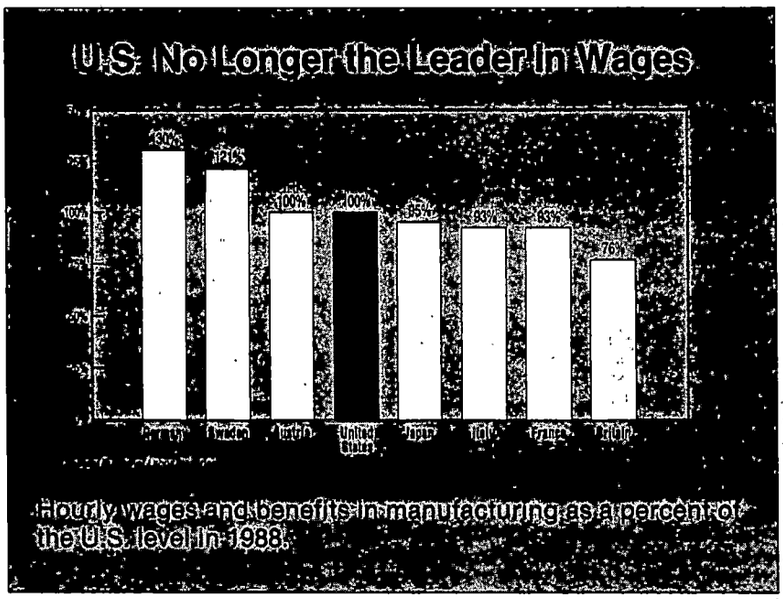
Manufacturing workers in Austria received compensation equal to U.S. workers. Wages and benefits in Japan were 95 percent of the U.S. level in 1988. The difference between Japanese and U.S. wages and benefits is too small to have a major impact on competitiveness.

In contrast to wages in developed nations, manufacturing wages and benefits in Asia, Latin America and other parts of the developing world remain far below the U.S. level. In 1988, Korean and Taiwanese compensation was less than 20 percent of the U.S. level. In Latin America, wages and benefits in Brazil and Mexico were at 11 and 12 percent of those of U.S workers in 1987. While low wages do not help many developing countries, in fact most of the poorer countries have trade deficits, the export success of countries such as Korea, Taiwan, Brazil and Mexico is based in part on their low wages.

Wages and benefits, measured in each country's own currency, have been rising much more slowly in the U.S. than in competing nations. From 1985 to 1988, manufacturing wages and benefits rose 10 percent in the United States. The U.S. increase was less than half the 23 percent increase in Sweden and Britain, and much less than the 18 percent increase in Italy. Wages and benefits rose 14 percent in France and 13 percent in Germany and Japan.

U.S. wage and benefit increases in manufactur-





Unit labor costs soar in major industrialized countries, except for the United States

ing were lower than productivity increases in the three years from 1985-88. That means that the labor cost of producing manufactured goods in the United States went down. The only other country of the 14 tracked by the BLS that had productivity greater than wage and benefit increases was Japan. On average, countries had wage and benefit rises 7 percent greater than their productivity growth which contributed to their faster rising labor costs in manufacturing.

American workers were the only workers in manufacturing, among the industrialized countries, that suffered a loss in buying power in the three years from 1985 to 1988. Real hourly wages and benefits, that is hourly wages and benefits corrected for the rise in consumer prices, dropped 0.2 percent while real wages and benefits rose 12 percent in Germany and Japan, 9 percent in Britain, 8 percent in Sweden and 5 percent in France.

The buying power of U.S. manufacturing workers rose much slower in the longer period 1979-88 than the buying power of workers in other industrialized nations. U.S workers' real wages and benefits rose only 0.5 percent from 1979-88 compared to a 24 percent increase in Germany, a 22 percent rise in Britain, a 21 percent rise in Japan and France, 11 percent in Italy, 8 percent in Canada and 7 percent in Sweden.

Unit Labor Costs

The increase in unit labor costs for manufactured goods is often used to judge the competitive performance of a nation's industries.

Unit labor cost is the share of the cost of production of a unit of manufacturing output that is made up of labor costs. Unit labor cost comparisons are collected for 14 countries by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. As with productivity, percent changes from year to year are available, but there are no reliable numbers comparing the level of unit labor costs by country.

A country's competitive advantage is affected if its unit labor costs are rising faster than the unit labor costs of competing nations. The non-labor cost per unit of output is important also. Such factors as interest rates, rate of capital investment, research and development, and level of production all affect unit costs. Data for unit non-labor costs for the United States are limited, and no data are available for country by country comparisons.

Unit labor costs are not the same as wage increases. A wage increase does not raise unit labor cost if productivity has gone up as well. The rise in unit labor cost is the wage increase minus the increase in productivity.

Unit labor costs in other nations are published in terms of their own currency. The BLS then converts the numbers to dollars using exchange rates. The dollar value of a nation's unit labor cost is the important measure for judging the effect of labor cost changes on U.S. competitiveness.

Unit labor costs have risen slower in the United States than in most competing developed nations due to three factors:

- Exchange rate changes.
- Higher wage increase in most of the major competing nations.
- The rate of productivity change.

The change in unit labor costs has been especially favorable to the United States since the value of the dollar began to fall in 1985, but even in the longer period from 1979 to 1988, unit labor costs rose slower in the United States.

U.S. Costs Down

From 1985 to 1988, unit labor costs for United States manufactured goods fell 0.4 percent, while unit labor costs of products produced by major competitors rose an enormous amount. Japan and Germany had a unit labor cost rise of 78 percent from 1985 to 1988. Italy's unit labor costs rose 63 percent, Sweden's 62 percent, Britain's 47 percent, and Canada's 22 percent.

The newly developed Asian countries of Taiwan and South Korea also show much faster growth in unit labor costs for their manufactured products in the 1985-88 period. Taiwan's unit labor costs increased 51 percent from 1985 to 1988, while South Korea went up 22 percent compared to the slight drop in the U.S. unit labor cost.

In the longer period, 19798-88, which goes back before the dollar began a steep rise in value, and before the trade deficit appeared in manufacturing, U.S. labor costs still show a slower rise than other major industrialized nations. Labor costs per unit of output in manufacturing have risen more slowly in the U.S. than in Japan, Germany, Italy, France, or Britain. The 21 percent unit labor cost rise in the U.S. is much smaller than the 55 percent rise in Japan and the 33 percent rise in Germany and Italy. The increases in France and Britain were also higher at 28 percent in each of these countries.

For Taiwan, unit labor costs rose 96 percent from 1979 to 1988, much faster than the United States, but Korea's unit labor costs showed a rise of just 9 percent.

The exchange rate is a critical determinant of prices and costs for exports and imports. A rise in the value of the dollar means Americans can buy more with the dollars they exchange, and a fall in the value of the dollar means they receive a smaller amount of the foreign currency and can buy less.

The change in the value of the dollar raises the cost of labor in other countries. Thus, a fall in the value of the dollar can affect relative wage increases as well as relative changes in unit labor costs.

The effect of exchange rates on unit labor costs was dramatic in the 1985-88 period. The fall in the value of the dollar was the major factor creating the enormous rise in unit labor costs in other nations, while unit labor costs in the United States fell slightly. Increases in wages and benefits and productivity played a much smaller role.

In Germany, for example, unit labor costs rose 6 percent because worker compensation grew 6 percent faster than productivity. Germany's unit labor cost rose an additional 72 percent because of the change in the value of the dollar for a total 78 percent rise.

In Japan from 1985 to 1988, productivity rose faster than worker compensation which had a downward effect on unit labor costs, but because of an 86 percent change in the exchange rate of the dollar for the Yen, Japan's unit labor costs went up 78 percent.

For the longer period 1979-88, the more rapid rise in wages and benefits in other countries was the cause of the more rapid increase in unit labor costs outside the U.S. in that period exchange rates, in general, moderated the increase in compensation in other countries.

For example, from 1979-88 France's compensation costs outstripped productivity pushing up unit labor costs 79 percent. The simultaneous rise in the value of the dollar pushed in the opposite direction giving a total unit labor cost rise of 28 percent.

The Bottom Line

The combination of respectable U.S. productivity increases, moderate wage increases, and favorable exchange rate changes have resulted in much smaller growth in manufacturing labor costs in the United States than in competing nations.

The smaller unit labor cost rise has improved the competitive position since 1979. The improvement has been very strong since 1985.

The improved position of the United States in terms of labor costs shows that the high wages of the American worker are not the cause of problems that U.S. products have in competing with foreign goods.

—Prepared by Bill Cunningham, AFL-CIO Dept. of Economic Research

57,000 Machinists strike high-profit Boeing

Seattle

More than 57,000 Machinists in at least seven states struck the Boeing Co. on Oct. 4, after overwhelmingly rejecting a proposed three-year contract that fell short of what the IAM members asked in wages, pension benefits and a reduction in mandatory overtime.

The bulk of the striking Boeing workers are in Washington at plants in Everett, Renton, Auburn, Seattle, Kent and Bellevue and in Portland. Other plants are in Hawaii, California, Kansas and Oklahoma, the union said.

The strike vote was taken in Seattle's Kingdome stadium where members made clear their displeasure with the share of the economic pie offered up by Boeing, the world's largest aerospace company. They cheered IAM Vice President Justin Ostro when he said, "There is no good time to strike; only a right time to strike."

No new talks have been scheduled, said IAM District Lodge 751 President Tom Baker. "We have repeatedly told the company we are willing to bargain, provided there is something to negotiate." Bargaining for a new accord began on Aug. 5.

The Washington State AFL-CIO and its affiliates have pledged to "dig deep" to come up with a "hardship fund," Baker said. Those unions will be joining us on the picket line and planning for rallies has begun, he said.

Boeing is riding on a crest of profits that could have reached $1 billion this year. It has $3.2 billion in cash, $5 billion in equity and back orders for about $80 billion worth of airplanes up through the mid-1990s. The assets in the workers' pension fund exceeds its liabilities by more than $1.4 billion.

Consequently, the workers are pressing for improvements in the pension benefits. The average worker with 28 years of service will draw an annual pension of about $8,400, the union said. Boeing's top executive officers, meanwhile, will get about $215,000 a year in benefits from the fund.

The Boeing employees have bumped along with no increase in the pay scale for six years, accepting instead lumpsum payments and prepaid cost-of-living adjustments for some of the years.

Boeing's proposal was for an immediate 4 percent pay raise with 3 percent increases in each of following two years. It also provided for annual bonuses of 8 percent of a worker's gross earnings this year and 3 percent in the second year.

The contract that expired on Oct. 4 allowed mandatory overtime up to 200 hours per quarter, with up to four straight weekends on the job. The proposed accord would have cut that to 160 hours a quarter and three weekends. Baker said it's not uncommon for members at some shops to be working 10- to 12-hour days, six to seven days a week. "We feel that overtime should be voluntary and at double-time rates," Baker said.

The strike has all but shut down Boeing operations. Supervisors with a few other workers are finishing up the cleaning and other tasks on the planes that were ready to roll off the assembly line. On the picket line, the mood is upbeat. The last strike against Boeing lasted two months in 1977.

IAM sets Oct. 22 strike vote at Lockheed in California

IAM District Lodge 727 in Los Angeles has approved a preliminary strike authorization and set Oct. 22 for a dual strike/ratification vote as part of its negotiations at Lockheed Aeronautical System Co. The old contract covering 6,200 workers at three southern California plants expired on Oct. 1.

And in Horicon, Wis., IAM District Lodge 873 members went on strike on Oct. 1 at the John Deere Horicon Works, after rejecting a proposed three-year contract. The work stoppage involves about 950 workers at the plant, which produces lawn and grounds care equipment.

Contract Yes

Celebrating a major contract breakthrough are members of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union's Local 1199 at the Long Island Jewish Medical Center. The three-year accord will bring 50,000 health care workers pay gains of 24.6 percent at hospitals and nursing homes in the New York City area. (Story on Page 1.)

NYNEX strike goes into 11th week

Some 60,000 employees of NYNEX—members of the Communications Workers and Electrical Workers—are entering their 11th week on strike, while 42,000 CWA members at Pacific Telesis are staying on the job after having rejected the company's last offer.

Bargaining talks at NYNEX, a regional Bell operating company, were broken off by the unions on Oct. 11 after it became clear the company was not budging from its demand that the workers begin paying a portion of their health insurance costs.

The CWA, IBEW and NYNEX have agreed to enter into mediation in an effort to resolve the contract dispute. In a joint announcement, the parties said they acknowledge "that it is in the best interest of employees and customers to bring the strike to a conclusion as quickly as possible."

In Massachusetts, where 12,000 IBEW members work at NYNEX's New England Telephone Co., the state Dept. of Employment & Training ruled that the strikers are no longer entitled to jobless benefits.

On Sept. 13, the agency authorized payment of the benefits, saying that firm's operations had not been substantially affected by the strike. The union has appealed the cutoff. Strikers in other New England states are not getting benefits, while those in New York became automatically began receiving jobless pay after eight weeks.

At Pacific Telesis, the workers rejected the tentative agreement and have begun meeting with the company to bargain stronger job security language.

CWA members at Ohio Bell, one of five subsidiaries of Ameritech, ratified a new three-year agreement by a 3-1 margin. The contract covers 10,100 workers and provides a 3 percent lumpsum signing bonus and 2 percent pay raise immediately, followed by a 2.5 percent in August 1990 and 3 percent a year later. Pension benefits will increase 13 percent and health coverage for early detection of diseases and well-child care was expanded.

Union Privilege to unveil unique money market fund

Union Privilege Benefit Programs will introduce a new service in December that should help union members earn more on their savings.

The money market deposit account is designed to provide a higher rate of return than normally available through passbook, statement savings or NOW accounts.

"This new program's goal is to help members who keep their savings in these lower yielding vehicles improve their earnings," Union Privilege President David Silberman said.

The new service—Union Rate Insured Savings Account—is the sixth cost-saving benefit provided by Union Privilege. The other five are:

- Union Privilege MasterCard—A program that has saved 2 million members and their families $150 million with reduced finances charges.
- Legal Service—With attorneys in 715 participating offices across the country who handle simple legal matters at no cost and more complex issues at discount rates.
- Life Insurance—Supplemental term life coverage with more than $1 billion in policies issued.
- Travel Service—Gives members reduced rates on air fares, hotels and car rentals.
- Health Needs Service—For members and their families without full health insurance coverage, brings prescription drugs and other medications at lower costs.

A variable rate of return on the account is designed to be equal to or above the average of money market deposit account rates offered by the top 100 banks across the country.

"That means members can be confident that this new Union Privilege program will offer a solid and secure return on their savings," Silberman said. "And as balances in the account grow, greater returns are possible."

The account will allow members to have access to their funds and make six pre-authorized withdrawals per month, three by check, with no minimum amounts or charges. Unlimited withdrawals may be made by mail.

A 24-hour, toll-free line for information on yields, account balances and most recent transactions will be available. There is also a special toll-free customer service line.

The program is offered in conjunction with Prudential Mutual Fund Services.

To assure that the program can accommodate all union members who wish to participate, the primary bank where deposits will be held is State Street Bank of Boston, the largest holder of mutual fund assets in the United States. Deposits will also be made to union-owned banks which elect to participate.

Pilots agreement covers Northwest, Republic

St. Paul, Minn.

The Air Line Pilots' two Master Executive Councils at Northwest Air Lines separately ratified a 54-month contract covering 5,200 ALPA members. For the first time, the agreement covers pilots from both Northwest and Republic Air Lines, which merged in 1986.

The settlement provides for an average first year wage increase of 9.3 percent plus 4 percent raises in the following three contract years. The contract also equalizes wages of Republic and Northwest pilots and adds a "B" salary scale for new hires who will earn full salaries after five years on the job.

Other improvements include a no-layoff clause which prohibits Northwest from furloughing pilots before 1995.

Just ban women, court says of job hazard to mothers

Chicago

A federal appellate court has upheld a corporate blanket policy barring women of child-bearing age from certain hazardous work, regardless of their individual circumstances.

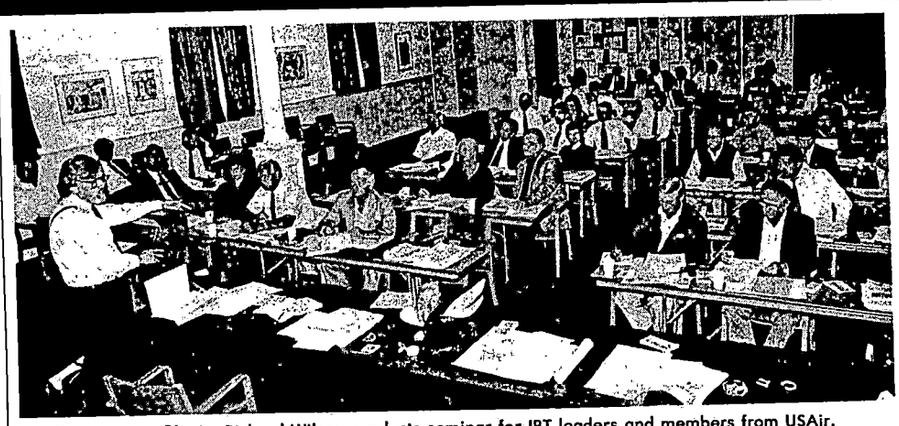
The class-action sex discrimination suit was filed against the Milwaukee-based Johnson Controls Inc. by a group of female employees and UAW locals.

"This is a very disturbing decision," said Carin Ann Clauss, a University of Wisconsin law professor who represented the UAW. "It says that women are not competent to make a decision about what's best for their families—that those decisions are to made by their employers."

She pointed out that the policy effectively bars all women of working age from these higher-paying industrial jobs, even if they have finished raising their families or have no intentions of having children.

The 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, in a 7-4 decision, upheld a lower court ruling in favor of the so-called fetal protection policy of Johnson Controls which bars female employees of child-bearing age from certain work in its battery manufacturing plants.

In a minority opinion, Judge Frank Easterbrook estimated that some 15 million to 20 million industrial jobs could be closed to women. He noted that one of the women was 50 years old and divorced, but excluded from work under the company's policy.



AFL-CIO Organizing Director Richard Wilson conducts seminar for IBT leaders and members from USAir.

Teamsters map campaign at USAir

After union election win, board rewrites rules

The Teamsters' airline division held its first day-long organizing seminar at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, focusing on its prolonged confrontation with the ever-changing USAir, where the IBT has been the bargaining agent for some 4,500 fleet service workers since December 1988.

At the seminar, the IBT developed plans for a nationwide campaign to again win representation rights for the 8,400 fleet service workers—baggage, catering and freight handlers—at the merged USAir/Piedmont airline. The AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization & Field Services and the Organizing Institute aided in the training.

The seminar was attended by about 70 persons from the IBT's international staff, airline division, local union leaders and representatives of rank-and-file committees at USAir.

William F. Genoese, director of IBT's airline division, said USAir refused to bargain with the union after it won the December 1988 balloting. Instead, the carrier used every avenue—either legal or through the use of consultants—to block unionization.

The airline told the National Mediation Board that Piedmont's fleet service was larger than USAir's, and that IBT should be required to win a new representation election for the whole unit. But USAir included the names of Piedmont supervisors and others that didn't belong on the unit list, he said.

On Aug. 4, 1989, one day before USAir completed its merger with Piedmont, the NMB ordered a new representation election. The union has asked the NMB to reconsider the decision in the wake of repeated captive audience meetings.

Genoese said that management feels the fleet service workers are unskilled employees who don't deserve union wages and benefits. "With all the mergers going on in the industry, these workers know they can't survive without a union," Genoese said.

HUD proves folly of contracting out, PED says

The contracting-out of public services at all government levels was the focus of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept.'s 15th anniversary convention. Delegates participated in workshops aimed at combating governmental decisions allowing the privatization of work done by public employees.

"It's a myth that contracting-out is cheaper and more efficient," PED President Al Bilik said. "'We need only look at the mess at HUD (U.S. Dept. of Housing & Urban Development). American taxpayers will fork out billions of wasted dollars as a result of contracting out many of the services previously done by public employees to well-connected developers and politicians."

The PED presented its first annual Golden Trough Award to Emanuel S. Savas, the former HUD official who set up the policy of contracting-out HUD projects, thereby creating the conditions for mismanagement, fraud and abuse now under congressional scrutiny. Mismanagement of HUD under the Reagan Administration will cost the taxpayers an estimated $6.7 billion, according to the agency.

AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue told delegates from the PED's 33 affiliates that "'evidence abounds that both the quality and the delivery of essential public services have suffered when they've been contracted out to the private sector." Further, he said, the regular government employees then have to clean up the problems caused by contracting-out.

He noted that while the PED affiliates are among the fastest-growing and most active segments of the labor movement, 4 million public workers are still denied the right to bargain collectively because 24 states lack bargaining laws.

Seven workshops on how to fight privatization were held covering seven occupational areas—social and professional services, public works and utilities, education, transportation, health care, emergency services, and communications.

The department introduced a 141-page manual on how to combat contracting-out, "America...Not for Sale." The manual, written to aid local public employee unions in preventing privatization of public services, highlights legislative and contractual strategies and has a guide to increasing public awareness of the pitfalls of privatization. It includes profiles of 14 private-sector contractors.

Jack Miller, national director of Government Services for Peat, Marwick Main & Co., told the convention that "'employees must be involved in decision-making because they are closest to the work and consequently have the best suggestions."

Miller's firm once belonged to the Privatization Council, but it now views labor-management cooperation as more cost effective than privatizing.

Lt. Gov. Marlene Johnson of Minnesota urged union members to keep children's issues at the top of their agenda as "the conscience of America," to push for on-site child care at work places, and find ways to become advocates for children in both collective and personal ways.

In other action, Bilik and Sec.-Treas. John Leyden were unanimously re-elected to two-year terms as were eight executive vice presidents. For the state/local sector, they are: AFSCME President Gerald W. McEntee, Teachers President Albert Shanker, Service Employees President John J. Sweeney and Fire Fighters President Alfred K. Whitehead.

For the federal sector, they are: Postal Workers President Moe Biller, Laborers President Angelo Fosco, Letter Carriers President Vincent R. Sombrotto and Government Employees President John N. Sturdivant.

The PED also opposes any Constitutional amendments that would invalidate the Supreme Court's Garcia decision that extended the Fair Labor Standards Act coverage to state and local public workers.

PED President Al Bilik points to Golden Trough Award. With him is Postal Workers President Moe Biller, left, former PED President Howard McClennan and AFGE President John Sturdivant.

Criminal job safety charges upheld

The Supreme Court refused to review a landmark Illinois case that allows criminal charges against employers who knowingly expose their employees to toxic chemicals and other hazards.

The high court's decision will likely affect prosecutions in other states in cases where corporate policies can be directly tied to workplace conditions that harm workers.

The case that was turned down involved five officials of the Chicago Magnet Wire Corp. charged in 1984 with allowing hazardous conditions that caused serious injuries to more than 40 employees.

The indictments were dismissed in 1985 but reinstated last February following the ruling by the Illinois Supreme Court.

The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court by the company, along with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, Chicago Association of Commerce & Industry, Illinois Manufacturers Association and the Illinois Retail Merchants Association.

Data

Trade sanctions pressed against seven countries

Worker rights violations are so prevalent in seven developing countries that their exports to the U.S. should not qualify for duty-free treatment, the AFL-CIO has declared.

Testifying before a trade policy subcommittee of the Generalized System of Preferences, AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald assailed the wholesale repression of workers and unions in Benin, Haiti, Indonesia, Liberia, Nepal, Syria and Thailand.

Congress conditioned preferential access to the American market on proof that "practical steps are being taken to insure freedom of association and other trade union rights," Oswald emphasized. This includes not only the GSP legislation but also the law governing the Overseas Private Investment Corp. and the recently enacted Omnibus Trade Act.

Four of the countries on the AFL-CIO list—Haiti, Indonesia, Syria and Thailand—were the subject of previous AFL-CIO petitions. Liberia was charged with violations by another organization in 1988, and the subcommittee has now accepted labor's petitions for sanctions against Benin and Nepal.

Worker rights amendments provide leverage to insure freedom of association and other trade union rights before a nation gets privileged access to the U.S. market.

Oswald expressed disappointment that the subcommittee failed to recommend revocation of special trade privileges for Syria and Haiti last April, since documentation of wholesale worker rights violations is contained in the U.S. State Dept.'s own study, "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices."

He pointed out that embassy specialists in Damascus used "unusually blunt terms" in describing the dictatorship's operation as being characterized by "pervasive denial of human rights, including widespread torture and denial of freedoms of speech, press, association and the right of citizens to change their government."

In Haiti, he continued, there has been no change in the situation since the new government assumed power a year ago. Hopes that the new administration would "take steps to reform the woefully inadequate labor court system have not been realized."

Oswald gave these profiles of conditions in the other countries on the AFL-CIO list:

Benin—A "labor organization" was created and is controlled by the government; all unions must affiliate with this Leninist-dominated center; there is no freedom of association; the government interferes regularly in collective bargaining; the right to strike is restricted and workers engaging in such activities "face arrest and torture."

Nepal—Independent trade unions have been banned for nearly 30 years; workers do not have the right of freedom of association or the right to organize and bargain collectively; and workers who attempt to exercise their rights are dealt with brutally. Hundreds of members of the unregistered Nepal National Teachers' Association have been arrested and "seven died in custody under suspicious circumstances."

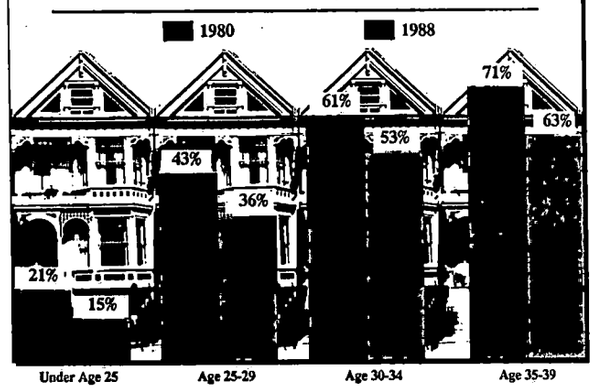
Indonesia—The rights of freedom association and collective bargaining "do not exist in any meaningful way." There is only one "legal union," completely dominated and controlled by the ruling party. It must seek government authority for meetings, and such permission is not routinely granted. Illegal strikes are the workers' only weapon, but those involved are subject to immediate dismissal.

Thailand—Civil servants and local government employees may not join unions; private sector employees who engage in union activity are easily fired and have little legal protection; employees are forced to sign individual work contracts which take them out of union jurisdiction; child labor, "sometimes resembling indentured or even involuntary servitude," is a common problem; on-the-job accidents jumped 45 percent from 1982 to 1987 and the situation is deteriorating, with an increase of 26 percent in indistrial accidents in 1988 alone.

Liberia—Although revised labor legislation has passed the House, it still awaits Senate action—not due until 1990. The AFL-CIO deplored the government's "constant delay" in getting this law on the books.

Younger Families Priced Out of Home Ownership

Households Owning Their Homes by Age Group



Factory employment stung by sharpest drop in 7 years

The sharpest one-month drop in manufacturing jobs since the early 1980s pushed the unemployment rate to 5.3 percent in September, underscoring the nation's sluggish economic growth.

With the one-tenth of 1 percent increase the jobless rate, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said 6.6 million workers were officially unemployed. But another 4.9 million workers who want full-time jobs were working part-time last month.

And when discouraged workers are counted in, there were 12.3 million workers affected by total or partial unemployment, AFL-CIO chief economist Rudy Oswald noted. Yet, only 1.8 million individuals, or 29.1 percent of the 6.6 million officially unemployed, received jobless benefits last month, he pointed out.

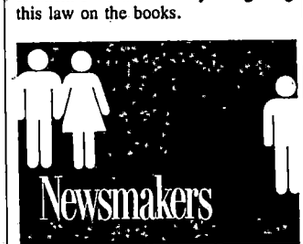
BLS Commissioner Janet Norwood expressed concern over the loss of 103,000 factory jobs in September. Since March, the nation has lost 135,000 manufacturing jobs.

While about a third of the decline in factory employment stemmed from layoffs of auto workers, 16 of the 20 major manufacturing industries posted job cutbacks.

In addition to the 35,000 job losses in the auto industry, employment in electrical equipment shrank by 10,000 over the month and by 55,000 since last November. Job losses of 10,000 each also came in primary metals and apparel and textile production in September.

Oswald warned that the severe weakness in manufacturing "may very well ripple out to other sectors."

The BLS household survey showed a 130,000 decline in jobs while the employer survey found a 200,000 gain, including a 100,000 pick up in lower-paying service sector jobs.



Claire Labine, a television writer, was elected to a two-year term as vice president of the Writers Guild of America, East. **Edward Adler**, a freelance television and motion picture writer, was re-elected president and **Jane Bollinger**, a staff writer for ABC's "Good Morning, America," was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

Elected to fill the open posts on the 21-member Writers Guild council are: Freelance (screen, TV and radio)—**Walter Bernstein, Jerome Goldsmith, Nancy Ford, Ian McLellan Hunter, Corinne Jacker, Herb Sargent** and **Budd Schulberg**; Freelance documentary (screen, TV and radio)—**Ernest Pendrell**; Freelance daytime serials (TV and radio)—**Megan McTavish**; staff (TV and radio)—**Barbara Bernhard, Lori Bores and Bruce Campbell**; staff (Washington)—**Mark Moreno**; and staff (graphic artists)—**George Smith.** For the Midwest staff opening, there was a tie between **Roy Santoro** and **Walter Swift.** A runoff election will be held.

John T. Joyce, president of the Bricklayers, presented the 1989 Sullivan Award for Architecture to the Chicago firm of Hammond Beeby & Babka for its design of four buildings in Illinois. Joyce is co-chairman of the masonry institute that established the award in 1970.

Gov. John Ashcroft proclaimed Oct. 15-22 as Locomotive Engineer Week in honor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Southwestern regional convention being held in Missouri.

Bernard E. DeLury, vice president for labor relations with Sea-Land Corp. of Iselin, N.J., and a former Labor Dept. official, has been nominated by **President George Bush** as director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service. DeLury's nomination must be confirmed by the Senate. He would succeed **Kay McMurray.**

James J. Norwood has been named the 10th vice President of the Laborers. A 34-year member of the union, Norwood has served since 1969 as director of the Heavy & Highway Construction Division, administrator of the National Health & Safety Fund and chairman of the National Joint Heavy & Highway Construction Committee and the Chimney, Stack & Silo Committee. He succeeds the late **Wilbur Freitag**, who served as vice president from 1965 until his recent death.

Six U.S. labor officials were among 17 Americans cited by the International Labor Organization for their "outstanding contributions" in 1989 to assuring basic human rights. Those selected are: Communications Workers President **Morton Bahr**; Steelworkers President **Lynn R. Williams**; Clothing & Textile Workers President **Jack Sheinkman**; **William C. Doherty**, executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development; **Charles D. Gray**, executive director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, and the late **Irving Brown** of the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs, a former U.S. worker representative to the ILO.

'Housing is everyone's problem'

By Magda Lynn Seymour

"... I'll get promoted, and we'll move out of the shelter, buy a big house and live in the suburbs."

—Tracy Chapman

Those words from the folk singer floated out to the tens of thousands who came from across the country and back to the Capitol behind her, defining the Housing Now message of the plight of the homeless and the lack of affordable housing in America.

The Oct. 7 march was speeches and music and celebrity endorsements and all that. But it was also a coalition of 200 organizations who believe in a basic premise: affordable housing for all. Bricklayers President John T. Joyce said it: "housing is everyone's problem."

"This march is about housing, but at a deeper level its really a cry to Wake up, Washington. America is in danger of not being America much longer," Joyce told the crowd. And he added:

"Real earnings of American workers used to go up each year and now they go down;

"The supply of public housing used to expand each year to keep pace with the population, but while the population keeps growing the supply of public housing is shrinking—and the only thing that goes up is the cost of housing."

Singer Dionne Warwick reminded the crowd during the long program, that "if we can stand together this long we can surely live together." Singer Stevie Wonder sang a song he had written especially for the occasion.

"Our nation has a human disaster on its hands," said AFSCME President Gerald McEntee. He said the Housing Now coalition was composed of advocates, the homeless poor, retirees, environmentalists, churches, community groups and other organizations.

"I'm proud that one of the largest contingents today is from this nation's labor movement," McEntee said.

AFL-CIO union members turned out in force, typified by the white caps of the Seafarers, who were everywhere.

Affordable Housing Now

Tens of thousands rallied at the National Mall to house the homeless and rebuild the American dream of home ownership. AFL-CIO unions turned out thousands of members for the Oct. 7 march. Movie stars merged with homeless men and women who had walked or bused in from all around the country to call for affordable housing for all. Organizers of the march called it the largest housing demonstration since the 1960s. AFL-CIO placards with messages like "Let Builders Build" and "Affordable Housing Now" dominated the scene.

INSIDE

VOLUME 34, NUMBER 21
OCTOBER 14, 1989

AFL-CIO NEWS

1 ***Miners put labor's family together***

Affiliation of the Mine Workers fulfills Lane Kirkland's call for unity when he was first elected AFL-CIO President 10 years ago.

2 ***International labor appalled by Pittston***

A team of international labor leaders investigates the six-month-old contract dispute between the Mine Workers and Pittston Coal Group.

3 ***Child care passes, key change rejected***

The House flatly rejected a proposal to slash the funding for a $1.75 billion child care package to expand community care and education programs.

5 ***Union-to-union aid for Hugo's victims***

From Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to the Carolinas, union members help the victims of Hurricane Hugo with money, supplies and work.

6 ***U.S. labor remains best buy in world***

American workers are the world's most productive, but are no longer the best paid. European workers earn more and the Japanese are close behind.

8 ***57,000 Machinists seek Boeing pact***

IAM members are seeking better wages and pensions and less mandatory overtime at Boeing Co., where 57,000 workers went on strike on Oct. 4.

UNION YES

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10/14/89

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1989 NOV 13 PM 8:05

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: MARK LANGE M.L.

SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Attached is a draft for your speech to the AFL-CIO Biennial Convention on Wednesday, November 15, at 3:30 p.m., at the Washington Sheraton. Between 1800 and 2000 will attend. The speech will be telepromted.

In the address, you call for a new partnership between business, labor and government to assist Poland -- and cite the vital contributions of independent trade union movements to freedom and democracy around the world.

1. need some favorableoreferen

to elizabeth dole.. where she is 'this very m,oment'

Last Night Lech Walesa came to dinner.. barabar and I wanted to reciprocate for the wearm hospitslity he and his Danuta gave to us in his own home at Gdansk. The talk last night was a botu investemnt- the need to attratc banks and capital to Poland....Here was Labor's son talking about banks andi nmvestment because he knows that means economic reform and he know that economic reform means job.

How about a mnetion of Malta... and perhaps... AT Malta I plan to discuss with Pres gorb the role of the free trade union in building a free country"

reiteration of my belief that labor disputes best solved without gorvernment intervention.... if we do this wording must be careful given EAL, Bopeing etc.

Product

Equiety, opp. 23

(Lange/Dooley)
November 13, 1989
5:20 p.m.
[AFLCIO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 P.M.

Lane Kirkland. Tom Donahue. Lech Walesa. Members of the Executive Council. And assembled delegates.

This is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Lech Walesa is here to accept the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here, to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

((You know, I can really identify with Lech. I understand what it's like, to wait so long to get here...

But I don't regret a minute of it. Because after all those years, it's great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me, sitting back there in the last row...

So lately I've been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch I'd be addressing this group today. This morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song...))

Let me begin by congratulating the leadership. Because of Lane Kirkland -- now serving his tenth year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are B.F. waiting under the banner of the AFL-CIO as Lane promised: returning to a single house: the U.A.W., the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Teamsters, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Writer's Guild East, the United Transportation Union -- all have affirmed their ties to this

[Lane's speech on Monday]

great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. [PAUSE]

Lane's work to consolidate and renew Labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role: protecting the rights of working Americans at home, and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

Labor has been an enduring force for freedom -- at times a cry in the wilderness, at times the conductor of a thundering chorus -- rejecting **all** forms of totalitarianism, fascist and communist alike. With each passing year, **through the labor movement, freedom is finding its voice.**

You understand that democracy rests not on cold marble and pieces of paper, but on institutions freely formed -- and fully free. Look down the main street of any small town, and you see them: Churches. Libraries. Schools. Union halls. Free associations that are the beating heart of American liberty.

Such liberty calls for a democracy created less by governments than by people -- through the give and take of competing interests, individual and collective. A democracy that rejects management-by-decree or intervention from any centralized, all-knowing government. A democracy where people speak for themselves, rather than a government which speaks for them.

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Let Business and government learn from -- and lend momentum to -- labor's unflinching demand for dignity on behalf of every working man and woman: not just in Poland, but around the world. Let us join hands. **Let us work together as never before -- to**

fulfill the great promise of freedom. //

There is so much to learn from labor's history of democratic struggle. During Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s, American labor was among the first to recognize that great evil. You extended your hand in solidarity to those fighting in the early underground movement.

When the Nazi regime was finally destroyed, American labor went to work rebuilding democratic institutions and independent trade unions.

Later, when postwar Western Europe was threatened by the spread of international communism, American labor stood firm. Tough, behind-the-scenes operators -- like Irving Brown, the AFL's European representative -- saw to it that the alliance was preserved and democracy prevailed in Western Europe.

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Today the tradition continues -- nowhere more powerfully than in Poland. The AFL-CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour -- firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world.

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-- later to become the renowned head of the I.L.G. Garment Workers -- was arrested for organizing. In 1908, that would-be organizer was sent from Lodz [WOODZH] to Siberia, by the Czar. Last week, a Solidarity union candidate was elected **mayor** of Lodz.

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They and those like them offer hope for peaceful change, which the AFL-CIO is supporting actively -- through direct contact, and assistance on workers' rights, union organization, and collective bargaining. **These are the tools your brothers and sisters abroad need most, to hammer out justice on the anvil of freedom.**

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Everywhere you look in the world, members of the AFL-CIO are fighting to **keep the door to freedom open for all.** Working against such evils as apartheid. Struggling for peaceful democratic change toward a system of one man, one vote. Supporting free trade union movements in Paraguay. Guatemala. El Salvador. Nicaragua.

And helping workers defeat Pinochet in ~~the plebiscite, for democracy in Chile.~~ Manuel Bustos, president of the United Labor Confederation there, was until recently exiled in his own country. Thanks to the AFL-CIO, he is now free. **Free enough to be with us today.**

Your work is often accomplished at great sacrifice. Independent trade unions are often caught in a vise between death squads on the right and guerrillas on the left. In El Salvador, two of your own -- Mike Hammer and Mark Pearlman -- died at the hands of a right-wing death squad. And in Nicaragua, the Confederation of Trade Union Unity has been harrassed and

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It takes uncommon courage for workers to fight the scourge of tyranny. Because dictators know that free unions mean pluralism. And pluralism denies complete control. So the tyrant's first targets for suppression, arrest, or murder are often independent unions and their members.

In all, some 200 free trade unionists were murdered last year around the world. We grieve deeply for these sacrifices. Let there be no mistake: **We condemn any efforts, by any government, to try to intimidate democratic unions or their members.**

In Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines: the AFL-CIO's support of worker education, libraries, and conferences on human rights all add to the inevitable momentum toward worker representation and collective bargaining.

Workers in Southeast Asia by the millions -- especially children and young women -- are being used, abused, and abandoned. Looking for a solution, we've enforced worker rights as part of the Generalized System of Preferences -- and in our trade policy review mechanism under the GATT, we've incorporated worker rights.

In the long run, the surest solution to the struggle for worker rights is to support the growth of democratic institutions like free labor unions -- and to encourage economic development that will render child labor and nightmarish working conditions not merely illegal, **but unthinkable.**

Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association -- and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change -- as a leading force for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. **The door must remain open.**

Last week the Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In a protest march, a banner was carried that said, "Workers of the world, we apologize." It was the first time in memory that Soviet authorities allowed such demonstrations on that holiday. That banner is another sign that **democracy is doing the unthinkable, by saying the unspeakable.**

The Nineteen Eighty-four of George Orwell has come and gone. I am hopeful that 1989 will be remembered as the year when American labor, business, and government first began to work **together**, in a real partnership, for the freedom and dignity of workers everywhere. Not out of some utopian vision -- but because we simply believe in the same basic values.

The key to freedom rests in our hands. With that key, nothing is impossible. The door to democracy will **remain** unlocked: **To each according to his ability... to dream.**

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere.

# # #

The momentus events of the past few weeks have stirred our emotions and raised our hopes that the day when Europe will be whole and free is soon to come. The idea that sustained Lech Walesa and the members of Solidarity as they sat down a Roundtable to negotiate with the Polish government is a powerful one -- that men must be free in order to prosper. That idea spread to Hungary where the physical dismantling of the Iron curtain began. And last week we watched in awe as Berliners -- separated by the ugly symbol of Europe's division for twenty eight years -- danced atop the Berlin Wall. Just yesterday we welcomed the news of freedom of travel for the citizens of Czechoslovakia. But in that country -- where the tradition of democracy runs deep -- and in others -- only truly freedom of travel is not enough. Only free and unfettered elections can satisfy the yearnings of free people.

It is against this backdrop of change that I will meet with President Gorbachev near Malta next month. We are not meeting to negotiate the future of Europe. What a preposterous and presumptuous notion. The peoples of Eastern Europe are speaking their minds about the future of Europe. They are calling for democracy, freedom of press and conscience, the right of the governed to chose their leaders. I will do nothing to try and arrest that process. But the role of reform in the Soviet Union in unleashing the forces of reform in Eastern Europe is clear. I want to know what Gorbachev thinks of the challenges that he faces at home and of the new course that he has set out for Soviet policy in Eastern Europe.

I want to talk with Gorbachev about the opportunities to move beyond containment -- to find areas of mutual advantage in our bilateral relationship. We do not have a formal agenda but we will talk about priorities in U.S.-Soviet relations and try to narrow and more precisely define the differences between us. I don't want to miss any opportunity to improve the relationship. Face to face communication is the best way to insure that we do not.

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: MARK LANGE

SUBJECT: AFL-CIO SPEECH AND WORKER RIGHTS

DATE: NOVEMBER 13, 1989

F.Y.I., Counsel's office (Stephen Rademaker) has objected to mentioning worker rights in the context of the Trade Policy Review Mechanism under the GATT -- citing it as an example of "congressional micromanagement of foreign policy."

In fact, the inclusion of worker rights under that provision was not a Congressional action at all. It was initiated by Carla Hills -- with the full support of Secretary Yeutter -- as a GATT exercise (agreed to in the Uruguay Round).

So the Administration is certainly not "on record as opposing these particular mechanisms" -- nor are these initiatives likely to be presented to us "in the form [sic] new legislation" -- since we came up with them in the first place.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1989

TO: DAVE DEMAREST

FROM: **JAMES W. CICCONI**
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Dave, the attached changes--
really very minor, would take
care of the problem with the
AFL-CIO speech which we discussed
this morning. NSC concurs.

FYI, I like the double entendre
at the end ("To each according to
his ability...") A nice dig at
the Commies-- if there are any left.

Jim

Document No. 089012SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

9041

DATE: 11/13/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 PM

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☐	☑
SUNUNU	☐	☑	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☑	PORTER	☐	☑
DARMAN	☐	☑	ROGICH	☐	☑
BATES	☐	☑	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
CICCONI	☐	☑	WINSTON	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	PINKERTON	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
GRAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE: FYI: BS, RMG, GPH, WFS, RPO, PWR, RDB, RLH, EDM, CR, DAP

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1989 NOV 13 PM 8:05

NOVEMBER 15, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: MARK LANGE M.L

SUBJECT: AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Attached is a draft for your speech to the AFL-CIO Biennial Convention on Wednesday, November 15, at 3:30 p.m., at the Washington Sheraton. Between 1800 and 2000 will attend. The speech will be telepromted.

In the address, you call for a new partnership between business, labor and government to assist Poland -- and cite the vital contributions of independent trade union movements to freedom and democracy around the world.

(Lange/Dooley)
November 13, 1989
5:20 p.m.
[AFLCIO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AFL-CIO CONVENTION
WASHINGTON SHERATON
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989
3:30 P.M.

Lane Kirkland. Tom Donahue. Lech Walesa. Members of the Executive Council. And assembled delegates.

This is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After eight long years of struggle, Lech Walesa is here to accept the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here, to claim that prize. And the waiting began.

((You know, I can really identify with Lech. I understand what it's like, to wait so long to get here...

But I don't regret a minute of it. Because after all those years, it's great to be with you -- and to see the members who endorsed me, sitting back there in the last row...

So lately I've been feeling pretty confident. Barbara had a hunch I'd be addressing this group today. This morning she caught me in the shower singing the "Union Yes" theme song...))

Let me begin by congratulating the leadership. Because of Lane Kirkland -- now serving his tenth year, continuing the work begun by George Meany before him -- your unions truly are returning to a single house: the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Teamsters, the Locomotive Engineers, the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Writer's Guild East, the United Transportation Union -- all have affirmed their ties to this

great organization. Lane Kirkland has done -- as he continues to do -- outstanding work on behalf of organized labor. [PAUSE]

Lane's work to consolidate and renew Labor's strength gives the AFL-CIO the power to play its best role: protecting the rights of working Americans at home, and striving for those rights abroad through the support of democracy around the world.

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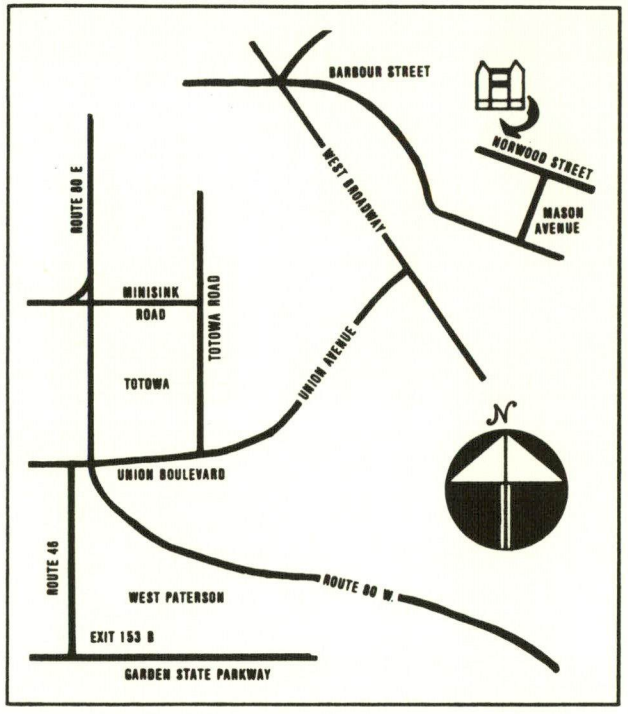
Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless working people everywhere.

# # #

AMERICAN LABOR MUSEUM
BOTTO HOUSE NATIONAL LANDMARK
83 NORWOOD STREET
HALEDON, NEW JERSEY
(201) 595-7953



DIRECTIONS TO THE MUSEUM:

FROM ROUTE 80 WEST: Exit at Union Boulevard, Totowa, Paterson ramp, turn right off ramp onto Union Boulevard. Follow directions below.

FROM ROUTE 80 EAST: Exit at Minisink Road. Turn left off ramp onto Minisink Road. Continue until end. Turn right onto Totowa Road. Continue to end. Turn left onto Union Boulevard. Follow directions below.

FROM GARDEN STATE PARKWAY: Take Exit 153B. Follow signs for Route 46 West. Exit at Union Boulevard, Totowa, Paterson. Follow directions below.

FROM UNION BOULEVARD: Follow Union Boulevard to end (it becomes Union Avenue in Paterson). Turn left onto West Broadway. At fourth light make sharp right turn onto Barbour Street. Turn at second left onto Mason Avenue. The Museum is at the end of the block on the left.

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 319
Haledon, NJ

American Labor Museum
Botto House National Landmark
83 Norwood Street
Haledon, NJ 07508

Labor and Free Speech

"Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, ... or the right of the people peaceably to assemble ..."

First Amendment
United States Constitution

American Labor Museum
Botto House National Landmark
83 Norwood Street
Haledon, New Jersey

November 18, 1989

Ratification of the Bill of Rights guaranteed Americans basic constitutional rights — rights that the American workforce discovered had to be won over and over again.

To commemorate the 200th Anniversary of New Jersey's ratification of the Bill of Rights on November 20, 1789, the American Labor Museum will bring together three distinguished lecturers to discuss the links between labor organizing and efforts to secure the rights of free speech and assembly.

Distinguished Lecturers

Ann Fagan Ginger is the Executive Director of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute in Berkeley, California. A legal scholar, author and practicing attorney, Ms. Ginger will provide a national perspective on the relationship between labor and free speech struggles.

Steve Golin is a Professor of History at Bloomfield College. The author of *The Fragile Bridge: The Paterson Silk Strike of 1913*, Dr. Golin will discuss the events of that important chapter in American labor history.

The Botto House, Haledon, New Jersey's haven for free speech and assembly during the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913. (Collection, The American Labor Museum)

Emil Oxfeld is a noted civil liberties attorney who served as president of the New Jersey branch of the American Civil Liberties Union for a quarter century. Mr. Oxfeld will discuss the landmark civil liberties case, Hague v. C.I.O., wherein a Jersey City statute was used in an attempt to deny union organizers their right to hold public meetings.

This program is being presented with funding provided by the New Jersey Historical Commission.

Labor and Free Speech

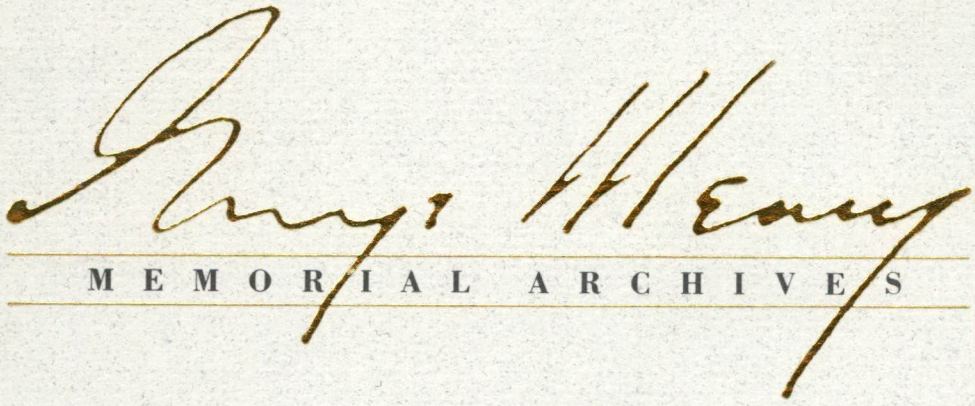
Program Information

When: Saturday, November 18, 1989
1:00 PM

Where: Veteran's Hall
The corner of Norwood & Barbour Streets
Haledon, New Jersey
(One block from the American Labor Museum)

Free Admission

To RSVP call (201) 595-7953



HISTORY
AT WORK

DEDICATION OF THE GEORGE MEANY MEMORIAL ARCHIVES

August 17, 1987
George Meany Center for Labor Studies
Silver Spring, Maryland

PROGRAM

Welcome ..... **Thomas R. Donahue**
Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

National Anthem ..... **Music by Peabody Ensemble and Vincent Kelly, *Tenor***

Invocation ..... **Monsignor George G. Higgins**

Remarks ..... **Regina Meany Mayer**

Presentation of Keys ..... **Roy E. Kirby**
Roy Kirby and Sons, Inc.
Builders

Thomas A. Kamstra
Kamstra, Dickerson & Associates
Architects

Lane Kirkland
President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

Dedicatory Address ..... **Lane Kirkland**

God Bless America ..... **Music by Peabody Ensemble and Vincent Kelly**

Unveiling of Sculpture ..... **Lane Kirkland**
Robert Berks
Sculptor

The mission of workers' organizations is to improve the lot of all who toil for a living, those whose inheritance is their own hearts and minds and hands and skills. In that mission, we seek all the education a worker can absorb in a lifetime, to be sure, but also all the improvement in education that one generation of trade unionists can possibly pass on to the next.

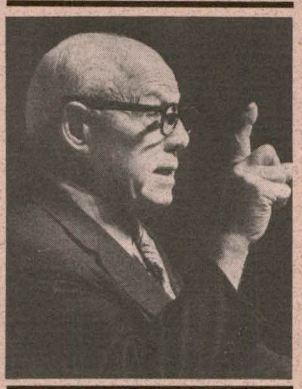
For that reason, the George Meany Memorial Archives is part of our heartbeat. You can take the pulse of trade unionism here and you will feel it beat a little stronger, a little prouder, with anticipation of what workers will yet add to their history.

Lane Kirkland

LABOR'S HEART BEATS HERE

If, as it's said, "The Past is Prologue," the future of American labor can be found among the mass of historical documents assembled in one striking building on the campus of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

The building houses the collections of the George Meany Memorial Archives, which was established in 1981 as a center for scholarship and the study of the American labor movement. It moved to its permanent home in August 1987.



Throughout these historical records is the story of the union contribution to advancing the cause of workers and American society.

Here, in words spoken and written at the time events large and small were taking place, is an account of toughness and gentleness, of courage and fear. These men and women did not know their words and actions would one day be studied as history or pondered by scholars.

The core collections processed under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities include the records for specific periods of: Office of the President, William Green (1924-1952) and George Meany (1952-1960); Office of the Secretary-Treasurer, Frank Morrison (1911-1924), George Meany (1939-1952) and William F. Schnitzler (1952-1969); Department of Legislation (1906-1978). Additional collections will become available for research as they are processed.

These will include the Samuel Gompers Papers which chronicle the early days and struggles of the labor movement. Other documents and personal papers record the modern era of wars, depression, social change and the effect of "boom and bust" economics on the American worker.

The impressive new archives building on the 47-acre campus of the Meany Labor Studies Center in Silver Spring, Maryland, will provide storage for more than 23,000 cubic feet of records.

It's named for the first president of the AFL-CIO and contains his records—as any history must contain the life works of George Meany, the architect of the merger of the CIO and the AFL and a leader described by his successor, Lane Kirkland, as a man "whose life works would do honor to a dozen men, if divided among their histories."

Labor's heart beats here: compassion, joy, achievement, disappointment, frustration.

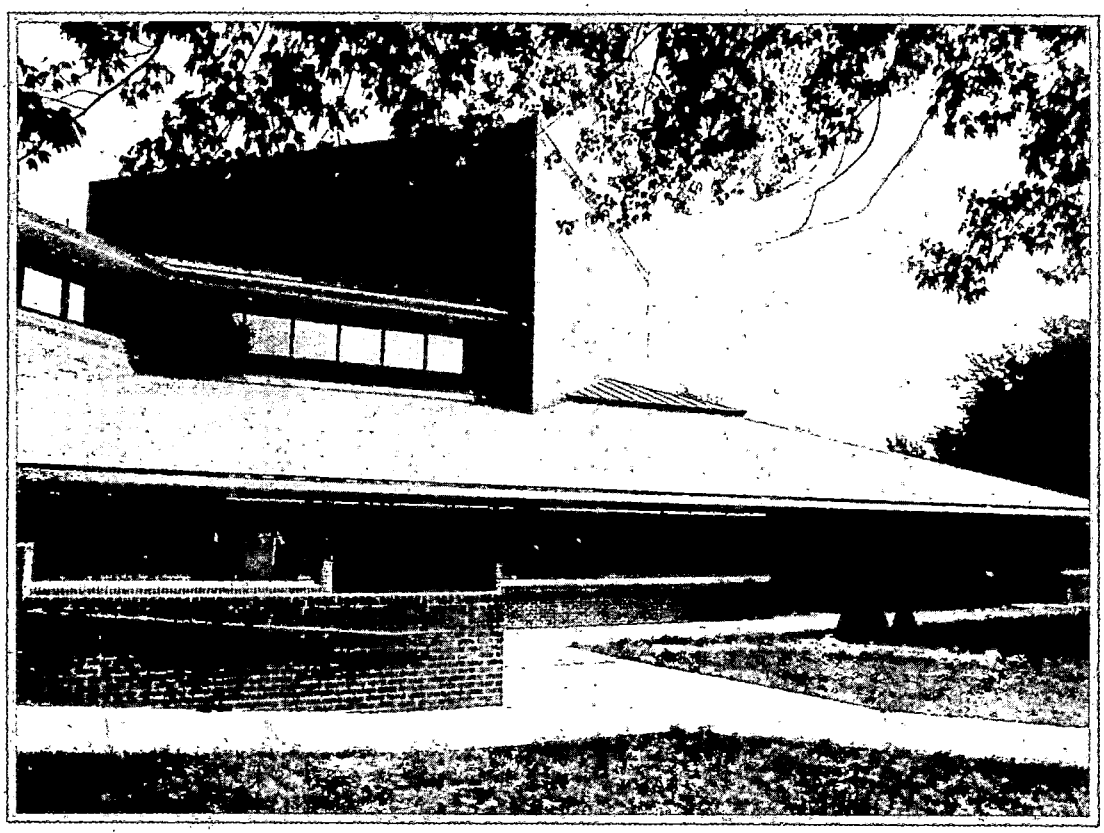
Recorded here are the publications of the AFL, the CIO and the merged federation. There are historical works by individual labor writers and a small reference library.

A striking inclusion is a collection of more than 50,000 photographs of labor and general subjects. Other visual resources include the Frank Alexander collection of negatives covering labor activities from the late 1940s through the 1970s, and a growing collection of films and videotapes.

The AFL-CIO Labor Movement Oral History Project forms the core of the collection of over 4,000 audiotapes.

The Archives is not a musty monument to the past, but a cheerful facility, conceived as a functional, living memorial to Meany. It houses lively seminars, discussion groups, labor-in-the-schools projects and symposia that attempt to do justice to the global outlook of Meany himself.

The facility allows space for storage, research and new activities. Processed collections are made available to qualified researchers subject to terms and restrictions by donors or by the AFL-CIO. Most unprocessed collections are closed.




ON STRIKE

A REMARKABLE MAN
A REMARKABLE SCULPTURE

George Meany is memorialized in the archives building by a powerful and stunning sculpture by Robert Berks.

Berks is one of the best known and respected artists in the world. He has created sculptures of more than 300 persons in public and private life. One of the most highly regarded is his monumental head of President Kennedy in the John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in Washington. The Berks sculpture of Meany was cast by Roman Bronze Works, Inc.

On April 22, 1979, the National Academy of Sciences celebrated the Einstein Centennial with a lasting memorial to the late physicist. Situated on the academy grounds overlooking Constitution Avenue and the Lincoln Memorial, the 22-foot sculpture by Berks depicts Einstein seated in a familiar pose, holding a pad containing his three major equations.

The concept came from a sculptured head of Einstein which Berks had been invited to do in 1953. Of this, Einstein wrote, "I admire the bust highly as a portrait, and not less as a work of art and a characterization of mental personality."

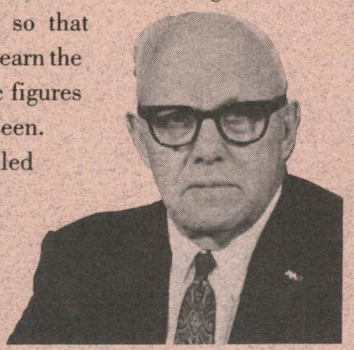
Berks has an astounding talent to work a sculpture likeness from photographs. In 1958, he used Matthew Brady's original, unretouched photographs to create the "Gettysburg Lincoln." The bronze original is in the Ford Theatre.

Other Berks subjects include Robert F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Mary McLeod Bethune (the first monument to a woman to be erected on public land in the nation's capital), Ernest Hemingway, Pope Paul, Harry S Truman, Leonard Bernstein, Pablo Casals, Golda Meir and Enrico Fermi.

Berks also is a noted industrial designer.

He is planning a hands-on traveling exhibit of 30 of his works so that blind people can learn the likeness of public figures they never have seen. The exhibit is called "Touch and Be Touched."

George Meany would have liked that.



THE LABOR STUDIES CENTER: ''A DREAM OF GENERATIONS''

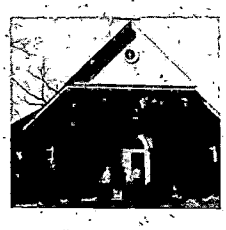
In his introduction to the current Center catalogue, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland wrote: "In developing and disseminating leadership training throughout the labor movement, the Meany Center fulfills a dream of generations of unionists."

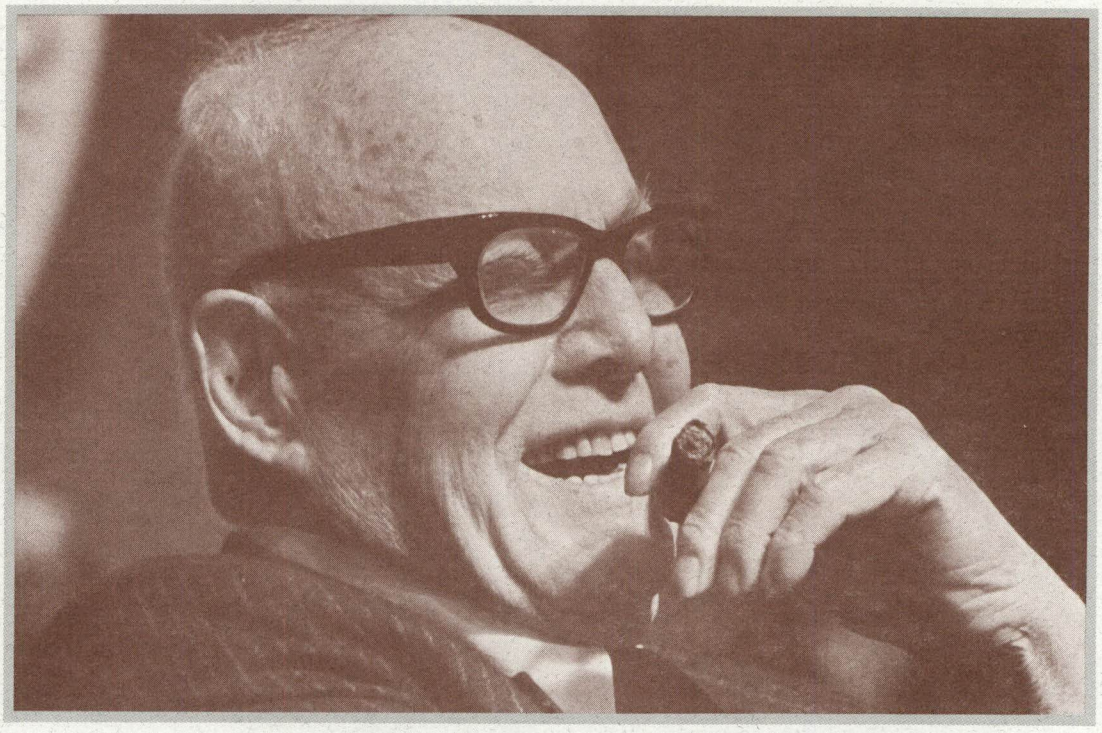
Dedicated in 1974, the Center is a highly effective and respected educational institution. To the Silver Spring, Maryland, campus (formerly the location of Xaverian College) come more than 5,000 union leaders each year to participate in institutes and workshops. These currently cover various aspects of organizing, negotiating, arbitration, communicating, union building, labor law and education.

The Center has classrooms and comfortable sleeping, eating and recreational facilities for groups of up to 140 people. It is equipped with the latest electronic teaching aids.

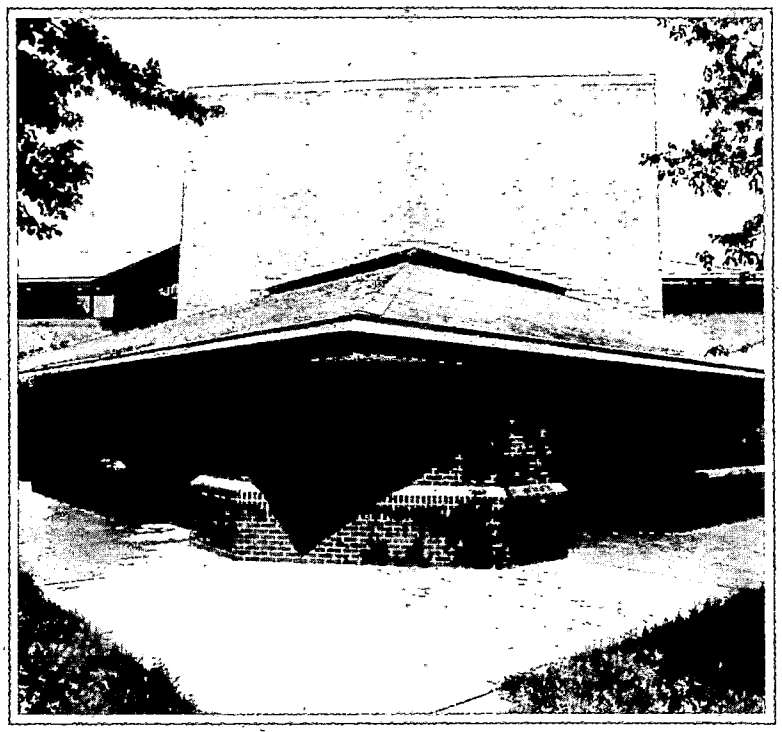
In addition, the Center offers a college degree program (Bachelor of Arts, in cooperation with Antioch University).

The Center and its 1987 addition, the Meany Archives, will strengthen each other. For example, activities are being designed to provide officers and staff of national, international and large local unions with the benefits of the expertise existing at the Archives. A Labor Studies Center workshop to be held May 1-6, 1988, will deal with the handling and disposition of union records and the advantages and methodology of oral history projects.






SPECIAL GUEST ADMISSION
Jerry Lewis Labor Day Telethon
For the Benefit of MDAA
COMPLIMENTARY GUEST INVITATION
Sept. 6



''OUR BELIEF, OUR CREED''
George Meany, 1979

George Meany was the molder of the modern labor movement, a citizen and fierce defender of his country.

He was born in New York City on August 16, 1894, and died 85 years later on January 10, 1980. He was a union plumber by trade, and proud of it.

During his lifetime, this plumber became one of the most accomplished men in the world. Few ever did, or will, make such constructive contributions to the quality of life, living and working in this country.

He played a vital and commanding role in the 1955 merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This was his signal achievement, and by acclamation, a grateful merged labor movement named him president of the newly-created AFL-CIO.

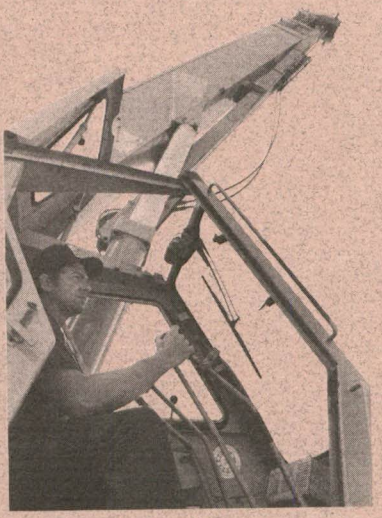
As his successor Lane Kirkland has said: "The merger was not a climax, but just a beginning of George Meany's greatest years of service." This is attested by the fact that the 13th AFL-CIO convention named Meany president emeritus for life.

During the Meany years, the AFL-CIO became an effective, driving champion of the rights of the oppressed and the needy. He was an outspoken defender of individual freedom. The AFL-CIO he headed was the driving force behind national policies for social change, and improved employment conditions in America attest to the success of those efforts.

George Meany was proud of the archives program and the Labor Studies Center. In the sunset of his life, he spent many Sunday afternoons, often accompanied by members of his family, strolling the campus of the Center.

> *66 One cannot have a trade union or a democratic election without freedom of speech, freedom of association and assembly. Without a democratic election, whereby people choose and remove their rulers, there is no method of securing human rights against the state. No democracy without human rights, no human rights without democracy, and no trade union rights without either. That is our belief; that is our creed. 99*

PRIDE OF CRAFT



In a fitting tribute to a man who gave so much of himself to working men and women, the George Meany Memorial Archives was designed to keep the spirit of Meany alive. Inside its walls are thousands of labor history documents and memorabilia for present and future generations to explore.

That continuing study by future generations of workers is a particularly appropriate tribute to Meany, whose defense of free public education in America was unswerving.

The 33,000-square foot multi-purpose building includes a visually expressive central storage cube, "the archive," surrounded by exhibits and learning and support areas.

The archive was specially designed to preserve the documents of Meany and the AFL-CIO. Double-thick masonry walls were required to support metal storage units with more than 24,000 containers of archival material. The walls are specially insulated and mechanical equipment specially designed to maintain constant temperature and humidity. Vault rooms provide storage for films and photos and oversized artifacts.

The building itself is oriented to serve the general public and the Labor Studies Center students. Two major lobbied entrances, one facing outward from the campus and one inward, give direct access to the entire building. Stairs off the lobby lead to the second floor, devoted to archive staff areas and a research library.

The lobby holds a special tribute to Meany—a sculpture created by the renowned artist Robert Berks. Behind this is a large exhibit lounge connecting the building to the rest of the campus. Immediately accessible are classrooms and the multipurpose/media room. The lower floors of the building are for storage, processing and archival receiving areas.

The building was designed by the architects KDA—Kamstra, Dickerson and Associates, Inc., of Reston, Va.

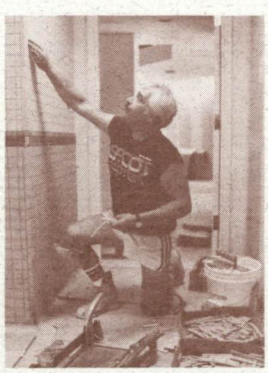
Construction was by Roy Kirby and Sons, Inc., of Baltimore, a firm that specializes in commercial, industrial, institutional and renovation/restoration construction projects. It employs more than 200 union building trades workers and has gained respect for quality workmanship and timely performance.

Members of AFL-CIO unions constructed the building and manufactured its components and furnishings. Subcontractors include: FDE, Ltd., of Alexandria, Va., structural; Clark, Finefrock and Sackett of Columbia, Md., civil engineering; Shefferman & Bigelson of Silver Spring, Md., systems engineering; and Gage Babcock of Vienna, Va., security and fire protection.

George Meany's desk is located in the director's office. It was recently restored by Hudson-Shatz of Springfield, Va.

The work was directed by the George Meany Memorial Building Committee of AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue, Vice Presidents Thomas W. Gleason, Marvin J. Boede, John H. Lyons, Robert A. Georgine and Sol (Chick) Chaikin.


G ORGE MEANY MEMORIAL ARCHIVES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
AFL
CIO

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Labor's legacy is captured in several stirring exhibits at the George Meany Memorial Archives.

Through the use of photographs and memorabilia collected from Meany and other labor history archives nationwide, the exhibits take scholars and visitors from the birth of organized labor, to the emergence of organizers, to the succession of federation presidents who rose to lead millions of workers.

☐ *The Life and Work of George Meany:* This permanent exhibit explores the career of the AFL-CIO's first president. Recounting the story of Meany's rise from union plumber to state federation leader to AFL-CIO president, the exhibit features such items as early photographs and the Presidential Medal of Freedom bestowed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1963. A special section highlights the CIO and AFL merger featuring Meany's and other signatures on the no-raiding agreement and the original merger document.

☐ *Changing Exhibit Gallery:* The careers of each of the federation presidents—Samuel Gompers, John McBride, William Green, John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Walter Reuther, George Meany and Lane Kirkland—are illustrated through personal items, photographs and mementos from organizing activities.

☐ *Work and Workers in America:* A unique portrayal is made of the lives of U.S. workers by tracing the unions they formed. Key legal, historic and social events are expressed in writing, photographs and drawings from as early as 1881, the founding year of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, which became the AFL in 1886.

☐ *Unite!:* The effect of art on the growth of the labor movement is displayed through original posters and labor memorabilia. Labor issues are brought to life not only through pieces by the likes of Rauschenberg, Irle and Shahn, but also through buttons and bumper stickers—traditional labor communication tools.

The exhibits were built by members of Carpenters Local 2957 employed by Design and Production, Inc., of Lorton, Va., the firm which also designed the exhibits at the Carter Presidential Library and has done several projects for the Smithsonian Institution.

STUART B. KAUFMAN
Director, George Meany Memorial Archives
Assistant Director, George Meany Center for Labor Studies

Stuart B. Kaufman has dedicated his life to the study of labor's proud and unique history. As the first director of the new George Meany Memorial Archives, he possesses the knowledge necessary to bring history to life at the Archives.

At the time Kaufman was appointed director, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland also named Katharine Vogel as Chief Archivist.

Archives Director Stuart B. Kaufman and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland

Kaufman is well known among labor scholars as an eminent author of labor's history. They know of Kaufman through his extensive research and compilation of the Samuel Gompers Papers. As editor of this extensive collection of personal documents, Kaufman can enlighten thousands of individuals young and old on the early days of the labor movement. Kaufman has published Volumes I and II of the 12-volume Gompers Papers with future volumes scheduled at 18-month intervals.

Kaufman's professional background rests soundly on a deep love of the academic and labor arenas. A longtime member of the American Federation of Teachers, Kaufman is an associate professor at the University of Maryland in College Park; editor of the Gompers Papers; and an instructor in the Antioch Degree Program at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies.

Kaufman also has served as Acting Director of the Industrial Relations and Labor Studies Center at the University of Maryland; Acting Historian of the U.S. Department of Labor; an instructor at Texas A&M University; and a lecturer at Morris Brown College in Atlanta.

Included in the distinguished list of publications Kaufman has authored and edited are: *A Vision of Unity: The History of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union; Challenge and Change: The History of the Tobacco Workers International Union; Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896*, and *The Early Years of the American Federation of Labor, 1887-1890*.

In addition to the numerous papers, addresses and lectures Kaufman has delivered, in June 1986 he was honored by the National Capital Labor History Society with its Distinguished Achievement Award.

As Chief Archivist, Vogel will be continuing work on the archives which she began at its inception in 1981. Before that she directed a literary archives project for two years at Princeton University and served as curator of manuscripts and assistant university archivist at Southern Illinois University for seven years.

George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Inc.

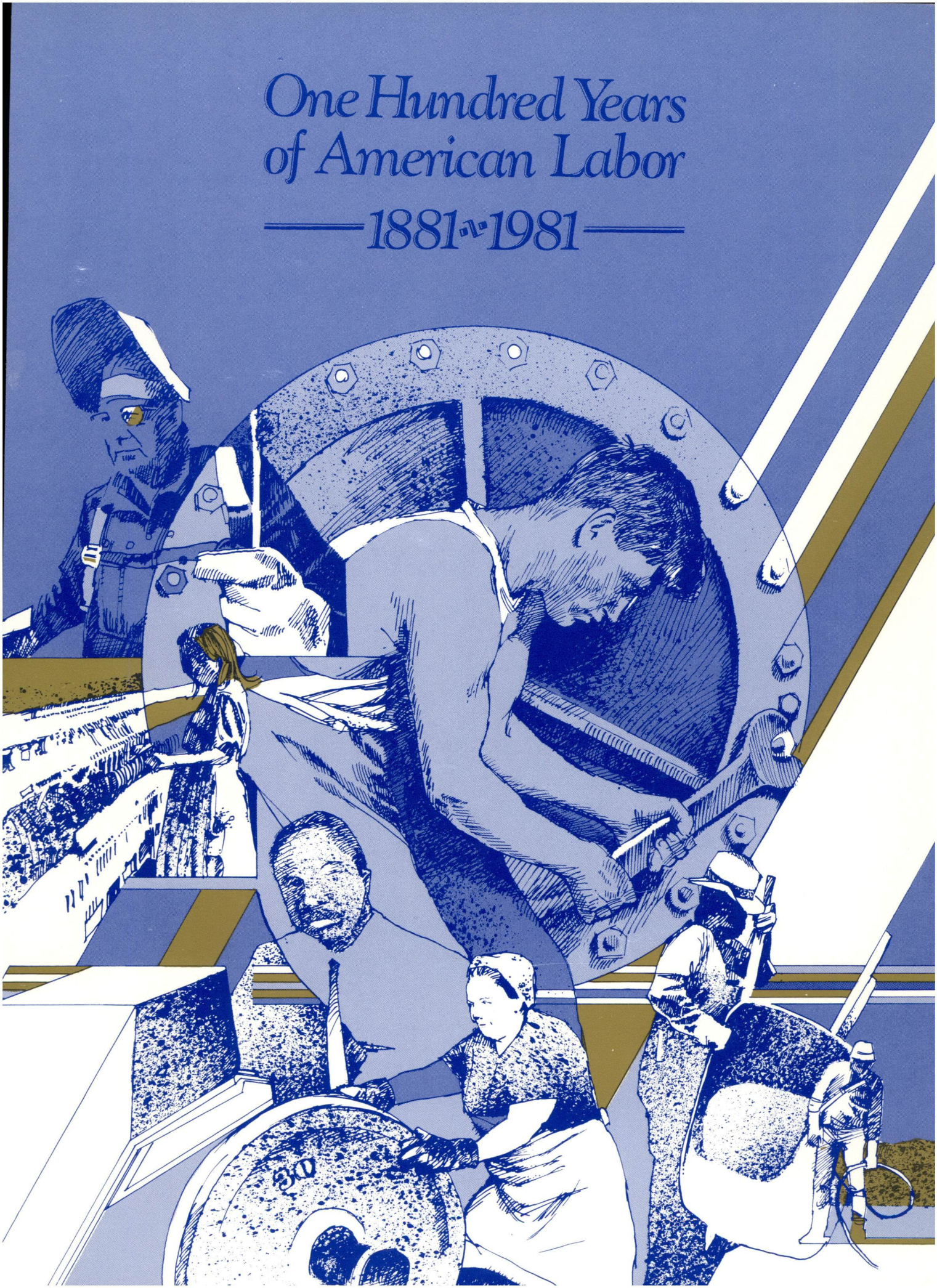
10000 New Hampshire Avenue ■ Silver Spring, Maryland 20903 ■ 301/431-6400

President

Secretary-Treasurer

One Hundred Years of American Labor

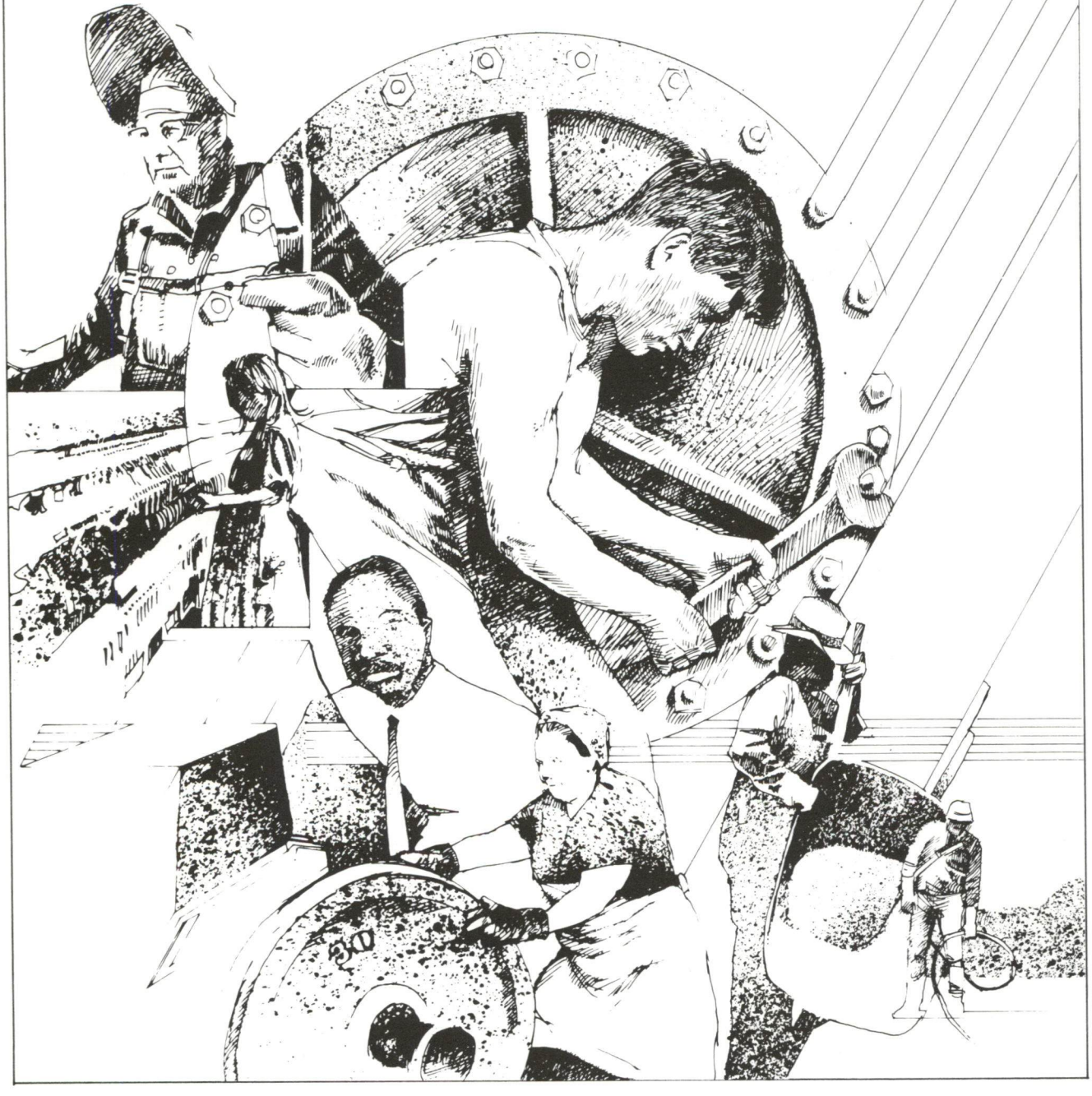
1881 to 1981



This booklet is a reprint of articles published in the AFL-CIO American Federationist during 1981, the Centennial year of the AFL-CIO.

One Hundred Years of American Labor

1881-1981



An Editorial

"The Opportunity to Cultivate Our Better Natures"

1981 is the centennial year of American labor, the 100th anniversary of the founding on November 15, 1881, of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which became the American Federation of Labor five years later.

Samuel Gompers, the first president of the AFL, was a delegate to that 1881 convention, and coincidentally, January 27, 1981, marks the 131st anniversary of his birth. Consequently, it's proper to start the centennial year by setting the record straight on what Samuel Gompers actually said in response to the question, "What does Labor want?" It was not simply "More." That misquotation has long outlived Gompers and is used today to the detriment of American labor because it implies that the trade union movement is dedicated to base and selfish motives.

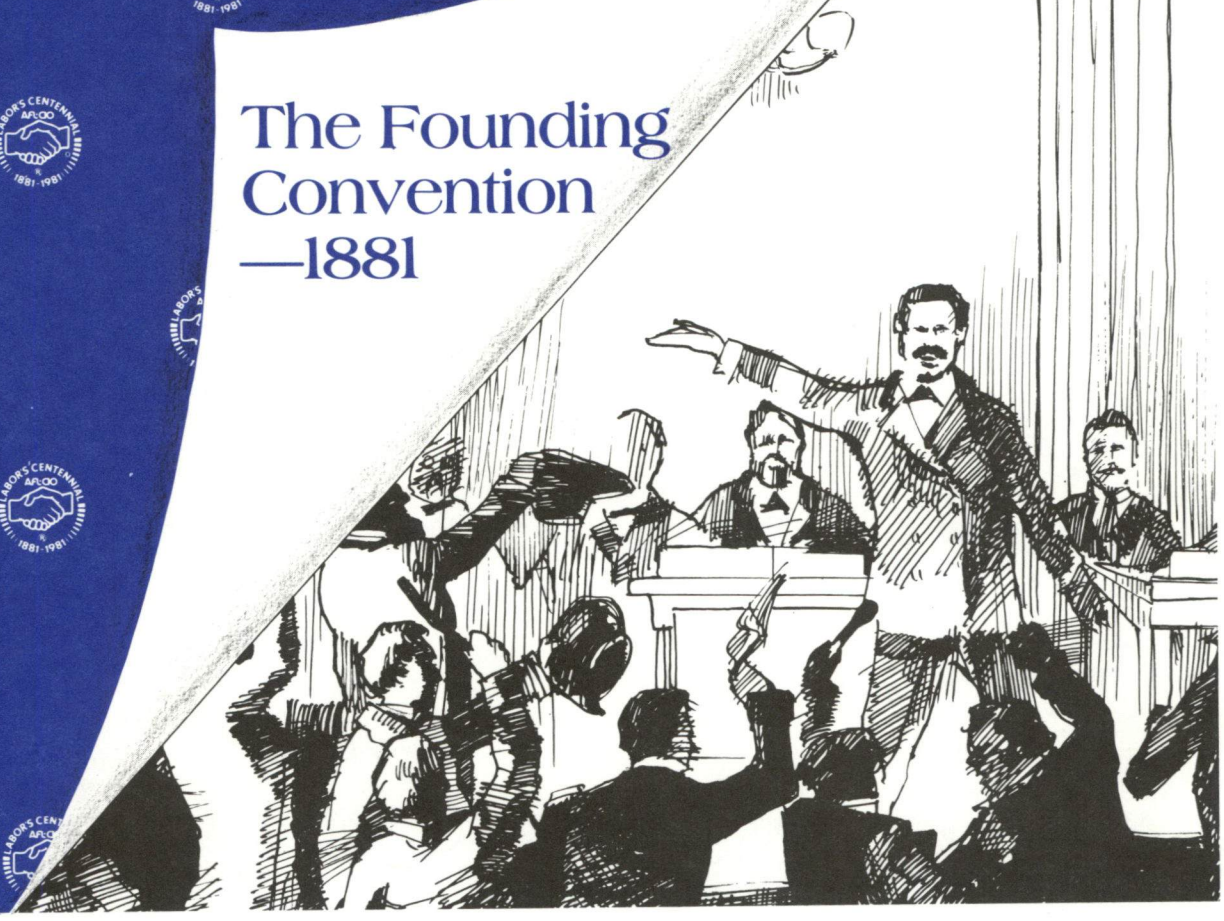
Samuel Gompers never said, "More," and what he did say—the only possible text from which that misquote could have been taken—makes clear that the trade union movement in America flows from far nobler instincts. Here, from a paper Gompers read to the International Labor Congress in Chicago in September 1893, is what he actually said:

". . . What does labor want? It wants the earth and the fullness thereof. There is nothing too precious, there is nothing too beautiful, too lofty, too ennobling unless it is within the scope and comprehension of labor's aspirations and wants . . . 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 . . ."

It is in that spirit that we greet our second century.

Lane Kirkland

The Founding Convention —1881



In November 1981, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Organizations is holding its 100th anniversary convention, culminating a year-long observance of the centennial of the modern American organized labor movement. The anniversary convention corresponds with the dates of the first convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, the AFL-CIO's direct ancestor.

The climate in which the Federation was launched was hostile to unions or any organization purporting to represent the interests of workers and their rights as equals with their employers.

After a century, the concerns taken up by the delegates to the first convention seem fresh and contemporary—wages and working conditions, occupational safety and health, laws protecting easily exploited groups of workers, labor's public image, relations with workers and their organizations struggling for democratic and trade union rights in other countries.

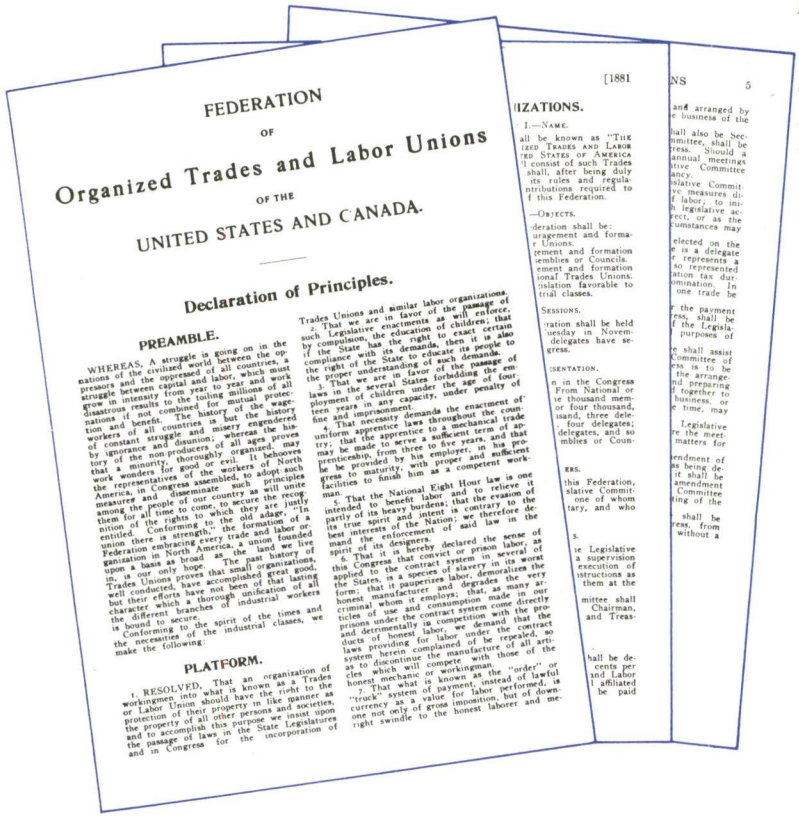
It was in Pittsburgh, Pa., a small city whose character was being dramatically changed by the Industrial Revolution, that the delegates who had answered a call "for an International Trades Union Congress" convened on November 15, 1881, to launch what was to prove to be an equally dramatic change for American workers. The minutes of that meeting begin:

The International Trades and Labor Congress convened in Turner Hall, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at 2 p.m. of the above date. . . . Prayer was offered by Mr. K. Mackenzie of the Bookbinders' Union of New York.

It was a simple enough beginning to the minutes of a trade movement convocation. Despite the commonplace prose, the occasion was special, and the 107 delegates standing with bowed heads knew it. For more than 50 years, the idea of a national labor organization, strong enough to speak with emphasis and effect for working people and their rights to a decent life, had been a goal of the trade unions that struggled for existence in the United States. The idea was simple, but its conversion to reality was not.

Trade unions had been a part of American life since before the American colonies declared themselves independent of Britain. It was not until the 1830s, however, that the idea of a national alliance

THIS ARTICLE was prepared by the AFL-CIO Centennial office, of which Lee M. White is coordinator.



FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

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 remains for 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 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 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 services of a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, fixed by his employer, in his profession, 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 come directly into competition with the product of honest labor, we demand that the contract and detrimentally to the interests of honest labor, be repealed, so 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 for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and me-

[1881

IZATIONS.

I.—NAME.

all be known as "THE IZED TRADES AND LABOR STATES OF AMERICA l consist of such Trades shall, after being duly its rules and regula- tributions required to f this Federation.

—OBJECTS.

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SENTATION.

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of working people's organizations was advanced. Before that, unions were made up for the most part of highly skilled or specialized workers and they were concerned with local and narrowly-defined issues. The coming of the Industrial Age, with its increasing appetite for cheap labor and its concentration of economic power into relatively few hands, changed the workplace and the nature of work. At the same time, it created the need for a new, strong united voice for workers.

Unions began cooperating with one another in city-wide federations, and sought to broaden the scope of these efforts at solidarity. Workers in five cities had established a National Trades Union in 1834, but it lasted only a few years. Meanwhile, national craft unions gained strength. In 1866 five of them formed another national group, the National Labor Union. It, too, faltered.

By 1880, the Knights of Labor, espousing the cause of a cooperative society, was enrolling thousands of members including workers and small businessmen. Socialists and others of the political left also sought to speak for the worker. Trade unionists, for the most part, were still unsatisfied. They wanted an organization that spoke for them alone, on issues that concerned them alone with a voice that was theirs alone.

It took time to organize, but, in response to a call that "the time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of labor," these 107 delegates from various unions, local federations and the Knights of Labor stood ready to try again on that November 1881 day.

The opening parliamentary business went swiftly. Temporary officers, led by President John Jarrett of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, were quickly elected, and "it was arranged to provide each delegate with a ticket entitling him to a seat in the Congress."

The first formal business was a resolution related to a strike by union printers against three Pittsburgh newspapers that had been maligning organized labor.

RESOLVED, That this convention of representatives of organized labor of this country, recognizing the importance of keeping the public press square on the labor question, do hereby ratify the action of the (local labor) organizations referred to, and in order that the determined opposition by said journals against organized labor may be further condemned, the representatives of the above Pittsburgh papers, viz, the Leader, Post and Times, be debarred from seats upon the platform with the representatives of honorable and fair journals.

The minutes continue:

Mr. (J. S.) Shattuck (a delegate from nearby Beaver Falls) sustained the resolution by a short but spirited address . . . R. E. Webber, a member of the Printers' Assembly . . . paid a compliment to the fair journals. . . . The resolution was then placed to a vote and adopted.

The first day's formal business was done. The delegates left for dinner, before returning to the hall for an informal gathering "for the purpose of interchanging ideas on the labor question."

But there was yet another matter concerning the press to occupy them. Someone had leaked a story. The minutes of the second day report:

Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the Pittsburgh Commercial-Gazette be read:

"The latter (Mr. Gompers) is the leader of the Socialistic element, which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present. It is thought that an attempt will be made to capture the organization for Mr. Gompers [for Permanent President] as the representative of the Socialists, and if such an attempt is made, whether it succeeds or not, there will likely be some lively work, as the delegates opposed to Socialism are determined not to be controlled by it. If the Socialists do not have their own way, they may bolt, as they have always done in the past. If they do bolt, the power of the proposed organization will be so seriously crippled as to almost destroy its usefulness."

Mr. M. P. Walsh, of Wisconsin, the minutes continue, *rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowl-*

edge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to.

The delegates decided to get on with business:

Mr. James Lynch, of New York, stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman, and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism.

In the event, the committee reported its recommendation that Gompers be nominated, and a minority report backed Richard Powers, of the Lake Seamen's Union. Gompers and Powers promptly withdrew in favor of Jarrett, who was elected unanimously. Gompers and Powers were elected vice presidents.

There was one more skirmish with the press; the first minutes show:

A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the Evening Leader (whose printers were on strike) was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair.

It was time to get down to other business. Delegates were called, by state, to read "papers" concerning issues of the day which might be referred to the Committee on Platform of Principles. Among them were calls for regulation of the merchant marine, the establishment of organizations to promote the interests of unions with mutual interests, and "condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable." After lunch:

Delegate Daniel Rogers, of the Miners' Association, introduced resolutions demanding . . . "reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to mines and miners." He asked that the labor Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done.

The rest of the day was spent in "spirited discussion" of a resolution offering sympathy to Irish seekers of independence from Great Britain. The resolution was referred to committee and later passed with the addition that " we also extend to the oppressed of all nations, struggling for liberty and right, the same encouraging words of sympathy." The pattern was set. Labor's interests were concerned with jobs and working conditions, but not to the exclusion of social matters and international concerns, and not only on the job. There was still a major question. Whom, exactly, did the new organization represent? that was settled the next morning; the minutes reveal:

Mr. Gompers, Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization, . . . submitted the 1st article, as follows:

"Article I. This association shall be known as 'The Federation of Organized Trades Unions of the United States and Canada,' and shall consist of such Trades Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation."

A motion was made to adopt the article as read, and lively discussion ensued:

Mr. Weber hoped that the name of the Federation would read so as to include all laboring people.

Mr. Kinnear: "I want this organization to reach all men who labor . . ."

Mr. Brandison (the only black delegate): "We have in the city of Pittsburgh many men in our organization who have no particular trade, but should not be excluded from the Federation. Our object is, as I understand it, to federate the whole laboring element of America. I speak more particularly with a knowledge of my own people, and declare to you that it would be dangerous to skilled mechanics to exclude from this organization the common laborers, who might, in an emergency, be employed in positions they could readily qualify themselves to fill."

Mr. Pollinger: "We recognize neither creed, color, nor nationality, but want to take into the folds of this Federation the whole labor element of the country, no matter of what calling; for that reason, the name should read, 'Trades and Labor Unions.' "

Mr. Gompers: "The expression of the section seems to me to be not thoroughly understood. We do not want to exclude any working man who believes in and belongs to organized labor. . . ."

Mr. Dovey: "I would like the name of the Federation to read 'Trades and Labor Unions.' "

Mr. Pollner to Mr. Dovey: "Amend so that it be 'Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions,' and I will second it."

Mr. Dovey: "I do make the amendment as suggested."

The amendment was agreed to and the article adopted.

It was decided: FOTLU was to be an organization open only to unions, but to the organizations of the skilled and unskilled alike. Now the delegates had to reconcile the voting interests of large unions and small, of local unions and national and international organizations, of those concerned with sweatshop competition and those concerned with foreign competition.

Some agreements came with effort. One was on a "Platform" declaration calling for an end to child labor. A delegate objected that "its enforcement would be an interference with individual rights." He stirred up a hornet's nest:

Mr. Powers: "I want this plank to go through this meeting with all the force that can be given it. . . . I say that there is no crime greater under the heavens than that of employing child labor in mills, factories, and industrial establishments. . . ."

Mr. Dwyer: ". . . I, too, have seen the effects of this curse . . . I am the father of fifteen children, yet I would work 'til my fingers were worn to the bone

The Evolution to AFL

Samuel Gompers,
President, American Federation of Labor

Daniel McLaughlin,
First Vice-President,
American Federation of Labor

William Martin,
Second Vice-President, American Federation of Labor

Samuel Gompers arrived in Columbus, Ohio early on December 6, 1886, to complete preparations for a momentous meeting to begin at noon the next day in Druids' Hall, 146 South Fourth Street. The sixth and final convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions would mark the end of the first stage of the emerging national trade union center. In its place would be created the American Federation of Labor.

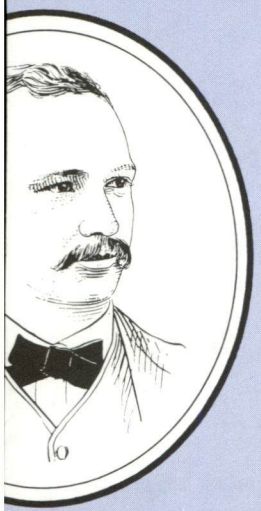
FOTLU's convention was originally scheduled to be held in St. Louis. That plan was changed as the result of a series of meetings and conferences involving FOTLU contacts within independent unions who had not made up their minds to join. Among them were a group of trade unionists in the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, who were dissatisfied with the Order's policies regarding trade unions, as well as a special committee appointed by Grand Master Workman Terence Powderly of the Knights.

Throughout the 1880s, there had been friction between trade unions and the Knights in many localities. Dissension reached a climax in early 1886. Knights had called a special general assembly in Cleveland to deal with the problem. The dissident trade unionists called their own meeting in Philadelphia. By October, when the Knights convened in Richmond the lines had hardened, and from that moment on it became clear that there was no place for the trade unionists within the organization.

The unionists called for a meeting in Columbus in December, and it was then that FOTLU changed its plans so its meeting would coincide. Historians agree it was a wise decision. The young federation (FOTLU) had been struggling, but it had made one big contribution: it had launched the eight-hour movement that galvanized working men and women into a national force behind a single idea. That idea was powerfully moving toward success, and it was giving momentum and strength in the new Federation as it grew.

In addition, FOTLU had established a working method that was new on the national scene for labor federations. Earlier efforts to put together a national federation of unions had failed, almost always because they philosophized about vague notions of creating the "perfect society," rather than concentrating on practical, attainable goals.

Sam Gompers and the trade unionists who molded the organization of 1881 based their entire program on doing what was possible "here and now"—prag-



. McGuire,
ecretary,
merican Federation
f Labor

Henry Emrich,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor

matic changes such as bargaining for higher wages and shorter hours, and improving society through labor's collective bargaining gains and through day-by-day political and legislative action.

On Tuesday, December 7, 1886, according to the record of the Columbus meeting, "Mr. Gompers moved that the Legislative Committee (the "executive" of the Federation) meet with a committee of the trades union conference to agree upon a plan to carry out an amalgamation of all trades unions."

On Wednesday morning—again from the record—"the Federation resolved itself into a committee of the whole to participate in the conference" of trade unionism which was set to begin at 1 p.m. in the same place—Druids' Hall.

Several lively sessions were held on that day and on Thursday. Powderly's committee could not carry its points and departed Columbus. Then on Friday, in a session that lasted from 7 p.m. and continued past midnight, the American Federation of Labor was created. Sam Gompers was elected president; Peter J. McGuire, secretary. The modern AFL, founded on the principles of the first Federation, emerged as the major national voice of working people.

before I would allow one of my little ones to go forth and toil day by day as some I have seen."

Mr. Michels: ". . . What do the law-makers care for the children of the masses . . . I want those law-makers, . . . to know, like Napoleon, that they must heed the mutterings of the masses. By all means set this resolution before the world as our sentiment—as our demand. Blazon it high up. . . ."

Mr. Gompers: ". . . Shame upon such crimes; shame upon us if we do not raise our voices against it.

The resolution was passed unanimously. It took its place in a Declaration of Principles with others that called for:

- Legal enforcement of compulsory education of children
- The establishment of uniform apprenticeship laws
- Enactment of the eight-hour working day
- Abolishment of the contracting of convict labor
- Enactment of mechanics' lien laws
- Establishment of a federal bureau of labor statistics

There were others, too, "conforming to the spirit of the times and the necessities of the industrial classes." Last among them was a recommendation to 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."

In "Supplementary Resolutions," the delegates called for "strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories and work-shops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings," as well as "stricter laws . . . making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence or incompetency to the injury of their employees."

In consideration of these matters, the convention moved toward its end. On the afternoon of the fourth and final day, November 18, 1881, the delegates wound up their business. They had established FOTLU, set its direction, named its officers, were ready to pass a resolution of thanks to the—union—newspapers of Pittsburgh "for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress." There was one final detail:

In order that the Legislative Committee should not be entirely without funds with which to commence their duties, the Chair called for voluntary subscriptions, which were paid in by the delegates to the amount of $53.60. Mr. M. L. Crawford handed over $2.50 which had been paid to him in his capacity of Secretary of the Congress, making a total of $56.10.

The work of the Congress now having drawn to a close, the Chairman, Mr. Powers, called for silence while Mr. Mackenzie, of New York, led in Prayer, after which the Chair announced the Congress adjourned.

The modern American trade union movement was born.


1918
LABOR
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WEEK
NO CUT
IN PAY

A Short History of American Labor

This brief history of the 100 years of the modern trade union movement in the United States can only touch the high spots of activity and identify the principal trends of a "century of achievement." In such a condensation of history, episodes of importance and of great human drama must necessarily be discussed far too briefly, or in some cases relegated to a mere mention.

What is clearly evident, however, is that the working people of America have had to unite in struggle to achieve the gains that they have accumulated during this century. Improvements did not come easily. Organizing unions, winning the right to representation, using the collective bargaining process as the core of their activities, struggling against bias and discrimination, the working men and women of America have built a trade union movement of formidable proportions.

Labor in America has correctly been described as a stabilizing force in the national economy and a bulwark of our democratic society. Furthermore, the gains that unions have been able to achieve have brought benefits, direct and indirect, to the public as a whole. It was labor, for example, that spearheaded the drive for public education for every child. The labor movement, indeed, has served as a force for American progress.

American Labor's Second Century

Now, in the 1980s, as the American trade union movement looks toward its second century, it takes pride in its first "century of achievement" as it recognizes a substantial list of goals yet to be achieved.

In this past century, American labor has played a central role in the elevation of the American standard of living. The benefits which unions have negotiated for their members are, in most cases, widespread in the economy and enjoyed by millions of our fellow citizens outside the labor movement. It is often hard to remember that what we take for granted—vacations with pay, pensions, health and welfare protection, grievance and arbitration procedures, holidays—never existed on any meaningful scale until unions fought and won them for working people.

Through these decades, the labor movement has constantly reached out to groups in the American society striving for their share of opportunity and rewards . . . to the blacks, the Hispanics and other minorities . . . to women striving for jobs and equal or comparable pay . . . to those who work for better schools, for the freedom of speech, press and assembly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights . . . to those seeking to make our cities more livable or our rural recreation areas more available . . . to those seeking better health for infants and more secure status for the elderly.

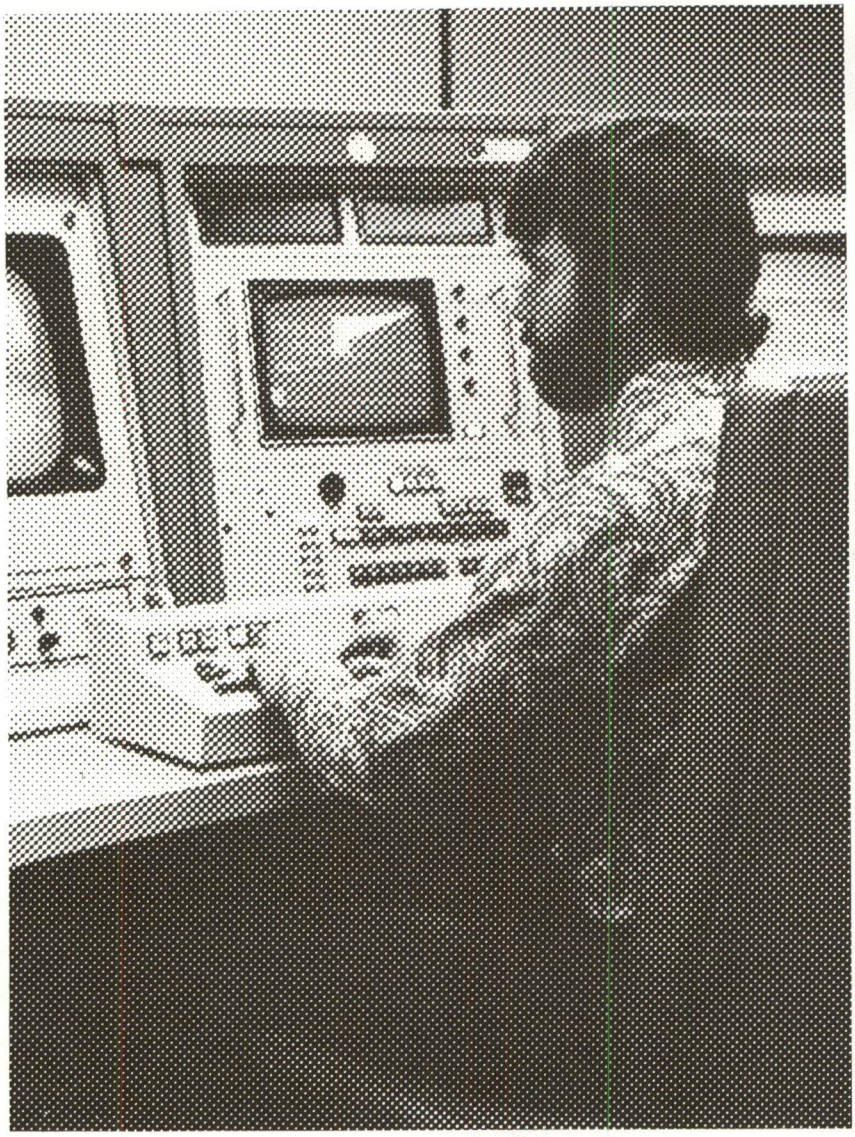
Through these decades, in addition, the unions of America have functioned in an economy and a technology marked by awesome change. When the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions gathered in convention in 1881, Edison had two years earlier invented the electric light, and the first telephone conversation had taken place just five years before. There were no autos, no airplanes, no radio, no television, no air conditioning, no computers or calculators, no electronic games. For our modest energy needs—coal, kerosene and candles—we were independently self-sufficient.

The labor movement has seen old industries die (horse-shoeing was once a major occupation) and new industries mature. The American workforce, once predominantly "blue collar," now finds "white collar" employees and the "grey collar" people of the service industries in a substantial majority.

The workforce in big mass production industries has contracted, and the new industries have required employees with different skills in different locations. Work once performed in the United States has been moved to other countries, often at wage levels far below the American standards. Multinational, conglomerate corporations have moved operations around the globe as if it were a mammoth chessboard. The once thriving U.S. merchant marine has shriveled.

A new kind of "growth industry"—consultants to management skilled in the use of every legal loophole that can frustrate union organizing, the winning of representation elections, or the negotiation of a fair and equitable collective bargaining agreement—has mushroomed in recent years, and threatens the stability of labor-management relationships. A group of organizations generally described as the "new right" enlist their followers in retrogressive crusades to develop an anti-union atmosphere in the nation, and to repeal or mutilate various social and economic programs that have brought a greater degree of security

THIS ARTICLE is excerpted from the AFL-CIO publication, "A Short History of American Labor," prepared for the 1981 Centennial of American labor.



and peace of mind to the millions of American wage earners in the middle and lower economic brackets.

Resistance to modest proposals like the labor law reform bill of 1977, and the use of lie detectors and electronic surveillance in probing the attitudes and actions of employees are a reminder that opposition to unions, while changing in style from the practices of a few decades ago, is still alive and flourishing—often financed by corporate groups, trade associations and extremist ideologues.

Yet through this dizzying process of change, one need remains constant—the need for individual employees to enjoy their human rights and dignity, and to have the power to band together to achieve equal collective status in dealing with multi-million and multi-billion dollar corporations. In other words, there is no substitute for the labor union.

American labor's responsibility in its second century is to adjust to the new conditions, so that it may achieve optimum ability to represent its members and contribute to the evolutionary progress of the American democratic society.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland expressed that concept in his formal statement on labor's centennial in 1981:

"Labor has a unique role in strengthening contemporary American society and dealing adequately and forcefully with the challenge of the future.

"We shall rededicate ourselves to the sound principle of harnessing democratic tradition and trade union heritage with the necessity of reaching out for new and better ways to serve all working people and the entire nation."

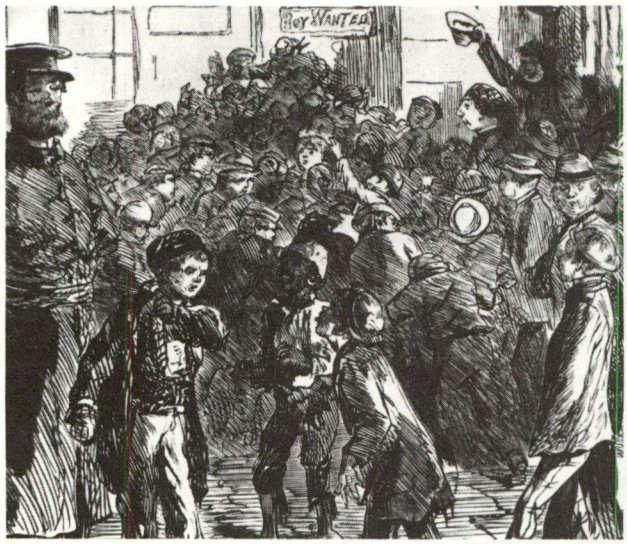
Toward a Federation of Labor

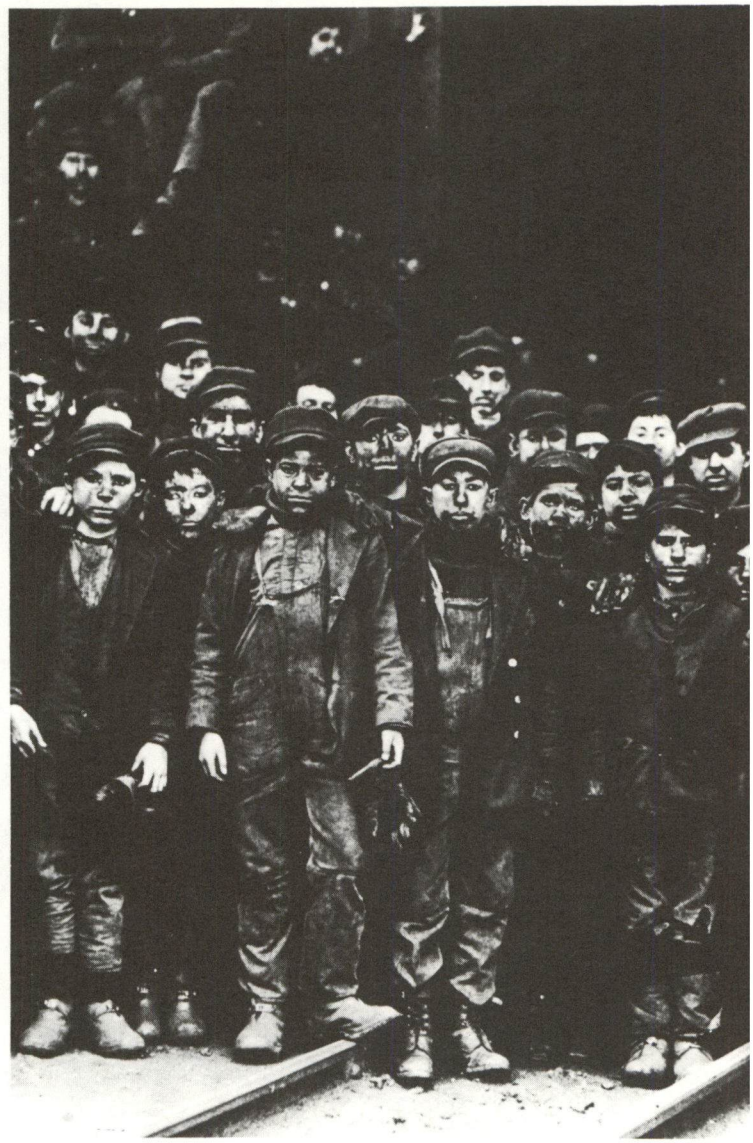
The roots of our country's trade unions extend deep into the early history of America. Several of the Pilgrims arriving at Plymouth Rock in 1620 were working craftsmen. Captain John Smith, who led the ill-fated settlement in 1607 on Virginia's James River,

pleaded with his sponsors in London to send him more craftsmen and working people.

Primitive unions, or guilds, of carpenters and cordwainers, cabinet makers and cobblers made their appearance, often temporary, in various cities along the Atlantic seaboard of colonial America. Workers played a significant role in the struggle for independence; carpenters disguised as Mohawk Indians were the "host" group at the Boston Tea Party in 1773. The Continental Congress met in Carpenters Hall in Philadelphia, and there the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. In "pursuit of happiness" through shorter hours and higher pay, printers were the first to go on strike, in New York in 1794; cabinet makers struck in 1796; carpenters in Philadelphia in 1797; cordwainers in 1799. In the early years of the 19th century, recorded efforts by unions to improve the workers' conditions, through either negotiation or strike action, became more frequent.

By the 1820s, various unions involved in the effort to reduce the working day from 12 to 10 hours began to show interest in the idea of federation—of joining





"Boy wanted" sign drew a crowd (above), while breaker boys (right) already had jobs.

together in pursuit of common objectives for working people.

Puny as these first efforts to organize may have been, they reflected the need of working people for economic and legal protection from exploiting employers. The invention of the steam engine and the growing use of water power to operate machinery were developing a trend toward a factory system not much different from that in England which produced misery and slums for decades. Starting in the 1830s and accelerating rapidly during the Civil War, the factory system accounted for an ever-growing share of American production. It also produced great wealth for a few, grinding poverty for many.

With workers recognizing the power of their employers, the number of local union organizations increased steadily during the mid-19th century. In a number of cities, unions in various trades joined together in city-wide federations. The National Trades' Union, formed in 1834 by workers in five cities, was an early attempt at countrywide federation—but the financial panic of 1837 put an end to its efforts. In 1866 several national associations of unions functioning in one trade—printers, machinists, stone cutters, to name a few—sent delegates to a Baltimore meeting that brought forth the National Labor Union. Never very strong, it was a casualty of the sweeping economic depression of 1873.

Five years later, the Knights of Labor captured the public imagination. The Knights were an all-embracing organization committed to a cooperative society. Membership was not limited to wage earners; it was open to farmers and small business people—everybody, that is, except lawyers, bankers, stockbrokers, professional gamblers and anyone involved in the sale of alcoholic beverages. The Knights achieved a membership of nearly 750,000 during the next few years, but the skilled and unskilled workers who had joined the Knights in hope of improvement in their hours and wages found themselves frustrated by the Knights' vague organizational structure, by its officers' aversion to strikes against employers and by its leaders' reliance on the promise of future social gains instead of the hard day-to-day work of building and operating a union organization. So the stage was set for the creation of a down-to-earth, practical labor federation which could combine long range objectives of a better society with the practical activity of day-to-day union functions.

Federation of Organized Trades & Labor Unions

The first practical step in response to the need for a united labor movement was a meeting of workers' representatives from a few trades and industries at Pittsburgh on Nov. 15, 1881. The delegates came from the carpenters, the cigar makers, the printers, merchant seamen, and the steel workers, as well as

Executive Council of the Federation, 1881 (above). A "reader" in a cigar factory in the 1880s (below).

from a few city labor bodies and a sprinkling of delegates from local units of the Knights of Labor.

The new Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions which they created had a constitution inspired by that of the British Trades Union Congress —which then was about a dozen years old. Its principal activity was legislative, its most important committee was concerned with legislation. The chairman of that committee was 31-year-old Samuel Gompers of the Cigar Makers Union, serving in the earliest phase of a career that was to make him the principal leader and spokesman for labor in America for the next four decades.

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was a good deal less than a strongly effective organization. In its third year, it collected just $508 in dues, and its 1884 convention brought together merely 18 delegates. Yet its fingers were clearly on the pulse of America's working class; it passed a resolution decreeing that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886." It recommended to its affiliated unions that they "so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named." In the words of a much later cliché, the federation's call for the 8-hour day was clearly "an idea whose time had come." It touched off, or accelerated, a strong and vociferous national clamor for the shorter work week.

Despite the popularity of that call for action, Gompers and a number of his associates—among them, particularly, Peter J. McGuire of the Brotherhood of Carpenters—felt the time had come for reorganizing the Federation to make it a more effective center for the trade unions of the country. So, on Dec. 8, 1886, they and a few other delegates met in Columbus, Ohio, to create a renovated organization.

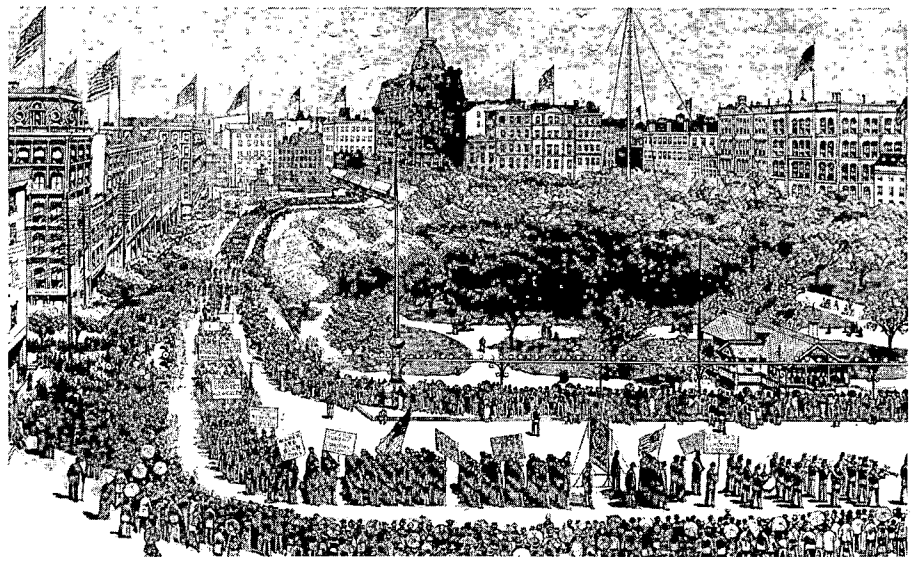
It was at this meeting that the American Federation of Labor evolved from the earlier Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. The action was a giant step forward toward the development of a modern trade union movement in America. Gompers was elected president, McGuire secretary. Gompers, born in 1850, came as a boy with his parents to America from the Jewish slums of London; he entered the cigar-making trade and received much of his education as a "reader"—a worker who read books, newspaper stories, poetry and magazine articles to fellow employees to help break the monotony of their work in the shop—and became a leader of his local union and of the national Cigar Makers Union.

A statement by the founders of the AFL expressed their belief in the need for more effective union organization. "The various trades have been affected by the introduction of machinery, the subdivision of labor, the use of women's and children's labor and the lack of an apprentice system—so that the skilled trades were rapidly sinking to the level of pauper labor," the AFL declared. "To protect the skilled labor of America from being reduced to beggary and to sustain the standard of American workmanship and skill, the trades unions of America have been established."

The leadership of the early labor movement showed a keen awareness that the unions could not succeed with a "men only" philosophy, even though men were then the clearly dominant element in the labor force. In 1882 the Federation extended to "all women's labor organizations representation . . . on an equal footing." Even more explicitly—and rather grandiloquently—the AFL convention in 1894 adopted a resolution that "women should be organized into trade unions to the end that they may scientifically and permanently abolish the terrible evils accompanying their weakened, unorganized state; and we demand that they receive equal compensation with men for equal services performed."

The new AFL, with its 300,000 members in 25 unions, came on the national scene in a time of discord and struggle. Earlier in 1886, railroad workers in the Southwest had been involved in a losing strike against the properties of Jay Gould, one of the more

New York's first labor day parade (right) was held in 1882, an era when management dealt with unions by ignoring them and dealt with strikes (below and right) by breaking them with violence.



flamboyant of the so-called "robber barons" of the post-Civil War period. On May 1, 1886, some 200,000 workers had struck in support of the effort to achieve the 8-hour day.

While the national 8-hour-day strike movement was generally peaceful, and frequently successful, it led to an episode of violence in Chicago that resulted in a setback for the new labor movement. The McCormick Harvester Company in Chicago, learning in advance of the planned strike, locked out all its employees who held union cards. Fights erupted and the police opened fire on the union members, killing four of them. A public rally at Haymarket Square to protest the killings drew a large and peaceful throng. As the meeting drew to a close, a bomb exploded near the lines of police guards, and seven of the uniformed force were killed, with some 50 persons wounded. The police began to fire into the crowd; several more people were killed and about 200 were wounded.

Eight anarchists were arrested and charged with a capital crime. Four were executed; four others were eventually freed by Gov. John P. Altgeld of Illinois after he concluded that the trial had been unfairly conducted. No one knows for certain who planted the bomb. But as Gompers ruefully commented some time later: "The bomb not only killed the policemen, but it killed our eight-hour movement for a few years after."

The new AFL, breaking with the cloudy organizational structure that had hampered the Knights of Labor and other previous attempts at federation, placed emphasis on the autonomy of each affiliated union in its jurisdiction, and encouraged the development of practical collective bargaining to gain improvements for the membership. But it takes two to make collective bargaining work — employers and workers — and as American industry moved into a period of immense growth and power in the latter part of the 19th century, the lords of industry were little inclined to negotiate with the unions of their employees. The Sherman Antitrust Act, designed to break up the power of monopoly corporations, was used very strongly against small unions, contrary to its intent. And so, the companies grew in strength while their lawyers fought successful rearguard actions to make the law inoperative.

Thus the decade of the 1890s and the early years of the 20th century witnessed many intense struggles between essentially weak unions seeking to liberate their members from back-breaking toil under often unsafe and unhealthy working conditions for very low wages, and powerful corporations with heavy financial resources, the active or passive support of the government and its police forces, and the backing of much of the press and the general public. It was a perfect climate for union-busting and violence.

In 1891 steel boss Henry C. Frick broke a Pennsylvania strike of coke oven workers seeking the 8-hour day. But that was just a warmup event for Frick, who as head of the Carnegie Steel Company in 1892 or-

dered a pay cut ranging from 18 to 26 percent. The Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers—one of the stronger unions of the period—called a strike at the Carnegie plant at Homestead, Pa., to seek a rescinding of the cut in wages. Pitched battles followed between the strikers and a boatload of 300 armed Pinkerton detectives. The strikers won the battle and the Pinkertons retreated, with a death toll of seven workers, three strikebreakers and scores of wounded. The state militia then took over the town. Indictments poured out, but no one was convicted; and Frick had succeeded in breaking the strike.

The next big confrontation, in 1894, was at the Pullman plant near Chicago. The American Railroad Union—not affiliated with the AFL and led by Eugene V. Debs, a leading American socialist—struck the company's manufacturing plant, and called for a boycott of the handling of Pullman's sleeping and parlor cars on the nation's railroads. Within a week, 125,000 railroad workers were engaged in a sympathy protest strike. The government swore in 3,400 special deputies; later, at the request of the railroad association, President Cleveland moved in federal troops to break the strike—despite a plea by Gov. Altgeld of Illinois that their presence was unnecessary. Finally a sweeping federal court injunction forced an end to the sympathy strike, and many railroad workers were blacklisted. The Pullman strikers were essentially starved into submissive defeat.

The strike illustrated the increasing tendency of the government to offer moral support and military force to break strikes. The injunction, issued usually and almost automatically by compliant judges on the request of government officials or corporations, became a prime legal weapon against union organizing and action.

A Testing Period and Growth

A better method of federal intervention occurred during a 1902 strike of anthracite coal miners, under the banner of the United Mine Workers. More than 100,000 miners in northeastern Pennsylvania called a strike on May 12, and kept the mines closed all that summer. When the mine owners refused a UMW proposal for arbitration, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened on Oct. 3, and on Oct. 16 appointed a commission of mediation and arbitration. Five days later the miners returned to their jobs, and five months later the Presidential Commission awarded them a 10 percent wage increase and shorter work days—but not the formal union recognition they had sought.

The difficulties that unions experienced in fashioning their strategies for bringing workers into membership and fighting low-wage non-union competition could best be observed in a long court fight which became nationally known as the Danbury Hatters case. In 1902, the AFL hatters union instituted a national boycott of a non-union company in Danbury, Conn. The company, charging a conspiracy in restraint of trade, under the provisions of the antitrust law, filed a damage suit in the state court but lost.

The case worked its way through the federal courts over the next few years, and in 1908 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 decision against the union. It held that the Hatters Union had participated in an illegal secondary boycott, which was subject to federal injunctive restraint. The decision was a clear signal to the federal judiciary and to the corporations that injunctions could be used to stop various kinds of labor strikes and strike-support actions. In addition, the individual strikers were fined a total of nearly $250,000. In 1915, the AFL proclaimed a Hatters' Day, in which workers voluntarily contributed an hour's pay to help pay off the fines. The money thus collected kept 184 individual Danbury hat workers from having their homes seized in order to pay the court-ordered levy. [It is important to differentiate between direct consumer boycotts or "unfair to labor" or "don't buy" activities, which are recognized as perfectly legal when conducted in connection with or in support of labor union disputes with employers—and, on the other hand, secondary boycotts, which were the issue in the Danbury Hatters case and which were made illegal under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act. A secondary boycott is one directed at companies or stores to try to force them not to use, or to offer for sale, products which have been made by a company involved in a strike or otherwise deemed "unfair" by the legitimate union. The secondary boycott has all but disappeared since Taft-Hartley was passed. It should be noted, however, that the courts have ruled that the Constitution's free speech provisions legally permit a union to place "informational pickets" outside a store selling "unfair" goods and calling attention to labor's "don't buy" campaign—so long as they do not call the store

itself "unfair" or ask the public not to patronize the establishment.]

This was not to be the first or last example of the way in which employers have sought to redirect the thrust of laws designed to regulate corporations and instead aimed them toward labor unions and their members. Indeed, even at the current time, efforts are still being made to include labor under the antitrust and other laws originally aimed at corporations.

Not all the strikes and struggles of the period were conducted by the "sons of toil" in the nation's heavy industries. Long before the rise of the contemporary feminist movement, large numbers of women were at work—particularly in the big cities and in the men's and women's garment industry. Their grievances were real and tangible in both the textile and garment industries. Their pay was often at sweatshop levels, their hours too long, the speed-up rampant, the working conditions dreadful. Conditions such as these led in 1909 to a strike known widely as "The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." The strikers, mostly women, almost all of them recent immigrants from eastern Europe, conducted the first big protest in the needle trades under the banner of the Ladies' Garment Workers against shirtwaist and dress manufacturers. Their plight brought widespread public support, and they gained the 52-hour work week and wage increases.

In 1910, some 50,000 cloakmakers called a strike in New York. Thanks to the efforts of Louis D. Brandeis, a lawyer later named to the U.S. Supreme Court, the dispute ended on a constructive note. A "protocol of peace" designed by Brandeis established procedures for conciliation and arbitration of future grievance disputes, as well as such important advances as the abolition of homework, the free use of electricity, 10 paid holidays a year, and piece work at rates fixed by joint union-management committees.

But a reminder that the garment industry was a good deal this side of paradise occurred in 1911, when a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Co. on New York's lower east side. About 150 employees—almost all of them young women—perished when the fire swept through the upper floors of the loft building in which they worked. Many burned to death; others jumped and died. Why so large a casualty list? The safety exits on the burning floors had been securely locked, allegedly to prevent "loss of goods." New York and the country were aroused by the tragedy. A state factory investigation committee headed by Frances Perkins (she was to become Franklin Roosevelt's secretary of labor in 1933, the first woman cabinet member in history) paved the way for many long-needed reforms in industrial safety and fire prevention measures.

Another of the historic industrial conflicts prior to World War I occurred in 1912 in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass. It was led not by an AFL union but by the radical Industrial Workers of the World—the

IWW, or the Wobblies, as they were generally known—an organization in frequent verbal and physical conflict with the AFL and its affiliates. The strike in Lawrence started when the mill owners, responding to a state legislature action reducing the work week from 54 to 52, coldly and without prior notice cut the pay rates by a 3½ percent. The move produced predictable results: a strike of 50,000 textile workers; arrests; fiery statements by the IWW leaders; police and militia attacks on peaceful meetings; and broad public support for the strikers. Some 400 children of strikers were "adopted" by sympathizers. When women strikers and their children were attacked at the railroad station by the police after authorities had decided no more youngsters could leave town, an enraged public protest finally forced the mill owners not only to restore the pay cuts but to increase the workers' wages to more realistic levels.

Perhaps the temper of the times in which working men and women sought to build their unions was epitomized by the attitude of George Baehr, head of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, at

Women workers were featured in the 1912 Labor Day Parade (far left), as they fought sweatshop conditions in New York's garment district and suffered such tragedies as the 1911 Triangle fire (below left). Frances Perkins spent six years crusading for reform after the fire.

the time of the 1902 coal strike. In Mr. Baehr's publicly expressed view, "the rights and interests of the labor man will be protected and cared for not by the labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country and upon the successful management on which so much depends." Such an attitude did not leave much room for flexibility in developing more equitable labor-management relationships.

Yet not all of the news was of strike and struggle. By 1904, the AFL could claim a membership in its affiliated unions of nearly 1,700,000 members. Ten years later, at the eve of World War I, it had climbed to about 2 million.

There were, furthermore, important legislative accomplishments. Congress, at the urging of the AFL, created a separate U.S. Department of Labor with a legislative mandate to protect and extend the rights of wage earners. A Children's Bureau, with a major concern to protect the victims of job exploitation, was

Women In the Unions

A noteworthy event in the labor movement of the early 1900s was the creation of the Women's Trade Union League, to help educate women workers about the advantages of union membership, to support their demands for better working conditions, and to acquaint the public with the serious exploitation of the rising number of women workers, many of them in "home industries" or industrial sweatshops.

It was founded by Mary O'Sullivan, a bindery worker who became the first woman organizer employed by the AFL; Jane Addams, the noted social worker and founder of Chicago's Hull House; Mary Kehew, a Boston philanthropist, and women who were officials in the unions of the garment and textile industries.

For much of its first century, the labor movement was—in huge majority—composed of men. Except in a few occupations—clerical work and the garment, textile, retail and hotel industries—the labor force was essentially male.

This began to change in World War II when women moved for the first time into many occupations formerly the domain solely of men. It has changed even more since the 1960s, with the increasing prevalence of two-wage-earner families at almost every income level.

More frequently now, women are being elected and appointed to prominent union positions, and the first woman member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council was elected in 1980. Some organizing efforts are now primarily directed at enlisting the support of non-union women employees.

created. The LaFollette Seaman's Act required urgently needed improvements in the working conditions on ships of the U.S. merchant marine. Of crucial importance, the Clayton Act of 1914 made explicit the legal concept that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce" and hence not subject to the kind of Sherman Act provisions which had been the issue in the Danbury Hatters case. The act gave a legal basis in the federal jurisdiction to strikes and boycotts and peaceful picketing, and dramatically limited the use of injunctions in labor disputes. Little wonder that AFL President Gompers hailed the Clayton Act as a "magna carta," probably not foreseeing that future court decisions and interpretations would seriously undermine the power of the language of the law.

The Adamson Act passed by Congress in 1916 concerning work hours on the railroads was an important milestone in the decades-long effort to achieve the 8-hour day, an objective of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1884 and of many subsequent strikes. The 10-hour day—an improvement in its era—was introduced for federal government employees in 1840, but it took until the early years of the 20th century before the 8-hour work day became broadly accepted in the private sector, particularly in the printing and building trades. The mass production industries and the railroads continued their refusal to grant it.

The Adamson Act brought the shorter work day to railroad employees. It came in other industries through the impact of strikes, collective bargaining, state laws and two federal statutes: the Public Contracts Act in 1936, requiring contractors on government jobs to observe the 8-hour day, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which provided a maximum work week for employers in interstate commerce —first a maximum of 44 hours and, after two years, 40 hours a week.

Wartime Gains and Post-War Challenges

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, the AFL under President Gompers' leadership worked in close cooperation with President Wilson to ensure industrial peace and a steady flow of military equipment and armaments for the American Expeditionary Force in Europe. As head of the War Committee on Labor and member of the Council for National Defense, Gompers and the unions he represented played an increasingly important role in national affairs. A wartime disputes board helped avoid strikes and maintain production; it had the support and cooperation of the labor movement. With the vast expansion of production for military and civilian needs, unions grew rapidly during the wartime years.

A symbolic recognition of labor's new status was President Wilson's visit to Buffalo in 1917 to address the annual AFL convention—the first time a President had made such an appearance. In succeeding Administrations most Presidents, Republican and Democratic alike, spoke to the labor conventions.

One effort in which Gompers worked hard and successfully was for the creation of the International Labor Organization, an inter-governmental body headquartered in Geneva, with government, labor and employer delegates and advisers, to discuss international problems directly affecting workers and to seek the elevation of work standards and the rights of workers in every country. The ILO was established under the Treaty of Versailles that followed World War I. Although the U.S. Senate finally refused to ratify the treaty, the American labor movement played an important role in ILO affairs beginning in 1934, and more intensely after World War II when the ILO became a specialized international agency of the United Nations.

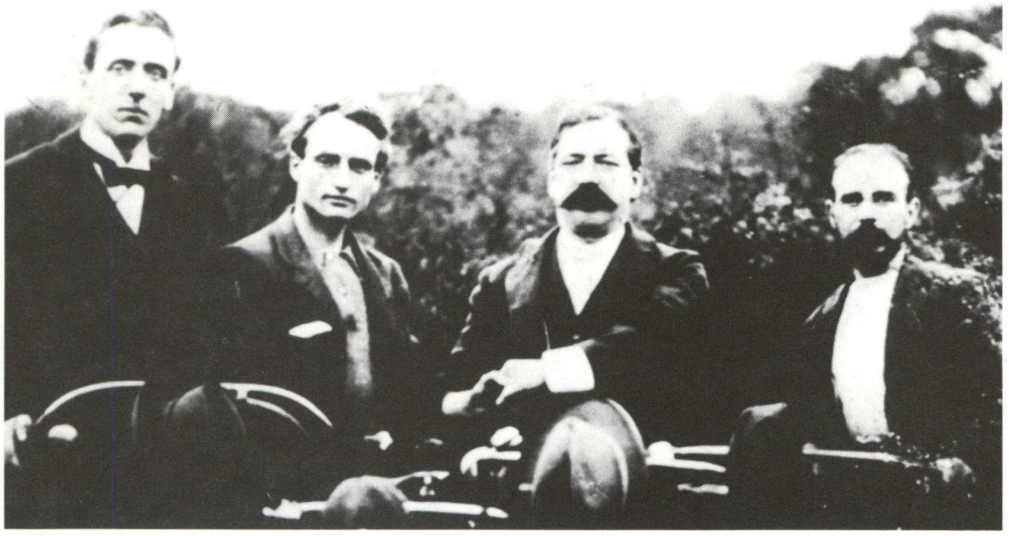
During the years following World War I, however, the labor movement suffered setbacks and difficulties.

While AFL membership had reached almost 4 million by 1919, the postwar reaction from employers and their allies was swift and predictable. Elbert Gary, head of U.S. Steel (the company bestowed his name on the Indiana city), refused to meet with striking workers. The AFL endorsed and supported a strike of steel workers committed to such objectives as the end of the 12-hour day, the dismantlement of company-dominated "unions," collective bargaining and wage increases. Using massive propaganda which sought to depict the strike as "unpatriotic," plus such time-tested favorites as strikebreakers, spies, armed guards and cooperative police departments, "Big Steel" finally wore down the strikers, and they were forced to return to work early in 1920 under the old conditions.

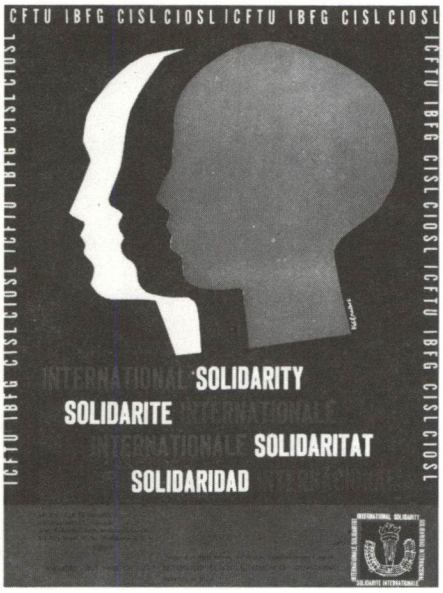
Both the steel strike and an early post-war meat packing strike found employers—not for the first time nor the last—importing blacks from southern rural areas and Mexican peasants in order to serve as strikebreakers, usually without advance knowledge of that fact until they had to face the ordeal of being escorted through hostile picket lines. These random events, however, did not prevent the labor movement from playing a role of support for future civil rights activities and legislation.

The "Roaring Twenties," nostalgically depicted in some movies and musical comedies as an era of unbounded prosperity and champagne-induced gaiety, fell a good deal short of those marks for most American working people. Throughout the decade, unemployment rose, quietly, almost anonymously. It was a time of considerable hardship for many of the unemployed, long before the days of unemployment insurance or supplementary benefits.

The postwar depression brought wages down sharply and caused major erosion of union membership—a loss of about a million members in the years from 1920 to 1923. The difficulties were multiplied by



Labor's interest in international solidarity goes back a long way. AFL President Sam Gompers, third from left, goes bike-riding in England with friends from the British Trades Union Congress. An AFL-CIO poster of the 1950s stresses across-the-border friendships.



the decision of the National Association of Manufacturers and other anti-union "open shop" groups to wipe out or seriously diminish the status of American unions. The fear of "Bolsheviks," often hysterical, that was nurtured by the Russian communist revolution was used gleefully by the anti-union forces. As early as 1913, President John Kirby of the NAM had decided the trade union movement was "an un-American, illegal and infamous conspiracy." As the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Sen. Robert LaFollette Jr., reported years later, such demands as "union recognition, shorter hours, higher wages, regulation of child labor and the hours and wages of women and children in industry" came to be seen—under the influence of the NAM-sponsored 'American Plan' —as aspects of the alleged communist revolution from which the anti-labor employers wanted to save the nation. Strikebreaking, blacklisting and vigilanteeism became, for a time, acceptable aspects of this new and spurious brand of patriotism.

The "yellow dog contract," which workers had to

From Murdered Miners To Shiny Dimes

One chapter of the history of early-century industrial conflicts involved John D. Rockefeller, the first tycoon of the age of energy and the creator of the Standard Oil complex of corporations.

Rockefeller controlled the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corporation, whose coal miners went on strike in 1914. With their families, they were promptly evicted from company-owned homes in Ludlow, Colo.

They moved into a cluster of tents, around which National Guard soldiers took positions and at night occasionally fired their rifles into the colony. To protect the children, the miners dug a cave under the largest tent. But on Easter night 1914, company-hired gunmen and some of the National Guard poured oil over the strikers' tents and set them on fire.

As the frantic miners and their families ran for safety in the night, they were machine-gunned. Some escaped, some were wounded and 13 children and a pregnant woman in the recently dug cave all died—some with gun wounds, some from suffocation.

The nationwide protest against the killings on Rockefeller property were immediate and long sustained. Eventually, it led Rockefeller, the nation's first billionaire, to hire Ivy Lee, an early public relations man, to repair John D.'s sullied reputation.

Even as an old man, Rockefeller continued to hand out shiny new dimes to little children in the effort to erase the Ludlow image—but among the miners and workers in many other unions, the memory of Ludlow persists like an endless bad dream.

sign in order to get a job, bound them never to join a union; at the same time, the corporations promoted employee representation plans or company unions—pale and generally useless imitations of the real thing.

In 1924, faced with continual attacks and decisions by the Republican and Democratic parties to present the voters with the very limited choice between President Coolidge, a laissez faire conservative, and John W. Davis, a corporation lawyer, the AFL voted to support "neither of the above" but to make an endorsement for the first time in a presidential election. Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, an old line friend of labor and the farmers, ran on the Progress Party ticket with strong AFL backing. He drew an impressive 17 percent of the total vote.

That same year, Samuel Gompers died, leaving a heritage of admiration and respect and a philosophy of trade unionism that still today underlies much of labor's thinking. His successor was William Green, who guided the destinies of the Federation until his death in 1952. Green, born in Coshocton, Ohio, in 1873, left school to become a coal miner, joined the union, and served as Mine Workers secretary-treasurer for a dozen years before being elected AFL president. An earnest and dedicated trade unionist, Green presided over the AFL with calm dignity during a difficult period—the depression years and the years of the division of the labor movement.

The decade of the 1920s drifted on a downhill course for the labor movement. Virulent anti-unionism, the steady, creeping ascent of unemployment, and the complacent political climate engendered by the Hoover Administration had a decidedly negative effect on the fortunes of the AFL, its unions and America's working men and women in every part of the country, in every sector of the economy.

Depression, War and A Labor Schism Healed

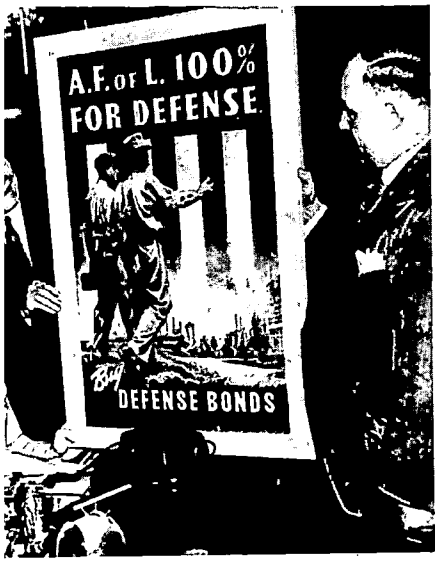
December 1931—the 50th anniversary of the creation of the modern labor movement—found America and much of the world sliding down the much steeper slope of a cataclysmic economic depression. Business enterprises failed by the thousands, production plummeted, unemployment went through the roof. By 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President, the American economy was in chaos—and the American trade union movement was but a ghost of its former strength and numbers.

Roosevelt, taking the leadership of the all but paralyzed nation on March 4, 1933, undertook a number of programs designed to recharge the economy, feed the unemployed and restore confidence. At his urging, Congress passed the National Recovery Administration; the NRA's Section 7a specifically placed on the statute books the right of unions to exist and to negotiate with employers. Although it had no real enforcement powers, Section 7a was seen by millions of workers as a green light—if not a government invitation—to join a union.

Many AFL unions took quick advantage of the new atmosphere and soon began to register spectacular gains in membership. Some issued leaflets suggesting that "President Roosevelt wants you to join the union."

The Supreme Court soon declared NRA unconstitutional, and Section 7a was no more. Under the leadership of Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, Congress in 1936 enacted the National Labor Relations Act—known as the Wagner Act. It went beyond "7a" to establish a legal basis for unions; set collective bargaining as a matter of national policy required by the law; provided for secret ballot elections for the choosing of unions; and protected union members from employer intimidation and coercion. That law, as amended in 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act and in 1959 by the Landrum Griffin Act, is still in force.

The surge in union membership in the early years



Unemployed workers' rallies and sitdown strikes (above) marked the Depression, followed by labor's war efforts —symbolized by Rosie the Riveter (far left) and an AFL visit with President Roosevelt.

of the New Deal, and the potential for organizing the important non-union mass production industries like steel, automobile, rubber, textile and others, led directly to the most serious schism in the history of the modern labor movement. Heads of a number of the industrial unions in the AFL, led by John L. Lewis of the Mine Workers, called upon the AFL to finance and support big organizing campaigns in the non-union industries on a basis that all the workers in each industry would belong to one industrial, or "vertical," union. Most of the leaders of the AFL unions presided over craft, or "horizontal" unions, and they maintained that employees of the same skills or crafts in the unorganized industries should sooner or later belong to their organizations.

In November 1935, Lewis announced the creation of the CIO—the Committee for Industrial Organization—composed of about a dozen leaders of AFL unions, to carry on the effort for industrial unionism. Lewis, born in Iowa in 1880 of Welsh immigrant parents, went to work in the coal mines and became president of the Mine Workers in 1920. An orator of remarkable virtuosity, Lewis voiced increasingly bitter attacks on his colleagues on the AFL Executive Council; his words helped speed the break. In 1936, the various CIO unions were expelled from the Federation—because, said Lewis, they favored industrial unionism; because, said AFL President Green, they had flouted procedures and rules of the AFL. In 1938 the CIO held its first constitutional convention and became the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In any event, the CIO began a remarkably successful series of organizing campaigns—and in rapid succession, over the next few years, brought industrial unionism to large sectors of basic American industry. After U.S. Steel signed with the CIO Steel Workers in the spring of 1937, major organizing efforts brought, during the next few years, first signed agreements—most frequently after strike action—with major corporations in the steel, auto, rubber, glass, maritime, meat packing and other mass production industries. At the same time the unions remaining in the AFL registered even more substantial gains in membership.

The growth in union strength of both the AFL and CIO throughout the period, coupled with Roosevelt's domestic program, led to passage of a number of national social programs long advocated by the labor movement: among them, the national social security program, unemployment compensation, workers' compensation, and a federal minimum wage-hour law (the original minimum hourly pay set by the 1938 statute was 25 cents an hour).

During World War II, the AFL and CIO, while preserving areas of disagreement, began to find more substantial bases for working together on problems affecting all workers. Philip Murray, who succeeded Lewis as president of the CIO, and AFL President Green served jointly and cooperatively on a number of government commissions involved in the war effort. Murray, born in Scotland in 1886, came as a boy to the coal fields of western Pennsylvania, and through his negotiating talents and oratorical ability rose

through the Mine Workers ranks to vice president. Murray headed the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee in 1936, and in 1942 he was elected president of the new United Steelworkers, a position he retained while serving as head of the CIO.

In 1952, Murray died, and was succeeded by Walter P. Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. Reuther, born in 1907 as one of four sons of a socialist brewery worker in Wheeling, W.Va., moved to Detroit during the depression and became a skilled worker in the auto industry. He was one of the prime organizers of the Auto Workers and after World War II won a closely contested battle for the UAW presidency, a post he held until his death in an airplane crash in 1970. Just a few weeks after Murray's death, William Green died, and was succeeded by George Meany, the AFL secretary-treasurer. Many of the old antagonisms had died out, many of the old issues had been resolved, and the stage was set for merger of the two labor groups. They were reunited into the AFL-CIO at a convention in New York opening on Dec. 5, 1955.

George Meany was unanimously elected president of the merged labor federation, and a new chapter opened for the American labor movement. Meany, born in the Bronx, N.Y., in 1894, followed his father's footsteps as a plumber, became active in his local union, and was elected president of the New York State Federation of Labor in 1934. On the basis of a brilliant record of helping win enactment of state labor and social legislation, he was elected AFL secretary-treasurer, to fill a vacancy, in 1939.

The AFL-CIO Years

George Meany's commitment to "the traditional objectives of the labor movement" was expanded in his role as AFL-CIO president, to include labor's "full contribution to the welfare of our neighbors, to the communities in which we live, and to the nation as a whole." In the 25 years after the merger, a number of important issues and trends emerged; they embrace both the tradition or improving working conditions and a new emphasis on issues involved in local, state, national and international affairs.

While labor's interest in politics was by no means new, the development of COPE—the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education—brought to labor a more efficient and practical means of achieving these three goals: (1) To make workers aware of the records and promises of the candidates running for public office. (2) To encourage workers to register and to vote. (3) To endorse candidates at local, state and national levels.

The AFL-CIO merger and its accompanying agreements brought about the virtual elimination of jurisdictional disputes between unions that had plagued the labor movement and alienated public sympathy in earlier years. The unions placed a new priority on organizing workers in areas, industries and plants where no effective system of labor representation yet existed. In many cases, it meant crossing the barriers of old thinking and tired methods to reach the employees of companies which for years had resisted unions.

A major phenomenon of this period was the rapid growth of unions of government employees—federal, state and local. For many decades, postal employees, teachers, the fire fighters, and building and metal trades workers in some federal installations represented about the only substantially unionized part of public sector employment. With increasing economic pressures, more public employees turned to unions—a trend spurred on by such developments as an Executive Order by President Kennedy in 1962 underscoring the right of federal employees to join unions and negotiate on many issues, and by various statutes in the states and cities providing for various forms of collective bargaining with their personnel.

Throughout the years after World War II, women

American workers and their unions reached a milestone in the merger of the AFL and CIO (far left) in 1955. In the quarter-century since then, some of the jobs those union workers did changed dramatically—and others remained the same.

On the Farm: Workers Seek Equality

The generally unenviable plight of agricultural workers has for many decades been a thorn in the American social conscience. Large numbers of migrant farm workers—most of them blacks or Hispanics from the South and the Southwest, as well as workers who have entered the country either on temporary work passes or illegally from the Caribbean and Mexico—have been excluded from the legal protections afforded to most workers in industry and commerce.

Suffering from low pay, abominable temporary housing, lack of access to decent schools for their children, and often deprived of adequate medical care or safety protection measures, the migrant farm workers have been too often the "forgotten people" of the American economy.

In recent years, the Farm Workers union—in the face of great difficulties—has been able to organize some of them, principally in California, and bring them the benefits of collective bargaining.

Public response, in the form of consumer boycotts of grapes and lettuce at various times, has helped their cause. The beginnings of legislation, both federal and state, and attention to their plight in the press and on television, have brought some relief to the farm workers. But much remains to be done.

entered the workforce in ever increasing numbers, and especially significant was their entry into "nontraditional" occupations. A long sought objective—equal pay for equal work—was passed by Congress in 1963, prohibiting economic discrimination on the basis of sex.

Five years later, the Age Discrimination Act was passed to assist persons in the older brackets of the workforce.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, strongly supported by the AFL-CIO, was a significant forward step toward equal rights for blacks and other minorities, at the workplace and in the community. President Johnson, in signing the act into law, acknowledged that it could not have happened without the affirmative support of the AFL-CIO.

The Civil Rights Act could trace its legislative history back to the days of World War II, when A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters, persuaded President Roosevelt to issue an Executive Order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Randolph, a brilliant union officer and civil rights champion, managed to convince FDR that governmental action to stop discrimination in hiring and promotion was essential to the wartime production effort.

The words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. illustrate the common bonds among labor, blacks, Hispanics and other minority groups: "Our needs are identical with labor's needs—decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community."

Throughout these years, the AFL-CIO was forced to resist various efforts to limit the rights of unions. The so-called "right-to-work" bills, which in fact were aimed at outlawing contract language providing union security, arose in many states. In Congress there were continued efforts to expand the Hobbs Act to make every picket-line scuffle or act of violence

a federal case, even though they are currently covered by state and local laws.

The increasing interest in safety on the job, heightened by the introduction of new and potentially dangerous materials used in a wide variety of industries, gave rise to labor's intensive support for a federal Occupational Safety and Health Act, which became law in 1970. Specifically, the act authorized the Secretary of Labor to establish health and safety standards, to enforce them, and to listen to employees' legitimate complaints about conditions at the workplace.

Full employment was and continues to be a first-rank concern of the AFL-CIO, with its vivid recollection of past unemployment. The unions have kept insisting that whoever is able and willing to work should not be denied this opportunity. The full employment concept was endorsed by labor in its successful drive for passage of the Employment Act of 1946, which had the support of President Truman. The Humphrey-Hawkins Act of 1978 re-expressed the need to direct full attention to the problem of unemployment in the United States.

Recognition that workers have interests as consumers as well as producers has been apparent in the labor movement for many decades. Unions have played an active role in the formation of consumer cooperatives, and at both national and local levels have worked with other citizen groups for the enactment of various forms of consumer protection legislation. At the same time unions have voiced concern that apparent "bargains" of goods imported from low-wage countries may in fact be of inferior quality or workmanship and thus, in the long run, more expensive for the consumer. In recent years, there has been a vast increase in imported manufactured goods—often produced by corporations directly or indirectly related to American conglomerate companies—and the AFL-CIO has called for a revitalization of American manufacturing industries.

The strengthening of free unions throughout the world is another ongoing objective of the AFL-CIO. Special agencies functioning within the framework of the AFL-CIO carry out many of labor's efforts to move toward this goal, which was constantly expressed by George Meany: to build strong, free, noncommunist unions in the democratic societies of the free world and to resist all forms of tyranny and political repression. In fact, resistance to domination of workers and their organizations by governments or by political parties, or the control of unions by right-wing or left-wing extremist groups, has been a constant theme of American labor during the entire post-war period.

The broadening range of the union movement's interest and activities which began during the Roosevelt years with the expansion of federal government programs relating to the nation's economic and social problems, has been reflected in the size of the Federation's operating staff. In the early years of the AFL,

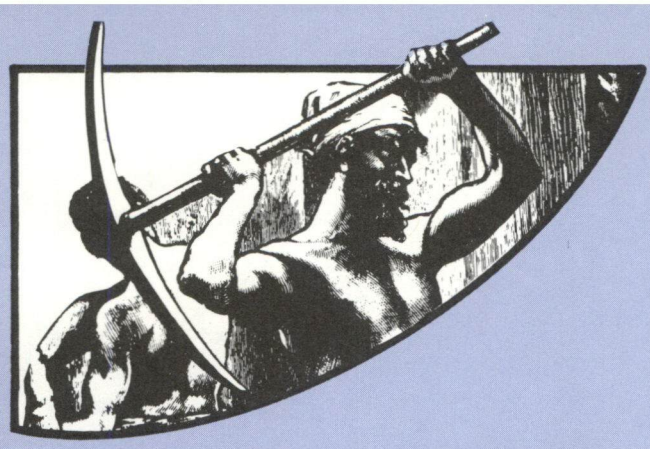
that staff consisted of few persons beyond the officers' secretaries and a janitor.

During the past half-century, however, the Federation has endeavored to meet the challenges of the times and to function as the "people's lobby." In pursuit of these goals, the AFL-CIO has built a corps of specialized professional personnel: legislative representatives, lawyers, research experts, writers and publicists, as well as departments of education, safety and health, social security, community services, civil rights and international affairs.

In addition groups of unions have developed autonomous departments of the AFL-CIO to meet specialized needs. The first of these, the Building and Construction Trades, was set up back in 1916. The Industrial Union Department was created in the AFL-CIO merger agreement. Other departments include the Union Label & Service Trades, Maritime Trades, Metal Trades, Food & Beverage, Professional Employees and Public Employees.

The George Meany Center for Labor Studies, established in 1969, plays an increasingly important role in training labor union staff and officials through a range of courses from techniques of collective bargaining to labor law institutes.

Meany retired at the AFL-CIO convention in 1979, at the age of 85; he nominated Lane Kirkland as his successor, and Thomas R. Donahue was elected secretary-treasurer. Kirkland, born in South Carolina in 1922, had been a merchant marine officer during World War II, and became a member of the Master, Mates & Pilots Union. He joined the staff of the AFL in the post-war years; filled a number of increasingly responsible positions, including that of executive assistant to Meany; and was elected secretary-treasurer of the Federation in 1969. Donahue, born in New York in 1928, served in many capacities for the Service Employees Union, both with its Local 32B in New York and as vice president of the international union. He was named in 1973 as executive assistant to Meany.



Samuel Gompers vs. Horatio Alger: Defining the Work Ethic

by Stuart B. Kaufman

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

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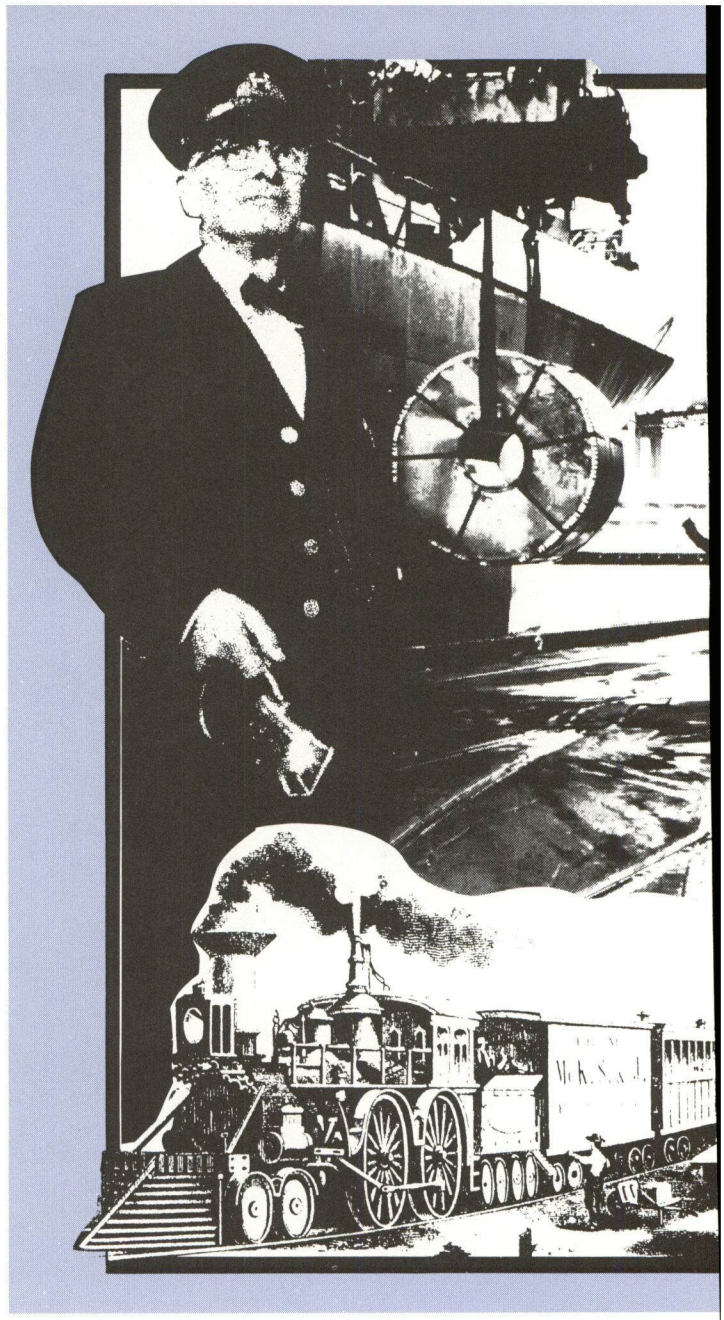
win the race. Inherited riches were a marginal advantage at best. Historian Stephen Thernstrom relates a story from a mid-century New England newspaper about an Edward Marvel, an unskilled English laborer. Out of work for weeks, Marvel returns home one night to tell his wife Agnes "The native independence 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 God tried in the Fire.' The Tailor: 'May my Soul be furnished with the Garments of Salvation!' "

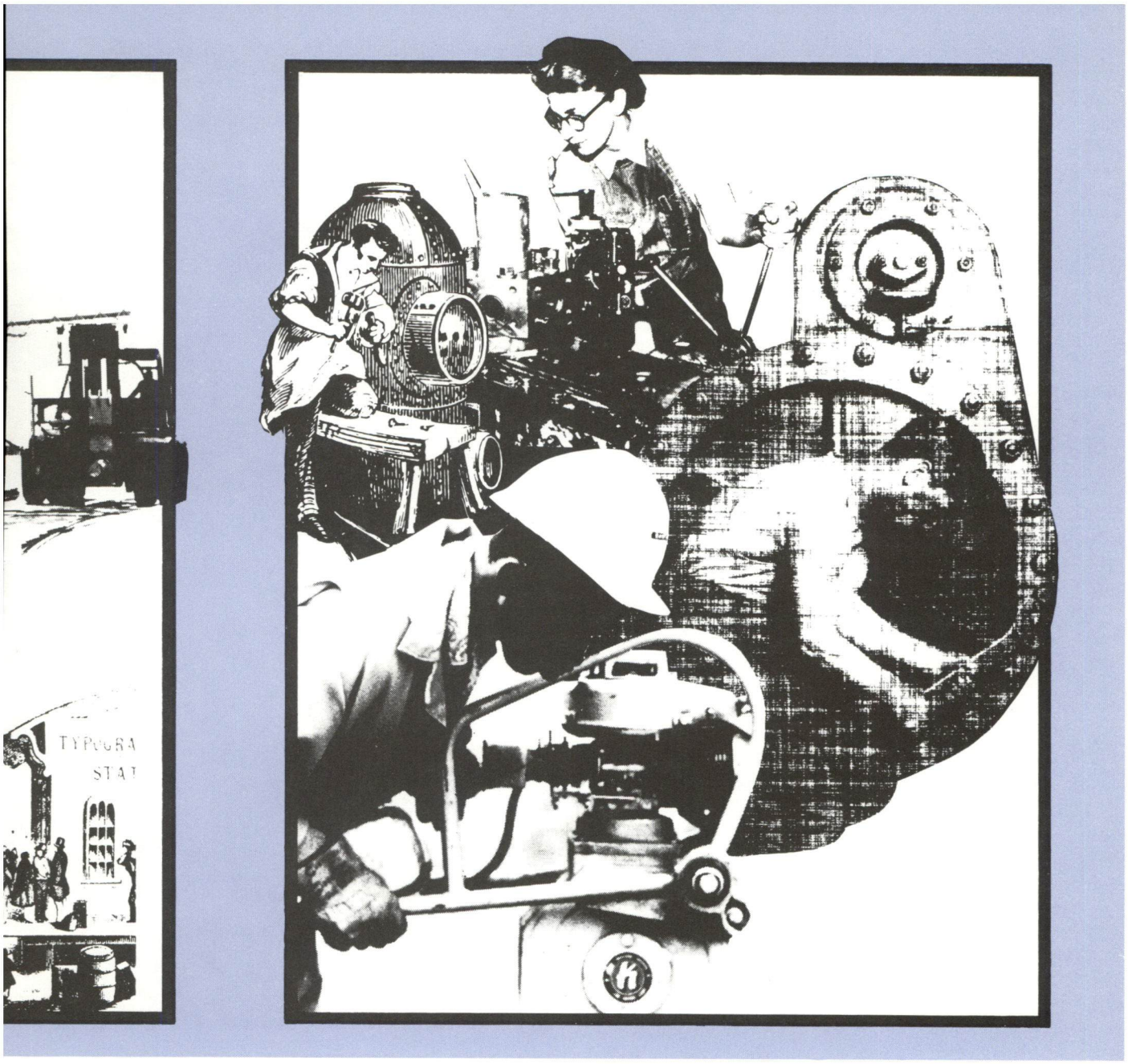
The message from Mather, then, was that if in the course of working, one also rose in one's trade to the status of an independent craftsman, perhaps with some journeymen of one's own, an apprentice or two, owning one's shop, sitting in the better pews in church, this was the natural course of things: 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 Samuel 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.

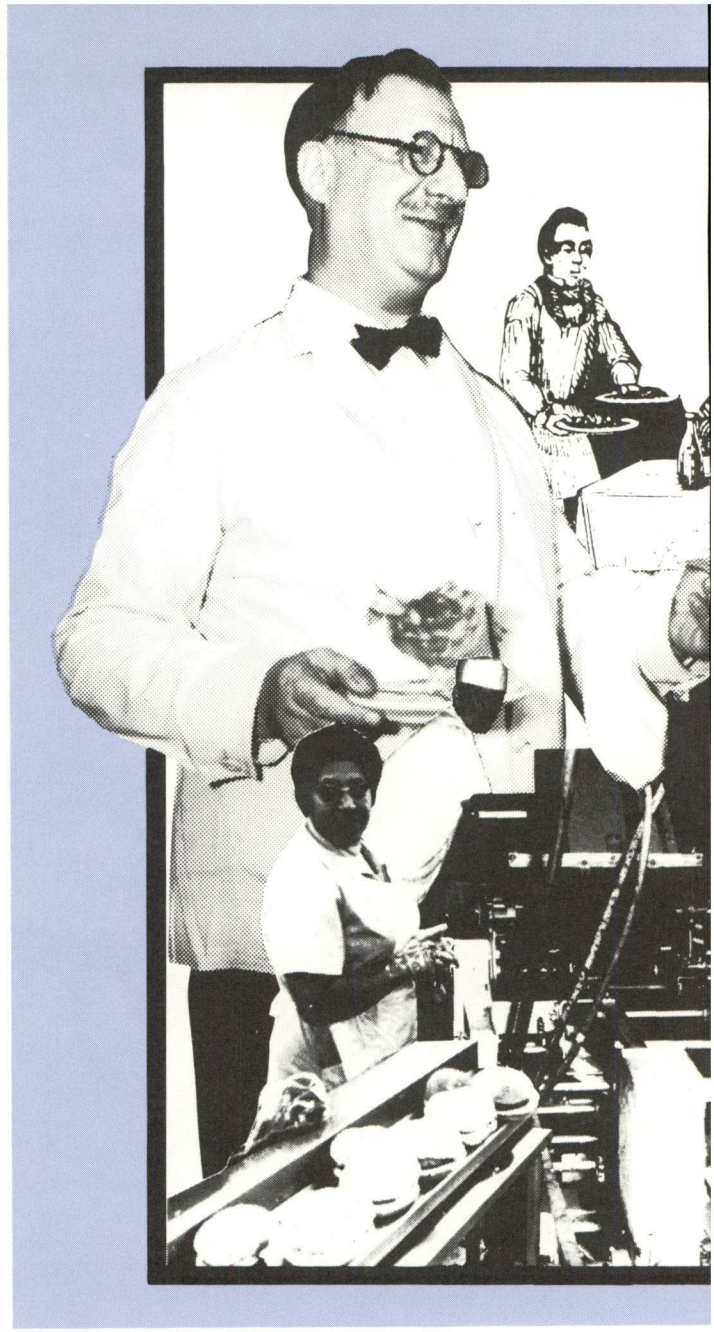
Gompers said, "To be free, the workers must have choice. To have choice they must retain in their own hands the right to determine under what conditions they will work." This assertion of the right to be free within the context of a shop or factory or workplace owned by another implied a modification 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 per-

verted 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. . . ."

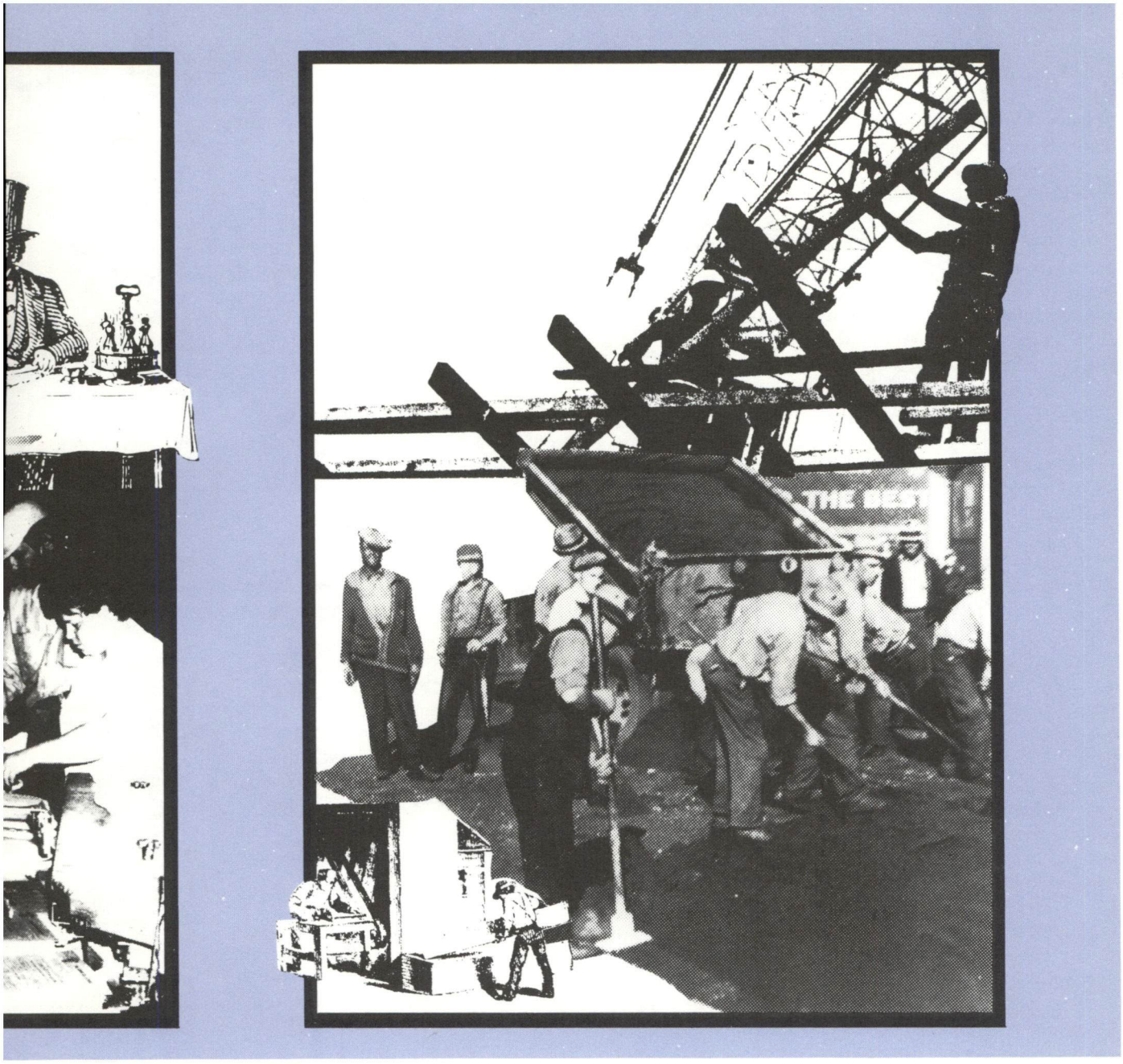
Such an assertion of rights by Gompers flowed naturally from the aggressive spirit of the craftsmen of the cigar shops in which Gompers had worked. One is carried back to an episode Gompers recalled in his autobiography as happening in the Eagle Cigar Company in New York City where he worked:

"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 steel mills 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.

William Green: Guardian of the Middle Years

William Green was the president of the American Federation of Labor from Samuel Gompers' death in 1924 until 1952. At the 1943 AFL convention, a commander of the American Legion exhorted labor to a greater war effort by ending strikes. Green responded as follows:

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.

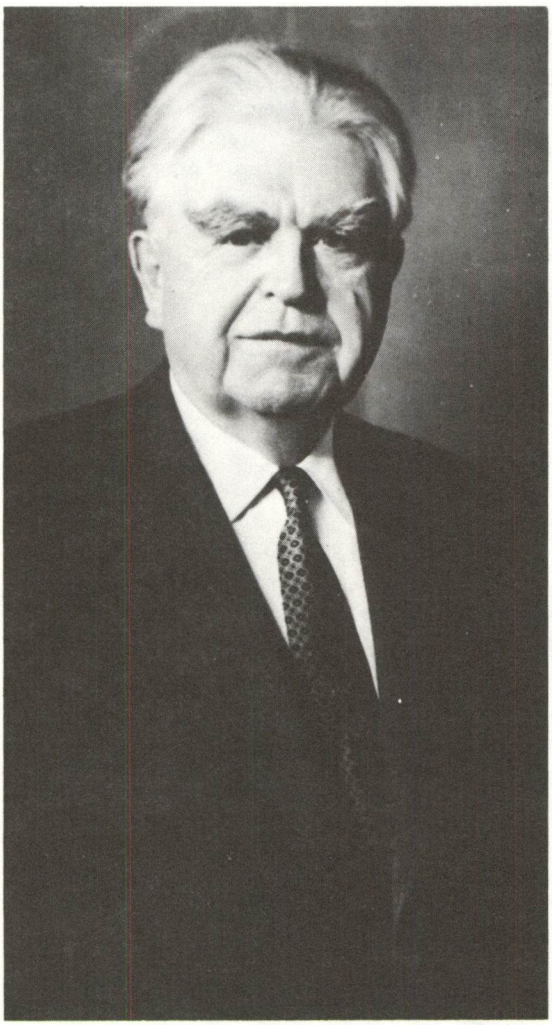
There are 2 million members of the AF of L in the armed services and we are planning for their return. It is our firm determination to see that the seniority rights of all these members are protected when they come back to America, and if necessary we will compel employers to give them their places back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

John L. Lewis and the Founding of the CIO

John L. Lewis was a volcano.

In both action and rhetoric, he played the center stage of American labor history as president of the United Mine Workers from 1920 to 1960—and he played his role hard as well as long.



In action, John L. Lewis led one of American labor's most important events: the break with the AFL craft tradition to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Just as dramatically, he left the CIO presidency after just five years. He vowed in 1940 that if his candidate, Republican Wendell Wilkie, wasn't elected over President Franklin Roosevelt, he would resign. And he did.

In words, John L. Lewis was one of the most eloquent figures in American history. Yet history will perhaps best equate him with one of the few quotes in which he kept it simple. Faced with the threat of the national guard taking the place of striking miners, Lewis said: "You can't dig coal with bayonets." That has become a motto for worker reaction against government intervention and employer injunction, whether in coal or any other U.S. industry.

Lewis was born in 1880 and was a delegate to the 1901 UMW convention. Samuel Gompers hired him as an AFL field representative in 1911, but Lewis returned to the UMW in 1917 to a staff job, then became president in 1920. He retired in 1960 and died in 1969.

The following are some examples of the words which make John L. Lewis an important part of Labor's centennial.

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 respectability; 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 major-

ity 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-Harley 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.

I am one of those who does not think that all is lost. I represent an organization whose members believe they pay their officers to fight for them, not to deliver them into slavery. And four weeks before this convention assembled we found our great leaders beating the drums in their own private little conclaves, trying to devise ways and means to have this convention call the Taft-Hartley Act a good Act, with a minimum degree of criticism from their membership.

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.

The Federation Presidents: Murray, Reuther, Meany

The CIO Presidents: Philip Murray

Philip Murray was born May 25, 1886, in Blantyle, Scotland, the son of Irish immigrants. At seven, Murray got his first taste of work, going into the mines to help his father. In 1902, the Murray family immigrated to the United States, and at age 16, Murray went to work for the Keystone Coal & Coke Co. He earned a dollar for every mining car he could fill with coal, usually about three in a day. By the time he was 18, Murray had led a miners' strike, been fired and blackballed.

That experience directed his life, Murray said, "and thus, I have been spared the trying hours many young men face in deciding what career to pursue."

His choice was trade unionism—the endless fight to bring equality and dignity, security and justice to the lives of working people. In his career, Murray was to be an architect of industrial unionism in America, to guide and nurture its growth.

Murray was one of a dozen men who gathered in an office in Pittsburgh in June, 1936. He was a vice president of the United Mine Workers of America and on loan from UMW President John L. Lewis, his long-time friend and confidant. The challenge was an awesome one: to organize the work-force in America's steel industry. It had been tried before but each drive had ended in bloody defeat with a work force more bitterly divided when it was over than when it began.

These union pioneers knew the magnitude of their task, as did the storied John L. Lewis, whose Mine Workers supplied half-a-million dollars for the organizing effort. They set up the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), as part of the new Committee for Industrial Organization, which later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Murray was later to be president of the CIO.

Murray knew that consolidating forces was the only hope for organizing steel, and SWOC's first public statement, a calm, reasoned Phil Murray expression, stressed that:

"The Steel Workers Organizing Committee wishes at the outset of this campaign to emphasize its main objective . . . is to establish a permanent organization of the workers for the orderly and peaceful presentation and negotiation of their grievances and demands. Our purposes will be to avoid industrial strife and the calling of strikes, if we are met in a reasonable spirit by the employers, and to concentrate all our efforts on recruiting members into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is composed of responsible representatives of many of the country's greatest labor organizations. These unions have a long record of success in carrying through collective bargaining with a minimum of industrial strife. . . . The Steel Workers Organizing Committee, by agreement with the Amalgamated Association, is wholly responsible for the conduct of this campaign and will insist that local policies conform to the national plan of action upon which it depends. . . ."

The roots of SWOC go back to the American Federation of Labor and the Mine Workers. In 1920, Lewis made Murray a vice president of the Mine Workers. When Lewis split with the AFL in 1935, Murray followed him to form the CIO and to continue his service to Lewis in those first years of struggle in the big industrial organizing battles.

During the 1920s and 1930s, when Lewis was not prone to sharing the headlines with anyone, Phil Murray sublimated himself to the man who was the most widely-known force in American labor. In those years, he matured in his knowledge of labor relations and absorbed an unusual understanding of business economics and industrial management. He became an expert in the Wagner Act and there were few who could rival his understanding of the National Labor Relations Act.

Murray played "infantry" to Lewis' "cavalry." Lewis would thunder and bluster and threaten the coal operators, then Murray would move in with his

impressive array of solid economic facts. It was Murray who consolidated the gains achieved by Lewis's fiery assaults. His affinity for facts, and the ability to relate them to human needs made him a formidable negotiator.

Murray carried the message of union democracy into the dingy mill towns around Pittsburgh and elsewhere. On March 2, 1937, he signed his first contract—with the industry giant, U.S. Steel Corp. While the package did improve wage and benefit provisions, it was more a peace pact with the giant steelmaker, and it served to recognize and elevate the place of workers in the economic and social structure of the nation. It stood alone for some time in steel, though, since long and bitter strikes were needed to bring the other steel producers to the same accommodation.

Differences between Murray and John L. Lewis grew. Lewis had endorsed Wilkie for president in 1940, tying his CIO presidency to the defeat of Franklin Roosevelt. When FDR won handily, Lewis carried out his threat to resign as president, handing over the reins of the CIO to Murray. By 1942, their differences had led to a split.

Murray imparted a new image to the CIO, different from the tough, street fighter tag that it had acquired in its early days. The highly respectable CIO now advised presidents and congressmen and was welcomed into economic circles.

In addition to his work in steel, Murray assisted Lewis and the Reuther brothers in negotiating contracts between the United Auto Workers and the big automakers. His greatest triumph for the UAW came in 1941, when he and John L. Lewis sat down and explained the entire unionization package convincingly to Henry Ford in Detroit, a meeting which helped lead to a negotiated settlement.

Murray was a man ahead of his time. Even before the first stirrings in the national consciousness for civil rights for all Americans, Phil Murray faced down the police in Birmingham, Alabama, refusing in 1946 to make a Labor Day address outside a union hall until police had taken down rope barriers separating whites and blacks.

Speaking at the charter convention of the United Steelworkers of America in Cleveland in May, 1942, he said:

"You have done great work (in organizing and servicing), but you have not done half the work that is still to be done. You are not going to develop a Utopia here on earth, even if you and I should live for a thousand years. But you are going to make more progress than you have ever made before; you are going to improve your conditions beyond your dreams as you go down the road."

That was both the challenge and the course he set. Phil Murray died on November 9, 1952, leaving a legacy of devotion to justice and dignity handed down to new generations of steelworkers.

The CIO Presidents: Walter Reuther

"Labor cannot make progress at the expense of the rest of the community, labor can make progress only as the rest of the community makes progress," Walter Reuther said, summing up his philosophy that the labor movement was truly an instrument of social progress.

Reuther was president of the United Auto Workers from 1946 to 1970 and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations from 1952 until its merger with the American Federation of Labor in 1955. He became a vice president of the federation he helped reunite.

He was born in Wheeling, W. Va. on September 1, 1907, Labor Day. His family's life revolved around trade unionism and social and economic causes. Reuther said his father Valentine taught his children Walter, Ted, Roy, Victor and Christine that "the thing most important in the world to fight for was the other guy, the brotherhood of man, the Golden Rule."

Reuther left school at 15 to help support his family, then moved to Detroit in 1926 where he worked for Ford Motor Co. as a tool and die maker for nearly seven years. At the same time, he finished high school and entered Wayne State University. At college, he formed the Social Problems Club and led its members to help out on picket lines.

Ford fired Reuther in 1933 for union activities, and while he and his brothers worked their way on a trip around the world, the fledgling UAW was born in August of 1935. Reuther immediately became active in the new union when he returned to Detroit.

At first, he had no trouble getting work in tool and die shops, but, as his union activities became known, he was blacklisted. Jobs became harder, then impossible to get and Reuther began to work full time without pay as a UAW organizer.

He was voted to the union's first delegate-elected executive board in 1936. He had drawn together 78 workers on Detroit's West Side and organized UAW West Side Local 174 in September of that year. By 1937, the local had more than 30,000 members.

The sitdown strike helped dramatize the desire of auto industry workers for a union, and Reuther led the Kelsey-Hayes Co. workers in one of the earliest sitdowns in December 1936. The workers won union recognition and a 75 cent an hour minimum wage in a Christmas Eve settlement.

Throughout 1936 and 1937, Reuther was tirelessly active in organizing, helping with the strikes, and, in early 1937, in the historic General Motors sitdown, a major success. Within weeks of the GM settlement, Chrysler workers won their strike too.

Ford Motor Co. still held out. In May 1937,

Reuther and other organizers went to the company's huge River Rouge Plant in Dearborn, Mich., to distribute handbills. As they climbed the concrete steps of the overpass between the street and the parking lot, thugs from Ford's "service department" attacked and beat them, an act which shocked the country and drew public sympathy to the workers' struggle. The UAW finally won an agreement after an overwhelmingly win in an NLRB election in 1941.

Reuther's life was threatened on other occasions, and in 1948, a shotgun blast fired into his home left him hospitalized for three months with arm and chest wounds. The attacker was never traced.

From 1939 to 1948, Reuther was director of the GM department of the UAW, and he devised the GM tool and die "strategy strike" in the summer of 1939. The action not only won many additional benefits for GM workers, but also firmly established the UAW as the collective bargaining agent for the corporation's employees, putting an end to GM's attempts to evade its obligations to the union.

Reuther was a strong advocate of union political action.

"There's a direct relationship between the breadbox and the ballot box." Reuther said, "and what the union fights for and wins at the bargaining table can be taken away in the legislative halls."

President Roosevelt's policies got strong support from Reuther as did his campaigns and those of each Democratic presidential candidate until Reuther's death.

He served on the wartime production management board and manpower commission, and his plan for stepping up the use of the auto industry's production capacity with existing plant and equipment for the war effort became a keystone of the industry's conversion from civilian to war production.

After the war, Reuhter led the campaign of GM workers for "higher wages without higher prices" backed up by strong economic data to demonstrate that more purchasing power in the hands of working people is essential to full production and full employment.

In March 1946, Reuther was elected president of the UAW, and later that year, a vice president of the CIO. He became president of the CIO in 1952 on the death of Philip Murray.

Reuther worked hard with AFL President George Meany—each a relatively new federation officer after the AFL's Bill Green and the CIO's Phil Murray died in the same year—to bring about a merger, a feat they accomplished in 1955. He became a vice president of the new federation and president of its Industrial Union Department.

Later what Reuther and others in the UAW saw as a slowness on the part of the federation to achieve its goals, led the UAW to cease paying per capita to the federation in 1968. The union renewed its affiliation in July, 1981.

On May 9, 1970, Reuther, his wife May and several of his aides were killed in the crash of their small plane on the way to the UAW's education center in Black Lake, Michigan.

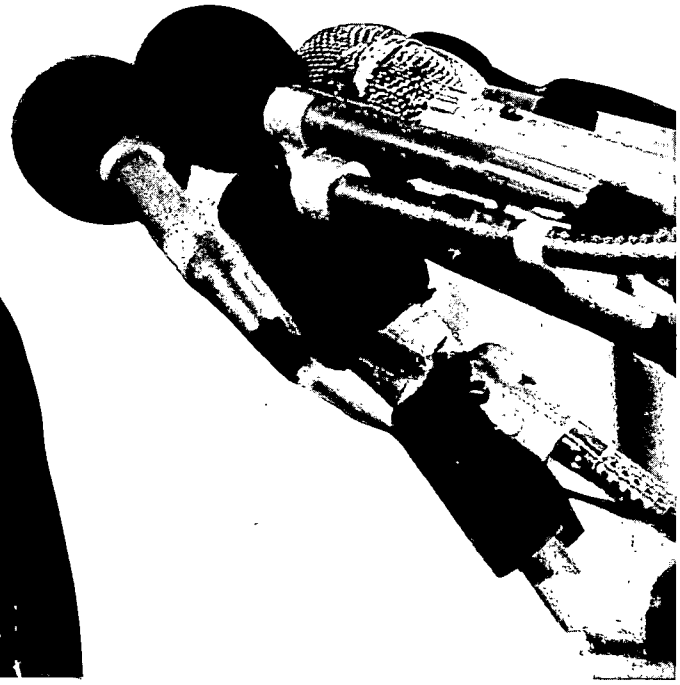
In a speech prepared for the 1963 civil rights march on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Reuther summed up his belief that labor's concerns go "beyond another nickel in the pay envelope."

"As an American, I stand for equal opportunity and full constitutional rights for all our people as a matter of morality, decency and simple justice. I am for civil rights and equal opportunity because freedom is an indivisible value, and so long as any person is denied his freedom, my freedom is in jeopardy. . . . All Americans of good will—of every race, creed, color and political persuasion—must join together in the spirit of human brotherhood and find answers to this great moral problem in the light of reason through rational and responsible action.

"If we fail, the vacuum created by our failure will be filled by the apostles of hatred who will search for answers in the dark of night and reason will yield to riot and the spirit of brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed and the fabric of our free society will be torn asunder.

"There is no half-way house to human freedom."

The AFL Presidents: George Meany



George Meany's life was the battle for workers' gains, for human rights, and for expansion of free trade unionism throughout the world. To him, unionism and democracy were entwined; they supported and nurtured each other in full harmony.

During his lifetime, he broadened the American labor movement's moral, political, legislative and humanitarian influences on the nation and world. As a master craftsman at achieving agreement by talking plain common sense, Meany brought about the merger of the AFL and the CIO, ending their 20 years of conflict and consolidating the strength of the labor movement.

A freedom fighter on a world scale, Meany opposed dictatorships of all kinds, from the far right to the far left. In the United States he gave strong support to the civil rights movement, and he led the struggle to achieve trade union democracy around the world.

Born August 16, 1894, Meany died January 10, 1979. For six decades he served as a union or federation officer. He became business agent of the Bronx Plumbers Union in 1922, secretary of the New York City Building Trades

Council in 1923, board member of the City Central Body in 1932, president of the New York Federation of Labor in 1934, AFL secretary-treasurer in 1940, and AFL president in 1952. He was the first president of the AFL-CIO from its founding in 1955 to his retirement in November 1979.

The following excerpts from a few of George Meany's many speeches and writings illustrate his philosophy of trade unionism, democracy and life:

POWER FOR WHAT?

I see no harm in power, if it's 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 the country become more powerful. It is merely a practical application of a basic principle of democracy. . . .

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.

ON LABOR'S INTEREST IN FOREIGN POLICY—

The American Federation of Labor has long been active in this field [foreign policy]. . . . We have a tremendous interest in seeing to it that there are free trade unions in every country in the world where it is possible to have them. Because in every country in the world where there are free trade unions there must be some semblance of democracy. Because when democracy goes out, there just can't be a free trade union. The record of the dictator countries proves [that] beyond a question of doubt.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS—

We in the labor movement know that you don't have to be a union member to support the doctrine of human rights, but we also know that without human rights there can be no free labor movement.

ON LABOR'S RIGHTFUL CONCERNS—

As long as people work for a living, they will form unions. And as long as workers are subject to employers whose sole motivation is profit or personal aggrandizement,

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