FOIA Number: 2013-0306-F

FOIA MARKER

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AFL-CIO

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. profiles	DOB (Partial); POB (Partial) (18 pages)	02/13/1997	b(6)
002. profiles	POB (Partial) (1 page)	02/11/1997	b(6)

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Gene Sperling
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FOLDER TITLE:

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DRAFT:February 17, 1997; 2:11PM

Talking Points
Vice President Al Gore

AFL-CIO Annual Meeting
Los Angeles, CA
February 18, 1997

Opening--Thank yous

- Let me begin by congratulating you and the entire labor movement. Thanks to your hard work -- mobilizing your members, educating voters, turning out voters -- you made history in the 1996 elections. You helped re-elect the first Democratic Vice President in 60 years . . . and, oh yes, the first Democratic President in 60 years, too.

- Seriously, we couldn't have done it without you. And from the bottom of my heart, I thank you. Turn-out in the 96 elections was somewhat low, but the percentage of voters from union households actually increased. In fact, nearly one out of every four voters came from a union household. Thank you. You made a real difference.

- But the labor movement's performance in 1996 was extraordinary for other reasons, too. You faced the most anti-worker Congress in history -- a band of members intent on ripping apart the whole fabric of worker protections and worker rights. And not only did you beat them back -- you made incredible progress. A higher minimum wage. Portable health insurance. Strengthened environmental protection. Pension reform. And a new commitment to education and job training. All this in Newt Gingrich's Congress. Truly amazing. You've turned that old football adage on its head. You've shown that sometimes the best defense is a good offense.

Reiteration of Past Pledges

- This year, we'll work to hold our gains -- and then to make new ones. As I pledged to you last year, President Clinton will veto any legislation that guts OSHA or MSHA -- or that undermines health and safety protections for

American workers. Our commitment to safe workplaces for all working men and women is not negotiable.

That same bill, if it comes to him again or

- President Clinton also will veto any bill that authorizes company unions or sham unions. Last year, we pledged to veto TEAM Act. This year, our principles are the same. The President will veto any bill that undermines the collective bargaining process or permits company unions filled with employers' hand-picked representatives, this President will ink up his veto pen.

- President Clinton also will veto any attempts to repeal Davis-Bacon or the Service Contract Act.

- And, of course, we'll continue to protect Medicaid and Medicare. We'll continue to invest in education and job training so that every woman and man has the chance to succeed in this economy.

- And, yes, we'll continue to oppose a balanced budget amendment. We don't need to rewrite the Constitution. And we sure don't need judges holding up Social Security checks. Let me take a moment to recognize all of organized labor, but especially my friend Jerry McEntee, for all you've done to lead the fight on this. A lot of people thought this issue would sail through Congress -- and that right now we'd be fighting in state legislatures. But once again, as he has done time and again on the big fights, Jerry revved up his troops and made a stand. Because of Jerry's leadership, and again, the AFL-CIO, we have a real fighting chance to defeat this bad idea again. And I want to thank Jerry and each of you for your tremendous efforts.

- That's our defensive strategy. And it's important. The President and I understand that with this Congress, the White House is the last line of defense for working people and the unions that represent them.

New pledges

- But, as I mentioned, we've learned from you that sometimes the very best defense is a strong offense. So here's some of our offensive strategy for the coming year. And I'm happy to make these announcements for the very first time before you this morning.

- First, we're going to send a message to companies that want to do business with the federal government: how you treat your employees and how you treat unions counts with us. If you want to do business with the federal government, you'd better get your house in order, you'd better clean up your act, and you'd better not bust unions. Because we're going to start changing the rules to make it clear that part of having the kind of integrity and business ethics and performance capability that we expect of a federal contractor is having a satisfactory record of labor relations and employment practices and policies. That means following the law. This is important for all working people, and we mean it.

- Believe it or not, under past practices, federal contractors can even get reimbursed for the costs of trying to persuade employees not to join unions, and for the cost of fighting unfair labor practices allegations. But we're going to start changing those rules because they're just plain wrong. The larger principle is clear: the right to organize and the right to strike are fundamental rights -- and nobody's tax dollars to be spent undermining these rights.

- This is extremely important. Just before I came to this meeting, I met with a group of workers who have been trying to organize. Their stories were incredible. There is simply not a level playing field out there. And government ought to be doing whatever it can to level that playing field and give workers a real-life right to organize.

- The second piece of our offensive strategy concerns flex-time: We believe strongly that there should be a link between expanding Family and Medical Leave Act and any flextime legislation Congress considers. And any flextime proposals must address our principles of choice for employees, real protection against employer abuse, and preservation of basic worker rights. And President Clinton will veto any comptime bill that does not meet these flextime principles. In other words, President Clinton will not sign any -- repeat any -- legislation that obliterates the principle of time-and-a-half for overtime or that destroys the 40-hour workweek. If you work overtime, you should get to decide whether you want extra time or extra money.

- Third, we support campaign finance reform. And we welcome your help in cleaning up this crazy system. But we oppose -- and we will fight -- any effort that targets labor unions and their members, or that denies workers the right to be involved in the political process. That is why the President will veto any legislation that would prevent labor from communicating its views on candidates and legislative issues that are important to its members and their families.

- Fourth, President Clinton will issue an executive order that encourages federal agencies to consider using project labor agreements for any construction contracts they manage. Many agencies don't know they have this authority, so we're going to inform them directly -- because project labor agreements have proven to be good for workers, good for management, and good for taxpayers.

Close

- Finally, let me turn another adage on its head. It's been said that what matters are not words, but deeds. And that's partly true. That's why I wanted to underscore my commitment to the trade union movement with the specific deeds I just mentioned. But sometimes words matter as much as deeds. And there's one word you'll be hearing me say a lot in the future: union.

- Unions matter -- perhaps more than at any time in our history. And unions are critical if we are to reverse the inequality our country has suffered the last 20 years. Unions are essential to making sure that every worker has the opportunity to build a decent life. We need to let people know what you and I already know: that workers who are in unions earn more, get better health care and pension benefits, are safer on the job, and can be more productive than workers who aren't unionized. And the advantages of being in a union are even greater for women and minorities. I've said it before and I'll say it again: the state of our Union depends on the strength of our unions.

- So I pledge to you this morning that I will help you spread that message. I will be your partner in the fight for higher wages. And I will work with the President's team to spread the word -- or actually those two words . . . Union, yes!

- You're on the brink of making history. John Sweeney's lean, mean recruiting machine will power labor back. And as you organize, organize, and organize some more, I want you to know that I am on your side.

- Thank you again for all you've done.

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1420 words

Q&A: Fast Track - Labor & Environment

Q: Last week, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution stating they will vigorously oppose fast track unless labor and environment are included in future trade agreements -- not simply addressed in side agreements -- subject to the same dispute resolution procedures as trade issues. How will you address labor and the environment in your fast track request?

A: This Administration is deeply committed to addressing labor and environmental issues as we pursue our trade policy. I don't think we can retain public support for our activist trade policy unless we address the very real concerns about labor and the environment.

- It is no secret that this is one of the most difficult issues we face in securing fast track authority. We will need to work with Democrats and Republicans and all interested parties to fashion a bipartisan consensus that remains true to our commitment.

- But I don't think it is wise to negotiate these issues in public. That would not help advance the important goal of securing fast track authority.

February 25, 1997

AFL-CIO

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

January 24, 1996
Washington, D.C.

The Unity Slate

To lead the labor movement in aggressive new organizing, powerful grass-roots activity and advocacy for American working families, the 1995 AFL-CIO Convention expanded the Executive Council from 35 to 54 members. The new council, now with an executive vice president and 51 vice presidents, includes seven women, nine African-Americans, two Hispanics and one Asian Pacific American. The Unity Slate, as it was dubbed at the convention, also includes leaders from smaller unions and from previously unrepresented sectors.

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AFL-CIO Officers

[001]

John J. Sweeney, *President*

John J. Sweeney was elected president of the AFL-CIO at the federation's biennial convention in October 1995. At the time of his election, he was serving his fourth four-year term as president of the Service Employees, which grew from 625,000 to 1.1 million members under his leadership. Sweeney had been a vice president of the AFL-CIO since August 1980.

Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Sweeney began his trade union career as a research assistant with the Ladies' Garment Workers. He joined SEIU in 1960 as contract director for Local 32B in New York City. He later became president of the union and led two citywide strikes of apartment maintenance workers. He was elected president of the international in 1980.

Richard L. Trumka, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Richard L. Trumka was elected Oct. 25, 1995 as the youngest secretary-treasurer in AFL-CIO history. At the time of his election, he was serving his third term as president of the Mine Workers. (b)(6) (b)(6) Trumka was elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1989 as the UMWA reaffiliated with the federation.

At the UMWA, Trumka led two major strikes against the Pittston Coal Co. and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association that resulted in significant advances in employer-employee cooperation and the enhancement of mine workers' job security, pensions and benefits. In 1994, President Clinton named him to the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform, where he represented the interests of working families.

Linda Chavez-Thompson, *Executive Vice President*

Linda Chavez-Thompson, elected to the new position of executive vice president of the AFL-CIO on Oct. 25, 1995, was the first person of color elected to an executive office of the AFL-CIO and is the highest-ranking woman in the labor movement. Chavez-Thompson, born (b)(6) (b)(6) first elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1993.

At the time of her election, she was vice president of AFSCME and executive director of AFSCME Council 42. She had directed the union's efforts in a seven-state district — Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas and Utah — that traditionally has been unfriendly to labor. But she achieved numerous successes there, including an organizing drive in Texas that brought in 5,000 new members over the past five years, and the passage of a collective bargaining law for public employees in New Mexico.

J. Randolph Babbitt, *Air Line Pilots*

J. Randolph Babbitt is president of the Air Line Pilots Association, a post he has held since Jan. 1, 1991. [redacted] Babbitt was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. He currently serves as vice president of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department and chairman of the Railway Labor Act Committee.

Before becoming ALPA president, Babbit for six years served as the union's executive administrator. A former Eastern Airlines pilot, he served for a number of years representing all 4,000 Eastern pilots for ALPA, and chaired ALPA's National Collective Bargaining Committee, Negotiator's Conference and Presidential Committee on Labor Standards.

Morton Bahr, *Communications Workers*

Morton Bahr is president of the Communications Workers of America, a post to which he was first elected July 16, 1985. Born [redacted], Bahr was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Aug. 13, 1985. He is a member of the Labor Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations for the U.S. Trade Representative and is among the founders and co-chair of Jobs with Justice. He is an executive committee member of the Democratic National Committee.

Bahr served 16 years as vice president of District 1, CWA's largest district, which includes New York, New Jersey and the New England states, where he directed the union's first public-sector organizing campaign. He holds a B.S. degree from Empire State College, is adjunct professor at the Harriman School for Labor-Management Policy at Stony Brook College and serves on the Board of Directors of the Economic Policy Institute.

John J. Barry, *Electrical Workers*

John J. Barry is international president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a post he has held since Aug. 25, 1986. Born [redacted] Barry was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 28, 1987. He also serves as vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, as well as executive board member of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department.

Barry also is a board member of the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, the National Coordinating Committee for Multi-Employer Plans, Union Privilege Benefit Program, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center and Asian-American Free Labor Institute, and Union Labor Life Insurance Co.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

George F. Becker, *Steelworkers*

George F. Becker is international president of the United Steelworkers of America, a post he has held since March 1, 1994. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Becker was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 24, 1994. Earlier, as a vice president, he led USWA's collective bargaining in the aluminum industry. Becker also led the USWA's organizing program and chaired the union's Task Force on Organizing and Task Force on Environment.

As a staff technician in the union's Safety and Health Department, Becker helped establish some of the first national health standards adopted by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for workers exposed to lead, arsenic and other toxic substances.

Moe Biller, *Postal Workers*

Moe Biller is president of the American Postal Workers Union, a post to which he was first elected in November 1980. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Biller was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Nov. 15, 1989. He serves as executive vice president of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department, is a board member of the New York City Central Labor Council and Union Labor Life Insurance Company and is on the Executive Committee of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International.

Biller also is a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the NAACP, the board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health and the Federal Thrift Advisory Council.

Marvin J. Boede, *Plumbers and Pipefitters*

Marvin J. Boede is president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, a post he has held since Oct. 14, 1982. Born (b)(6) Boede was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 22, 1983. He is vice president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and Metal Trades Department.

Boede, who has headed the federation's committee on training, previously was assistant president and an international representative for his union and was president of the Wisconsin State Pipe Trades Association, among other posts.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

Clayola Brown, *UNITE!*

Clayola Brown is vice president of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial Textile and Employees, a post to which she was elected at the union's founding convention in July 1995. Born (b)(6) Brown was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. She also serves as director of UNITE's Department of Civil Rights and as manager and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Service and Allied Industries Joint Board in New York.

A graduate of Florida A&M University, Brown is a board member of Amalgamated Bank of New York and chair of the NAACP Labor Ad Hoc Committee. She also serves on the executive committees of the Workers Defense League, A. Philip Randolph Institute, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

William H. Bywater, *Electronic Workers*

William Bywater is president of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, a post to which he was first elected on Nov. 17, 1982. Born (b)(6) Bywater was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 22, 1983. He also is a vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department and chairs the Coordinated Bargaining Council Steering Committee, which coordinates 13 unions' negotiations with General Electric and Westinghouse.

Earlier, Bywater served as IUE secretary-treasurer, president of IUE District 3 in New York and New Jersey, District 3 executive secretary and in a number of posts with IUE Local 425, including president, and was chairman of the IUE-Sperry Rand Conference Board.

Ron Carey, *Teamsters*

Ron Carey is president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a post he has held since Feb. 1, 1992. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Carey was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 17, 1992. He also was elected president of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department in September 1994.

The son of a Teamster, Carey served 25 years as president of Local 804, one of the largest locals in the nation, representing United Parcel Service drivers.

Arthur A. Coia, *Laborers*

Arthur Coia is general president of the Laborers' International Union of North America, a post to which he was first elected in February 1993. Born [redacted] Coia was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 18, 1993.

A lawyer admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court, Coia earlier served as his union's secretary-treasurer, manager of the New England and Eastern Canada Region and business manager for the Rhode Island Laborers' District Council.

Richard W. Cordtz, *Service Employees*

Richard W. Cordtz is president of the Service Employees International Union, a post to which he was first elected Dec. 12, 1995. Born [redacted] Cordtz was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

Cordtz has served as secretary-treasurer of the Conference of Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL-CIO and vice president of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department. He has been vice president of Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, president of SEIU Joint Council 35, president of Service Employees Central States Conference and member of Wayne County (Mich.) Planning Commission.

Douglas H. Dority, *Food and Commercial Workers*

Douglas H. Dority is president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, a post to which he was first elected in 1994. Born [redacted]. Dority was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 21, 1994.

Earlier, Dority served as UFCW executive vice president, director of organizing, vice president, director of Retail Clerks Region 2, and a number of posts with the Retail Clerks, including executive assistant to the director of organizing, administrative assistant to the president and assistant director of the southeastern and eastern divisions.

M.A. "Mac" Fleming, *Maintenance of Way Employees*

Mac A. Fleming is president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, a post he has held since 1990. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Fleming was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. He also is chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association's Legislative Committee, chairman of the Cooperating Railway Labor Organizations, vice president of High Speed Rail/Maglev Association and Advisory Board member of American Income Life Insurance Company.

Fleming, who has an A.A. degree from Jones County Junior College in Laurel, Miss., has served as BMWE secretary-treasurer, and in a number of posts with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe System Federation, including general chairman, vice chairman, assistant chairman, secretary-treasurer and system organizer.

Carolyn Forrest, *UAW*

Carolyn Forrest is vice president of the International United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, a post to which she was first elected on June 17, 1992. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Forrest was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. She also is director of UAW's Independents, Parts and Suppliers Department, Women's Department, Consumer Affairs Department, Conservation and Recreation Departments and Family Auxiliaries.

Forrest is a member of the Defense Policy Advisory Committee on Trade and the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. Earlier, Forrest served as director of the union's National Aerospace Department. Forrest was a founding member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a lifetime member of the NAACP.

Pat Friend, *Flight Attendants*

Patricia Friend is president of the Association of Flight Attendants, a post she has held since January 1995. Born (b)(6) in the Midwest and raised in Oklahoma, Friend was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995.

Before becoming AFA president, Friend was president of the United Master Executive Council, where membership expanded from 12,000 to 15,000 during her tenure. She chaired the United AFA ESOP committee, representing flight attendants' interest in the employee buyout negotiations. Formerly president of the AFA Local Executive Council in Chicago, Friend remains on the United seniority list.

Robert A. Georgine, *Building and Construction Trades*

Robert A. Georgine is president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and chairman and CEO of Union Labor Life Insurance Co., posts he has held since 1974 and 1990, respectively. Born [redacted] Georgine was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 30, 1985.

Earlier, Georgine was BCTD secretary-treasurer and president of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, where he also served as assistant to the president and as international representative. He is a member of the board of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust and the Joint Administrative Committee of the Plan for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes in the Construction Industry.

Wayne E. Glenn, *Paperworkers*

Wayne E. Glenn is president of the United Paperworkers International Union, a post he has held since July 31, 1978. Born [redacted] Glenn was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Nov. 19, 1979. He is vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

Glenn also is a member of the U.S. Labor Department's Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations, the International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers board, advisory board to the Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta and the executive board of the National Center for Resource Recovery. Earlier, Glenn served as president and executive secretary of the Arkansas AFL-CIO.

Michael Goodwin, *Office and Professional Employees*

Michael Goodwin is president of the Office and Professional Employees International Union, a post to which he was first elected in 1994. Born [redacted] Goodwin was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

Goodwin is vice president of the New York State and New York City AFL-CIOs, trustee of the Maritime Port Council of Greater New York, president of the American Labor Museum Botto House National Landmark and a director of the AFL-CIO Union Privilege program. He also has served as vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

Joe L. Greene, *School Administrators*

Joe L. Greene is president of the American Federation of School Administrators, a post he has held since 1991. Born [redacted] Greene was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

Earlier, Greene served as executive board member of Metropolitan Detroit and Michigan AFL-CIOs, and building representative of the Detroit Federation of Teachers/AFT. He has held a number of school administrative positions and served as a consultant to many government bodies. He has a doctorate in school administration from the University of Michigan, an M.A. from the University of Detroit and a B.S. from Mississippi Valley State College.

Sonny Hall, *Transport Workers*

Sonny Hall is president of the Transport Workers Union of America, a post to which he was first elected in October 1993. Born [redacted] Hall was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. He is chairman of the Coalition of MTA Transportation Unions and the New York State AFL-CIO Transportation Department, as well as a board member of Mount Sinai Hospital Health and Safety Department.

Earlier, Hall was TWU executive vice president and president of Local 100, TWU's largest local. He has a B.A. from Cornell Labor College.

Edward T. Hanley, *Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees*

Edward T. Hanley is president of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, a post he has held since May 1, 1973. Born [redacted] Hanley was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 6, 1975. He also is vice president of the AFL-CIO Food and Allied Service Trades Department.

Hanley has served as the Illinois AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, business agent for HERE Local 287 and president of the Chicago Joint Executive Board for culinary locals. He has been a director of the Chicago Convention Bureau and trustee of the Chicago Restaurant Health and Welfare Trust and Pension Trust.

Frank Hanley, *Operating Engineers*

Frank Hanley is president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, a post to which he was first elected on Feb. 1, 1990. Born (b)(6), Hanley was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 19, 1990. He is a board member of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, Industrial Union Department and Metal Trades Department, as well as a trustee of the AFL-CIO Housing and Building Investment Trusts.

Hanley is a graduate of Notre Dame University and Harvard University's Trade Union Program. He has served as a director of Union Labor Life Insurance Co. and as a member of the Commission to Promote Investment in America's Infrastructure.

Sumi Haru, *Screen Actors Guild*

Sumi Sevilla Haru is first national vice president of the Screen Actors Guild. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Haru was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. A co-founder and former national chair of SAG's Ethnic Employment Opportunities Committee, Haru has served as national recording secretary with two presidents, and has been on the national board since 1974.

A producer, actor, electronic and print journalist, writer and poet, Haru produces variety and touring programs for the City of Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department, and is co-producer and co-host of an award-winning magazine program on the city's arts and culture. She is president and co-founder of the Association of Asian Pacific American Artists, executive board member of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance and co-chair of the Rainbow Coalition Commission on Fairness in the Media.

James E. Hatfield, *Glass, Molders and Pottery Workers*

James E. Hatfield is chairman and past president of the Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union, and is president of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department. Born (b)(6) Hatfield was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Nov. 18, 1981.

He is vice president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department and Industrial Union Department, and is a board member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Carroll Haynes, *Teamsters*

Carroll Haynes is president of Local 237 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in New York, N.Y., a post he has held since April 1993. Born (b)(6) (b)(6). Haynes was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

A graduate of West Virginia State College, Haynes served as Local 237 vice president and chief administrator for 10 years before becoming president. In more then 30 years service to the local, he has served as chapter chairman, business agent, division director and trustee.

Frank Hurt, *Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers*

Frank Hurt is president of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, a post he has held since Oct. 1, 1992. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Hurt was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Feb. 18, 1993.

Earlier, Hurt served as the union's secretary-treasurer, executive vice president and director of organization. He also has been a member of the UAW, the Teamsters and the Electrical Workers.

Gloria T. Johnson, *Electronic Workers*

Gloria Tapscott Johnson is a vice president of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, director of the union's Department of Social Action and chair of the IUE Women's Council. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Johnson was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Aug. 3, 1993. She is president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Johnson is a vice president of the AFL-CIO Department of Public Employees, chairing its Committee on Salaried and Professional Women. She chairs the National Committee on Pay Equity and is a board member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

John T. Joyce, *Bricklayers*

John T. Joyce is president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, a post he assumed in November 1979. Born [redacted], Joyce was elected AFL-CIO vice president on May 7, 1984.

Joyce co-chairs the Democratic Party's Labor Advisory Council and is a board member of the Human Resources Development Institute, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Housing Conference, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and Union Labor Life Insurance Co. He also serves on the executive committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the board of the AFL-CIO Asian American Free Labor Institute and the African American Labor Center.

George J. Kourpias, *Machinists*

George J. Kourpias is president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, a post he has held since July 1, 1989. Born [redacted] Kourpias was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Nov. 15, 1989. He is vice president of the National Council of Senior Citizens.

Earlier, Kourpias was a IAM vice president, president of District 162, vice president of the Iowa AFL-CIO, and president and secretary of the Iowa State Council of Machinists.

James La Sala, *Amalgamated Transit Union*

James La Sala is international president of the Amalgamated Transit Union, a post he has held since May 1, 1985. Born [redacted] La Sala was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

Earlier, La Sala served as ATU executive vice president, international vice president and special organizer, as well as Local 824 president. A World War II Navy veteran, La Sala has been an ATU member since 1947.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

William Lucy, *AFSCME*

William Lucy is secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a post to which he was first elected in May 1972. Born [redacted] Lucy was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995.

Lucy is president of Public Services International, the world's largest union federation, is a founder and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and is a vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, Maritime Trades Department and Department for Professional Employees. He serves on the board of directors of TransAfrica, the AFL-CIO African American Labor Center and Americans for Democratic Action, and has served on the Commission on Skills of the American Workforce.

Leon Lynch, *Steelworkers*

Leon Lynch is vice president (human affairs) of the United Steelworkers of America, a post he has held since September 1976. Born [redacted] Lynch was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Oct. 26, 1995. Lynch chairs the A. Philip Randolph Institute board and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, and is president of the Workers Defense League.

Lynch chairs USWA's Container Industry Conference and Public Employees Conference, and serves on the executive board of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

Jay Mazur, *UNITE!*

Jay Mazur is president of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), a post he has held since the 1995 merger convention of the Internatinoal Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Born [redacted] Mazur was elected AFL-CIO vice president on Aug. 5, 1986.

Before becoming UNITE president, Mazur was president of the ILGWU, where he developed the first immigration legal services to union members. He is a founding board member of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

Doug McCarron, *Carpenters*

Douglas J. McCarron is president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, a post he has held since September 1995. Born in (b)(6) (b)(6), McCarron was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995.

Before becoming UBC president, McCarron was vice president and secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County District Council, where he negotiated the establishment of the Carpenters-Contractors Cooperation Committee. The CCCC redirects more than $519,000,000 in public works from nonunion to union contractors, with more than $216,000,000 in additional work for nonunion contractors blocked through bid protest and other mechanisms.

Gerald W. McEntee, *AFSCME*

Gerald W. McEntee is the third president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) McEntee was elected AFL-CIO vice president Feb. 15, 1982. He is co-founder and chairman of the board of the Economic Policy Institute and co-founder of Project 500, a multi-million-dollar effort to retain Democratic majorities in state legislatures across the country. McEntee also is on the President's Commission on Children.

Before becoming president of AFSCME, McEntee was president of AFSCME Council 13, the largest public employee union in Pennsylvania. He holds a B.A. degree in economics from LaSalle College and has completed graduate credits at Temple and Harvard Universities.

Andrew McKenzie, *Leather Goods, Plastic, Novelty and Service Workers*

Andrew McKenzie is president of the Leather Goods, Plastics, Novelty and Service Workers' Union, a post he has held since September 1992. Born (b)(6) he was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995. Earlier, as general secretary-treasurer of the union, McKenzie established the union's Health and Welfare and Pension Fund.

McKenzie has served on the board of directors of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the United Fund. He also is a former chairman of the Board of Alliance for Community Control, an affiliate of the Human Development Corporation based in St. Louis.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

Lenore Miller, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union

Lenore Miller is president of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, a post she has held since September 1986. Born (b)(6) (b)(6), Miller was elected AFL-CIO vice president Feb. 16, 1987. She was the first woman union president elected to the council. Miller also is an officer of two international trade secretariats — the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Association and the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees.

Miller is vice chair of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities and is a member of the U.S. Commission on Leave. She also serves as president of the Jewish Labor Committee. In 1992, Miller was named Grand Marshal of the New York City Labor Day Parade.

A.L. "Mike" Monroe, *Painters*

A. L. "Mike" Monroe is president of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, a post he has held since 1992. Born (b)(6) Moore was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995. He serves on the board of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Industrial Union Department, the Maritime Trades Department and the Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

Before becoming IBPAT president, Monroe was secretary-treasurer for eight years. He began his union career in 1955 with IBPAT Local 890.

Arthur Moore, *Sheet Metal Workers*

Arthur Moore is president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, a post he has held since July 1993. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Moore was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995. He also serves as a vice president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and as a member of the executive board of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades and Maritime Trades Departments.

Moore has received numerous awards, including the Deversky Center's Labor and Industrial Relations Award; the Israel Peace Award and the Israel Unity Award for his concern for the economic security and survival of Israel; and the Good Scout Award from the Boy Scouts of America.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

James J. Norton, *Graphic Communications Union*

James J. Norton is president of the Graphic Communications International Union, a post he has held since August 1985. Born (b)(6) Norton was elected AFL-CIO vice president Nov. 13, 1991. He also serves on the board of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and the American Red Cross.

Before becoming GCIU president, Norton served as the union's recording and financial secretary. He also served on the six-person committee that negotiated the merger of the Graphic Arts International Union and the Printing and Graphic Communications Union to form the GCIU.

Arturo ~~S.~~ Rodriguez, *Farm Workers*

Arturo S. Rodriguez is president of the United Farm Workers, a post he has held since 1992. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) was elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council Oct. 26, 1995.

Before becoming UFW president, Rodriguez worked closely with UFW founder Cesar Chavez and led the union's intensive public education drive for the grape boycott in New York and in the South. He holds a B.A. degree in sociology from St Mary's University and an M.A. degree in social work from the University of Michigan.

Michael Sacco, *Seafarers*

Michael Sacco is president of the Seafarers International Union, a post he has held since June 1988. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Sacco was elected AFL-CIO vice president Nov. 13, 1991. He also serves as president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department.

Sacco served 12 years as vice president of the SIU Great Lakes and Inland Waters division. Based in St. Louis, he served as secretary-treasurer of the St. Louis Port Council and executive board member of the Missouri AFL-CIO. Sacco also has been vice president of the Seafarers Harry Lundeberg School of Seamanship, which prepares young men and women for seagoing caeers.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

Robert A. Scardelletti, *Transportation Communications Union*

Robert A. Scardelletti is president of the Transportation Communications Union, a post he has held since July 1991. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Scardelletti was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995.

Before becoming TCU president, Scardelletti was a vice president and general chairman of System Board 86, the union's largest board representing workers at Conrail, Amtrak and other properties from New England to Mississippi. Scardelletti also has assisted many other union boards with collective bargaining and contract enforcement issues.

Albert Shanker, *AFT*

Albert Shanker is president of the American Federation of Teachers, a post he has held since 1974. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) Shanker was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 25, 1973. He currently serves as chairman of the board of the AFL-CIO Department for Professional Employees and is founding president of Education International, a federation of some 20 million teachers from democratic countries around the world.

Shanker was president of New York City's United Federation of Teachers for 22 years. Under his leadership, the union held its first major teacher collective bargaining election. Shanker was the first labor leader elected to the National Academy of Education. He also is a founding member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Bayard Rustin Fund.

Vincent R. Sombrotto, *Letter Carriers*

Vincent R. Sombrotto is president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, a post he has held since 1978. Born (b)(6) (b)(6) he was elected AFL-CIO vice president Nov. 18, 1981. Sombrotto also is chairman of the Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement, a coalition of postal and federal unions and management associations, and of the Employee Thrift Advisory Council of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board.

Prior to his election as NALC president, Sombrotto was president of Branch 36 in New York City, the union's largest local. In 1970, he was a leader of an eight-day strike that led to reforms including the passage of the Postal Reorganization Act.He also serves on the boards of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, the Muscular Dystrophy Association, the American Diabetes Association and the United Way of America.

John N. Sturdivant, *Government Employees*

John N. Sturdivant is president of the American Federation of Government Employees, a post he has held since August 1988. Born [redacted] Sturdivant was elected AFL-CIO vice president Nov. 15, 1989. He also serves on the board of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Workplace Health Fund, the George Meany Center for Labor Studies and the National Coalition of Black Voter Participation.

Prior to his election, Sturdivant served as the union's executive vice president, responsible for coordinating and managing daily operations of the union. He holds a bachelor of arts degree in labor studies from Antioch College and completed two years of law school at George Washington University.

Gene Upshaw, *Professional Athletes*

Gene Upshaw is president of the Federation of Professional Athletes, a post he has held since 1980. Born [redacted] Upshaw was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 30, 1985. He currently serves as a vice president for the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and a member of the National Committee on Drug Prevention of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

Before becoming president of the FPA, Upshaw was union representative and officer for 13 years. An NFL player for 16 years for the Oakland and Los Angeles Raiders, Upshaw served as player rep or alternate rep for the Raiders for six years.

Robert E. Wages, *Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers*

Robert E. Wages is president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, a post he has held since 1991. Born [redacted] Wages was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995.

Wages has served OCAW in many capacities including as vice president, assistant to the president and general counsel. He earned a law degree from the University of Missouri and B.A. degree from the University of Kansas. As an attorney for the international, Wages was instrumental in the development of legal strategies utilized in the union's right-to-know campaign.

AFL-CIO Vice Presidents

Jake West, *Iron Workers*

Jake West is president of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, a position he has held since January 1989. Born [redacted] West was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995. He is a board member of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades, Metal Trades, Union Label and Service Trades and Maritime Trades Departments as well as the Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

Before becoming president of the union, West was general secretary. He began his career in 1951 with Local 433 in Los Angeles.

Alfred K. Whitehead, *Fire Fighters*

Alfred K. Whitehead is president of the International Association of Fire Fighters, a post he has held since 1988. Born [redacted] Whitehead was elected AFL-CIO vice president Oct. 26, 1995. He also serves on the board of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department.

Prior to his election, Whitehead was secretary-treasurer of the IAFF. He began his career as a fire fighter in the Los Angeles County Fire Department in 1954. He served as vice president on the California AFL-CIO and as vice president of the Los Angeles AFL-CIO.

Stephen P. Yokich, *UAW*

Stephen P. Yokich is president of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, a post he has held since June 14, 1995. Born [redacted] Yokich was elected AFL-CIO vice president Aug. 1, 1995. He serves on the board of the AFL-CIO Department for Professional Employees, the Democratic National Committee, the Michigan Cancer Foundation and the Labor Policy Institute of the International Union Department.

Before becoming UAW president, Yokich was vice president and headed the union's General Motors, Ford, Agricultural Implement and Organizing Department. He also is founder of Community Caring Program (initially known as the Arthur Ashe Scholarship Fund), which provides scholarships and pays for medical coverage for disadvantaged youth.

Time

February 10, 1997

SECTION: NATION; Pg. 36

LENGTH: 404 words

HEADLINE: ON YOUR MARK, GET SET...

BYLINE: JAMES CARNEY/WASHINGTON

BODY:

Most Americans don't realize it, but the race for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2000 begins next week. That's when the AFL-CIO, the nation's largest labor union and the Democrats' biggest organized constituency, gathers for its annual conference. The featured entertainment: back-to-back speeches on Feb. 18 by Vice President Gore and House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt, respectively, the heir apparent and the would-be spoiler in the coming battle to succeed Bill Clinton.

Already, tension between the White House and congressional Democrats, and Gore and Gephardt specifically, is infecting Clinton's second term. Certain to be a central topic at the labor conference is the President's offer to curb Medicare spending by $ 14 billion more than he proposed last winter. Gore will have to defend the larger cut, which White House aides insist was a necessary good-faith gesture toward congressional Republicans. But Gephardt can say the White House is giving away too much, too early. In his first public reaction to Clinton's new Medicare number, the Missouri Democrat said it "sounds high to me." Privately, he's telling those around him that Clinton's offer leaves Gephardt almost no bargaining room to go higher, which means any compromise between the White House and the Republicans will probably cause big defections in the ranks of House Democrats.

Hoping to calm them, White House chief of staff Erskine Bowles early last week called and apologized to both Gephardt and Senate minority leader Tom Daschle for failing to consult them on either the Medicare plan or the President's choice of Colorado Governor Roy Romer as the new party chairman. Bowles promised he would meet with them regularly from now on. But no amount of cajoling from the White House will keep Gephardt from laying more groundwork for a presidential run. Just days before the AFL-CIO conference, he plans to cross the border into Mexico to highlight, as an aide says, "the unmet promise of NAFTA," the 1993 trade agreement that Gore publicly backed and the unions, joined by Gephardt, ardently opposed. Gephardt has also hired a new deputy chief of staff, David Plouffe, who has extensive campaign experience in Iowa, site of crucial early presidential caucuses three years from now. And Gephardt is doing what all would-be presidential contenders must do these days: he's writing a book.

--By James Carney/Washington

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: REUTERS, THEY'RE OFF: The rivalry between Gephardt and Gore heats up next week over Medicare cuts and NAFTA [Dick Gephardt and Al Gore]

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The New York Times

December 30, 1996, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 10; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1910 words

HEADLINE: For Interest Groups, Battle Lines Form in Debate Over Social Security

BYLINE: By LESLIE WAYNE

BODY:

With Congress and the nation gearing up for a huge debate on the future of Social Security, labor, Wall Street, corporate America and organizations of the old and the young are quietly marshaling their forces for one of the biggest lobbying battles in decades.

There is a broad consensus that the Social Security system needs reform, but little agreement on what should be done, and many of the important organizations in the debate are formulating their strategies. Nevertheless, the battle has been joined in public relations campaigns and in jockeying for position in Congress.

The central point in the debate is how to shift Social Security toward the private markets. A Federal panel studying this issue is divided between wanting to privatize Social Security, at least in part, or allowing the Government to invest Social Security money in the stock market.

Wall Street's big brokerage firms are, inescapably, at the center of the debate. They view changes in Social Security as an opportunity to sell billions of dollars in financial products directly to the Government or to individuals. Wall Street is eager, however, to avoid playing too prominent a role in the debate, out of fear of setting off a backlash that would weaken its position in Congress.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O., which has focused on Wall Street as an adversary in the campaign ahead, believes the Government should maintain its central role in assuring retirement benefits and providing a financial safety net for low-income workers.

Even the A.F.L.-C.I.O., however, favors investing Social Security money in the stock and bond markets, although it wants the money controlled entirely by the Government, and not put in the hands of private investors.

Businesses, large and small, hope that putting more Social Security money into the private markets will limit the growth in payroll taxes and provide fresh capital for them to expand.

Older workers want to maintain existing Social Security benefits. Younger workers fear that they will have none.

"Social Security is the most successful program that the Government has run," said Marc E. Lackritz, president of the Securities Industry Association, a

Wall Street trade group. "Reforming it is a hard issue, and it's an emotional We want to make sure that we improve Social Security and get it right. Is current system satisfactory? Not if we look ahead. No one supports the status quo."

Left alone, the Social Security trust fund would begin to lose money in 2018, according to experts, and would go broke in 2030, the year when people born in 1963 will turn 67 and become eligible for retirement benefits.

For that reason, the groups say, something needs to be done, although a Federal advisory panel that has been studying Social Security has been unable to agree on how to solve the problem.

Privatization's Backers Say It Will Aid Business

The panel has split between advocating a privatization plan and simply allowing the fund, which is now invested in nonmarketable Government securities, to broaden its investment mix.

"There's a very broad tent coming together of people who want substantive reform," said Richard Thau, executive director of Third Millennium in Manhattan, a lobbying group that works on issues affecting people younger than 35. "What's going on now is akin to the skirmishes that are undertaken before a Presidential campaign. And it's nothing compared to what will be necessary to enact true reform."

In the vanguard of privatization is the Cato Institute, a libertarian earch organization in Washington, that is drawing on business contributions finance a $2 million three-year campaign that includes studies and conferences.

"The battle for change is already over," said the director of health and welfare studies at the institute, Michael Tanner. "The question now is what kind of change. And it needs to go beyond just raising taxes and cutting benefits."

Cato strongly supports full privatization -- putting the entire 12.4 percent Social Security payroll tax in individual 401(k)-style accounts that would be invested and managed by workers.

Under the Cato plan, the $400 billion that comes into the Social Security trust fund each year from payroll taxes would be redirected through the new investment accounts to the stock and bond markets.

As a result, Cato says, that money would be available for businesses to draw on to expand, and the nation's economic health would improve.

Moreover, the institute, which promotes having less Government, recoils at proposals to have the Government buy stocks, because it fears Government ownership of private corporations.

Given the vast sums involved, financial experts say, that alternative could result in the Government's taking major stakes in many companies, even owning up 10 percent of some.

"We oppose giving Government that much control," Mr. Tanner said.

Cato's lobbying efforts are being headed by Jose Pinera, a former Chilean Labor Minister who privatized Social Security there, and by William Shipman, an executive at State Street Global Advisors, a money manager in Boston.

The effort is being financed by the American International Group Inc., an insurance company; the American Express Corporation; Alex. Brown & Company and Quick & Reilly, two brokerage houses; the Digital Equipment Corporation, and I.B.M.

Unions Want Protection For Workers' Benefits

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., says it will join other unions to oppose any privatization plan.

The federation, with 13 million members, says Social Security is one of its top lobbying priorities.

Instead, it wants Social Security to stay just as it is, but with a major difference -- allowing the Government to put up to 40 percent of the money in publicly traded stocks and bonds.

That position is advocated by Robert J. Ball, a former Social Security Commissioner and a member of the Federal panel.

Gerald M. Shea, head of governmental affairs for the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and a member of the panel, said the labor organization had not set a budget for its lobbying, which it expects to last for three to five years.

"But it will be quite substantial," Mr. Shea said. "It will be in the millions of dollars. It's a first-tier issue for us."

The lobbying will include education programs as well as lobbying in Congress.

The federation fears individual investment accounts would lead to a "total unraveling of the Social Security program," Mr. Shea said, because it would undermine what the unions see as the strength of Social Security -- that the Government, and not the individual, bears the risks.

"This is a battle between those who see that Government has a role in Social Security and those who believe it should have none," he said.

On a practical level, Mr. Shea pointed to studies that showed that low-wage workers tended to be overly conservative when investing. He is worried, he said, that union workers will be too cautious with their investment accounts, while wealthier and more financially savvy workers, will invest more aggressively.

As a result, union workers could end up with far less than more sophisticated investors, widening income differences between high- and low-wage retirees.

At the same time, the union's proposal that 40 percent of the trust fund be invested in stocks but be controlled directly by the Government is raising concerns among free-market proponents.

The market value of stocks traded on the New York Stock Exchange is now $6.8 trillion. Over time, experts estimate, $2 trillion in new money could flow to the stock market if all the Social Security fund is invested. That means that the Government could end up as one of the biggest holders of stock in the world, as well as the biggest single shareholder in many companies.

Active stock management by the Government is welcomed by Mr. Shea, who said, "We think it would have a good effect on how corporate America operates."

But, recognizing the firestorm it might cause, the union would go along with a recommendation from Mr. Ball that the Government invest only in passive stock-index funds and have no say in management issues.

Wall Street and corporate America appear to support "partial privatization" plans, diverting a yet-to-be-determined part of the payroll tax to self-managed retirement accounts and keeping the rest in the Social Security system as a safety net.

Wall Street Is Eager, But Wary of Criticism

"We don't want to take away the safety net," said Heather Ruth, president of PSA, a trade association for the bond market, which has yet to endorse a specific plan. Wall Street brokerage companies and many American businessmen also believe that payroll taxes have become so high that they threaten to become an economic drag and oppose any plan that would raise them further. They also welcome the influx of fresh money, whether from the Government or individual accounts, into the stock and bond markets, creating new capital for businesses to draw on.

The Investment Company Institute, which represents the mutual-fund industry, will take a leading role, along with big companies like Fidelity Investments and Merrill Lynch & Company. Merrill Lynch, the largest brokerage company, has begun advertising in influential Washington publications.

The National Association of Manufacturers, which represents business, will finance academic studies and grass-roots efforts for change.

Wall Street is sensitive to charges about self-interest, and attacks on the financial-services industry have begun. The secretary-treasurer of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., Richard Trumka, said recently that Social Security changes were being driven by "Wall Street firms like State Street Bank, Oppenheimer, Goldman Sachs and T. Rowe Price for their own greedy purposes" and castigated the "wizards of Wall Street."

"They have heavy pocketbooks," Mr. Trumka said, "and they are big and ugly and loud."

Fearing such attacks, Merrill is working quietly on the topic. Executives will not talk on the record about its efforts, which are intended to privatize part of Social Security while keeping a safety net in place. Merrill has sent a paper, "Danger Over the Horizon," about the savings rate to members of Congress, and the firm has written about Social Security in a newsletter to its millions of clients.

It is preparing a "white paper" for Congress and academic experts. And it has taken full-page advertisements in Roll Call and The Hill, two newspapers that circulate on Capitol Hill. One shows a bomb called a "ticking demographic time bomb," and the other, a threatening storm to illustrate the baby boomers' retirement future.

The Investment Company Institute, which represents 5,000 mutual funds with $2.3 trillion in assets, also supports partial privatization, but the group cautions that the amount of money flowing into those accounts may be less than anticipated. As an example, if 2 points of the 12.4 percent payroll were diverted, a proposal that has been discussed by many, that would add only $60 billion to these individual accounts, hardly a bonanza by the standards of the mutual-fund industry.

Still, the trade association sees Social Security as an important, but difficult long-term issue. "The notion of injecting risk into Social Security is tough," a senior vice president of the group, Julie Domenick, said. It's the bridge people have to cross."

GRAPHIC: Table: "AT ISSUE: Staking Out Their Positions" compares stances taken by ten groups who favor investing at least some Social Security money in stocks and bonds.

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The National Journal

MARCH 2, 1996

SECTION: LABOR; Pg. 474; VOL. 28, NO. 9

LENGTH: 5814 words

HEADLINE: Laboring Uphill

BYLINE: Julie Kosterlitz

HIGHLIGHT:

Organized labor's new leadership hopes to regain its lost influence within the Democratic Party by demonstrating some muscle at the ballot box. But first it needs to win back the confidence of its members.

BODY:

BAL HARBOUR, FLA.--It's a good thing John J. Sweeney, organized labor's activist new leader, decided to break with 70 years of tradition and make this the last AFL-CIO executive council meeting to be held at this posh, seaside resort.

The customary winter respite for union brass amid swaying palms, burbling fountains and fawning White House emissaries is lically out of synch with current realities. It's an image y to dismay the anxious class that makes up labor's dwindling membership. And it could delude labor's chieftains, if just for a moment, into imagining that the bleak weather and even bleaker political climate they left behind in Washington were parts of a bad dream.

Sweeney, the insurgent who swept into the AFL-CIO presidency last fall, and his reformist cadre know that they can ill afford either to lounge poolside or to indulge in fantasy. The cold reality is this: Since it was blindsided by the Republican takeover of Congress and a host of governors' mansions and state legislatures, organized labor has been fighting for its life.

Led by committed conservatives in the House, the GOP Congress not only is aiming a wrecking ball at the social welfare edifice that labor painstakingly helped construct over the past 60 years, but it is planting dynamite around the legal foundation on which the House of Labor rests. Thus far, labor and its allies have largely held back the demolition crew. But for how long?

In a sharp break with its past complacency, the AFL-CIO under Sweeney is readying an ambitious, coordinated action plan to reverse labor's political fortunes. It envisions using a ive $ 35 million war chest to mobilize its membership and to h an advertising blitz that Sweeney refers to as ''air cover for the ground troops.''

The most urgent goal is to hang on to the White House and restore Democratic control of the House--or at least whittle down the size of the Republican majority. ''If they don't succeed, they're dead,'' said Nelson Lichtenstein, a labor historian at the University of Virginia and author of a recent book on labor leader Walter Reuther.

But labor also wants to reestablish itself as a force within a Democratic Party that seems increasingly unsure whether to tack right or left to improve its own sliding fortunes.

Accomplishing either goal will be a struggle. Not only has labor lost massive numbers of members, it has also lost its ability to mobilize those who remain. This was driven home vividly, if belatedly, to its leaders in 1994 when a growing share of the rank and file voted against the candidates their leaders endorsed. ''Frankly, we were asleep at the switch,'' said Douglas H. Dority, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

In the gloomy aftermath, labor leaders realized that to win future elections they needed to radically alter both their tactics and their message. In an era of growing public disgust with politics and mistrust of established institutions, it's not enough to simply attend candidate fund-raisers and print endorsements in membership newsletters.

Union leaders believe they must reach out directly to win over the rank and file. That means starting early, training and sending out hundreds of organizers, signing up thousands of volunteers, setting up telephone banks, sending out hundreds of thousands of letters, and talking to individual members at homes and at work. And it means saturating the airwaves.

This is just the sort of grass-roots organizing that labor helped pioneer but which, to labor's chagrin, conservatives have used more effectively in recent years. Steve Rosenthal, the AFL-CIO's new political director, pointed out that Christian Coalition leader Ralph E. Reed Jr. ''is fond of saying that with a tenth as many members, (his group) has more influence than labor, and that they simply lifted a page out of labor's book.''

Rosenthal conceded that ''we got away from (grass-roots organizing). It's hard work to do. It's tough to take your coat off, roll up your sleeves and go into every local.''

Although the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will continue to make endorsements and contribute to candidates and party organizations, union leaders believe that a better way to mobilize support is to stress issues. The $ 35 million, federation-led special campaign that Sweeney envisions will aim to persuade voters that their self-interest lies more with labor's agenda of worker protections and government social programs than with the anti-government, antitax and hot-button m[illegible]l issues of the conservative agenda.

With anxiety growing over corporate layoffs and stagnant wages, labor strategists believe the public will be more receptive to their message--although Republican presidential contender Patrick J. Buchanan has some worrying that these issues may be hijacked by the Right. The Republican Congress's forays against such popular programs as medicare, medicaid and student loans, they hope, will dim the appeal of the conservatives' anti-government crusade.

Running a campaign centered on issues instead of candidates has other advantages for labor. It's a great way to get around the political spending limits on campaign contributions to candidates and political parties--a fact that has Republicans fuming and filing complaints with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). It also gives labor greater control over its own message. The AFL-CIO hopes to retain a permanent base of activists--beyond the current election cycle--to pressure politicians to hew to labor's agenda.

In essence, labor is styling itself as the Democratic Party's last, best hope to retain its grip on the anxious class. ''Even if labor as an institution has no place else to go, workers do,'' said Ira Arlook, executive director of Citizen Action, a consumer group working with labor to build a broad grass-roots lobbying coalition. ''They can stay home--as many did [illegible]94, or join third parties.''

[illegible] THERAPY

If labor succeeds in fighting its way back from political obscurity, historians may well date the turnaround to late 1994, when the movement was still reeling from the one-two punch of the defeat of health care reform and the massive political gains scored by Republicans in congressional and state elections. ''The positive part of the shock we got that November was that it sparked lots of soul-searching,'' said Gerald M. Shea, who is now Sweeney's assistant for political and government affairs.

The process of self-examination focused in part on the leadership of the federation, which a growing number of affiliates came to believe was too complacent in the face of labor's declining membership and diminished influence.

The exercise culminated--less than a year after the Republican congressional upset--with another dramatic turnaround: the retirement of longtime AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and defeat of his heir-apparent and brief successor, Thomas R. Donahue. Labor's mantle of leadership instead was bestowed upon Sweeney, the avuncular but ambitious president of the flourishing Service Employees International Union.

It had become clear to labor leaders, as they pored over [illegible]994 exit polls and conferred with political consultants, that individual unions had lost political sway with their own members. While labor's leadership had maintained its embrace of Democratic candidates, union members increasingly voted for Republicans or did not vote at all.

The grim reality was that the percentage of union members voting Democratic dropped from 70 per cent in 1990 to 61 per cent in 1994. And for Democrats to win in key swing states, party experts calculate, they must carry about 65 per cent of the union vote.

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers president George Kourpias, whose union has been losing 1,000 members a month, said he didn't need a poll to tell him what happened. ''Anyone who tells you we didn't lose our members in '94 is crazy,'' he said.

Part of the problem was the labor movement's failure over time to nourish the grass-roots political mechanisms that it had pioneered. It was not alone. ''Democrat-allied groups have atrophied because with Democratic control of Congress, they could achieve their goals by lobbying the right committees,'' said Stanley B. Greenberg, a Democratic pollster who has worked for unions. '' 'Being effective' meant being effective in Washington, D.C., and membership became mainly a source of funds.''

Political action in the labor movement had increasingly meant writing checks to candidates' campaigns and to party organizations. But checkbook politics has proved ineffective over time. For starters, unions are now being vastly outspent by business interests: In 1992, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, labor political action committees spent $42.3 million to business PACs' $ 132 million.

And while unions were playing inside baseball, the electorate was changing; opinion polls have shown that Americans have become increasingly alienated from large institutions of public life. Government and political parties may head the list, but unions aren't exempt. The AFL-CIO's internal polling showed that unions don't have much of a public profile, and what image they do have is not consistently positive. Among the public at large, said Denise Mitchell, the federation's new chief spokeswoman, ''unions are perceived as being good for their own members and bad for everyone else.''

There were other lessons from the polling. Union members did not identify with parties, or even ideologies; they did not want labor leaders attempting to dictate how they voted (although they were receptive to getting information about the issues); and they weren't motivated by narrowly cast labor issues.

Labor's first attempt to apply these lessons began just a few months after the 1994 elections, when the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)--now the AFL-CIO's largest union--joined forces with nearly a dozen other unions and Citizens Action to form a broad coalition of labor, environmental and seniors' groups. The result was the '95 Project--a grass-roots lobbying campaign to oppose an array of Republican health, welfare, education and environmental initiatives in Congress.

''There's a recognition by labor that it was not doing well in the battle for the hearts and minds of its own members and the public,'' said Scott Wolf, executive director of the '95 Project (now called the '96 Project). ''We recognize that those who belong to unions don't identify just as union members but have lots else going on in their lives. So we have a clear mandate from our sponsors to talk about a large spectrum of issues,'' including the environment, the elderly, education and children's issues.

The campaign, with a modest $ 1 million budget last year (which has tripled for 1996) made the most of its resources by sending low-profile organizers into 14 Republican-held congressional districts--principally those of freshmen. (This year, 30 districts are targeted.)

The organizers have been working with local liberal advocacy groups, such as Sierra Club chapters and student and older people's organizations, to publicly criticize locally unpopular stands taken by congressional incumbents.

The second step consisted of an advertising campaign [illegible]d by another AFSCME-led coalition--which includes many of the same unions--called Save America's Families. It ran television spots critical of Republican proposals to overhaul health and education plans.

Republicans targeted by such tactics are fuming. In the Lansing (Mich.) district of GOP Rep. Dick Chrysler, the union-led campaigns have erupted ''like a volcano,'' said Mark Pischea, a consultant to Chrysler. ''We have protests all the time; they're all over the place,'' complained Pischea, who works for the Lansing-based Marketing Resources Group.

Protesters dogged House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., when he attended a fund-raiser in the district and University of Michigan students staged a protest against cutbacks in student loans, Pischea said. There are also daily TV spots, the consultant said, estimating that $ 1.5 million has been spent on the ad campaign. (Pischea said the bulk of the money spent for advertising came from the national and state Democratic Parties, not from labor groups.) ''I think it's absurd they can spend this much this early in the campaign,'' he said.

Although campaign finance laws strictly limit what union and other PACs can contribute directly to candidates, there are few constraints on how much unions can spend to promote their [illegible]s on legislative issues or to take politicians to task for their stands on those issues. ''They can do it in such a way that they have an impact on the elections and avoid having to deal w pesky disclosure issues,'' said Josh Goldstein, research tor of the Center for Responsive Politics.

The National Republican Congressional Committee recently filed a complaint with the FEC against the '95 Project and the AFL-CIO. But the committee's not likely to get much more than rhetorical mileage from it. The snail's pace at which the commission normally proceeds virtually guarantees that the complaint won't be addressed before November's elections. Moreover, the FEC recently issued new guidelines that narrow considerably the range of activities considered violations of campaign law.

Until Sweeney's election, the AFL-CIO shunned AFSCME's effort to build a broader coalition, although the federation did spend nearly $ 8 million last year on its own grass-roots program to oppose the GOP congressional agenda. Since taking office, however, Sweeney has moved quickly to establish a coordinated, federation-wide political effort. AFSCME president Gerald W. McEntee has been put in charge of a new AFL-CIO political committee, and Rosenthal, a former aide to Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, was hired as the new political director.

Rosenthal had been a political operative for the Communications Workers of America and worked with the late Paul R. Tully during a stint with the Democatic National Committee. He's credited with coming up with the idea for the headline- ing post-convention bus tour by Clinton and his running Albert Gore Jr. ''He has tremendous skill and energy and a commitment to energizing the grass roots,'' Citizen Action's Arlook said.

A preview of organized labor's new political strategy was provided in the recent special Senate election in Oregon, where 37 full-time union operatives worked in support of the winning Democratic candidate, Rep. Ron Wyden. Union organizers helped with voter registration and signed up hundreds of volunteers--who spent 30 hours each telephoning or knocking on doors--and conducted a sophisticated get-out-the-vote effort. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates also deluged union members with nearly 500,000 pieces of mail, and some of the affiliates ran advertisements.

A particularly hard-hitting and controversial radio ad aired by the Teamsters Union slammed worker safety violations at Republican candidate Gordon Smith's eastern Oregon food processing plant, where two accidental deaths had occurred. Despite a 2-1 spending advantage, Smith lost to Wyden by 18,000 votes.

Union members weren't the only factor in Wyden's success: Environmental and women's groups campaigned heavily for him as well. But labor leaders say that their efforts produced tangible lts: Voter turnout among union members was significantly r than among the public at large. And Teamsters legislative director William Hamilton said that his union's members voted 62-[illegible] per cent for Wyden, although only 51 per cent were registered Democratic in 1994. ''We had to convince an angry white male constituency to vote for Ron Wyden, who had been against us on NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and who had never worked his labor base very hard. We moved a significant chunk of people who wouldn't have voted or would have voted Republican,'' Hamilton said.

Now the AFL-CIO is gearing up to take its strategy nationwide. The $ 35 million kitty that the federation is assembling will come mostly from special assessments on affiliates (which still must be approved at a forthcoming special convention). The rest will come from a few of the largest members and from internal AFL-CIO funds. Roughly $ 20 million will go for advertising, and the rest for extensive organizing operations in at least 75 congressional districts, many of which will involve Senate, state and local races as well.

The plan is to train and deploy as many as four full-time organizers in each district as early as March. Each organizer will, in turn, recruit up to 150 volunteers. The AFL-CIO is also launching Project Get Out the Vote, which will train 2,500 volunteers to deploy in 35 states in the final month of the campaign and which will draw on the 1,000 college students and other young volunteers whom the federation hopes to recruit for a major labor organizing project called Union Summer.

Labor is gambling that it can switch its membership from responding to visceral moral, anti-government, and individual and property rights themes by offering them instead a message that appeals to issues of economic justice with a not-so-subtle subtext of anti-corporate and class resentment. ''They have a persuasion job on their hands,'' a Democratic political consultant who advises unions said. ''Their members are conservative on guns, crime, immigration and trade, as opposed to classic issues of pensions, wages, job security and the ability to strike, where they are more like Democrats.''

The AFL-CIO is planning town hall meetings in 29 cities around the country to elicit testimonials from workers, to highlight the issue of stagnating wages and the income gap and to make examples of employers with poor records on layoffs, working conditions and employee benefits.

Unions are also working to get measures to raise state minimum wages on the ballots in several states, including California, in the hopes of focusing attention on wage issues and improving turnout among union and other working-class voters.

Individual unions are also exploring new ways to reach out. The United Food and Commercial Workers Union recently tore up its professionally scripted ads and began taping radio spots that feature workers talking about their own problems in the workplace. The United Steelworkers of America is toying with the idea of setting up its own gun club to supplant the National [illegible]e Association's political influence among the union's [illegible]rs. And the AFL-CIO has set up a committee, headed by the [illegible] Workers' Dority, to launch a massive public relations campaign to try to burnish labor's lackluster public image.

Many union officials think issues are turning their way, taking comfort in the plummeting approval ratings of Gingrich and the Republican-controlled Congress. Some feel vindication--albeit tinged with a certain queasiness--in the apparent success of Buchanan's economic populism. ''It's like you wrote a song and you couldn't get anyone to sing it, and now Pat Buchanan's singing a part of it, Bob Dole's singing a part of it,'' AFSCME's McEntee told reporters.

Labor leaders profess not to be worried that the new Republican populism will steal their thunder, because they're reasonably confident that Buchanan won't get the GOP's nomination and that his brand of populism can't survive long in the party of business, free markets and free trade.

Nonetheless, on the day after Buchanan's New Hampshire victory, Sweeney denounced him as a racist and anti-Semite and blasted his record on labor's traditional workplace issues. Sweeney tried--only somewhat persuasively--to draw distinctions between Buchanan's trade policies and labor's own. ''Saying that Patrick Buchanan speaks for workers is like saying the Ayatollah Khomeini speaks for priests and rabbis,'' he told reporters.

[illegible]ALENCE TOWARD BILL

While most of the immediate focus is on returning Democrats to power in the House and keeping Clinton in the White House, labor is also hoping to command greater respect within the Democratic Party. Labor has not forgotten that it was a Democratic Congress and a Democratic White House that passed NAFTA and allowed comprehensive health care reform to go down in flames.

''We'd like labor to play a role in the Democratic Party in the same way the Christian Right plays a role within the Republican Party,'' AFL-CIO spokeswoman Mitchell said. ''We want to have enough resources and activism to move the center of gravity within the party.''

While there is unrestrained enthusiasm for Democratic House leadership--Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri and Minority Whip David E. Bonior of Michigan, both of whom put in appearances at Bal Harbour--there is decided ambivalence in the House of Labor about Clinton. Sweeney failed in his efforts to get union heads to endorse Clinton at a convention in January, and may not prevail when he tries again in March.

For every recent gesture Clinton has made toward labor--[illegible]ding an executive order barring federal contractors from [illegible]g illegal aliens, support for raising the minimum wage and delaying a provision of NAFTA that would have allowed Mexican truckers to operate in this country--labor has a bone to pick with the Administration. At the top of the list is trade. ''Most people think NAFTA happened two years ago, but for workers it's still happening every day,'' said Robert Muehlenkamp, organizing director for the Teamsters. Labor also worries that Clinton may compromise with Republicans on welfare reform or, worse yet, on medicaid, which has been a key talking point in labor's campaign against Republicans.

The ambivalence was palpable at Bal Harbour, where even a stream of gushing Administration officials, including an unusual appearance by Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin (the first-ever visit by a Treasury Secretary), couldn't paper over the many substantive and philosophical differences.

Gore announced the President's intention to veto two key bills now before Congress--one to weaken the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the other to allow worker-management committees that union leaders contend constitute sham unions--but Gore and Rubin shifted awkwardly behind their podiums when asked about other items on labor's agenda, such as new tax breaks for worker-friendly employers or getting rid of Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan, whom labor dislikes mightily but whom Clinton subsequently reappointed.

When Gore was asked if he would recommend to workers that they join unions, Gore stiffly answered that such choices were best left to individuals.

The ambivalence, however, runs two ways. Labor's endorsement has not always been an unmitigated blessing, as Walter F. Mondale learned in 1984, when it fueled the image of a man and a party beholden to special, minority interests.

Many party centrists worry that labor's agenda is backward-looking and would limit the party's appeal. ''Unfortunately, the labor agenda has been centered around defense of the programmatic status quo, which is not tenable for Democrats or labor,'' said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute. ''You can't ask Democrats to defend that which urgently needs reform and innovation.''

Even politicians who start their careers as friends of labor often stray from the fold. ''As soon as labor-backed Democrats get in, they begin to look to the right to expand their base for the next election,'' the University of Virginia's Lichtenstein said. ''Without a mechanism for party discipline or a threat from the left, the natural tendency is to shift rightward. It happens every time.''

In the long run, Lichtenstein added, the only thing that will boost labor's political influence is organizing more workers and getting them to join unions. ''Once you begin to mobilize people around their jobs, plants and offices, then the horizon opens up politically. Then you can voice your discontent with Democrats who give you a song and dance.''

Labor's new leaders increasingly recognize the truth of this. Though it grabs less attention in political circles, the AFL-CIO has also beefed up its organizing efforts, promising $ 20 million in matching funds designed to get affiliates to dramatically ratchet up their spending on organizing. After years of steady erosion, a dramatic increase in labor's ranks is likely to be a long time coming.

But labor's new leadership believes that it can put in place a permanent base of activists who will keep politicians on their toes. And to those who say that labor has few options outside the Democratic Party, union political operatives are talking back with a new defiance. If labor-backed candidates don't back labor, ''We'll go back to the grass roots and get new candidates,'' said Dan Lucas, political director of the Service Employees International Union. ''The old saying was, 'Every time a Republican votes against you, you kill him; but every time a Democrat votes against you, you give him a pass.' Well the days of passes are over.''

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John Sweeney, the new president of the AFL-CIO, told delegates to the labor federation's annual convention in New York City to vote for him "if you are tired of being treated like so much road kill on the highway of American life."

The question now is what organized labor can do to revive itself, after being flattened by NAFTA, job flight, coercive management, and an increasingly hostile political climate.

Union membership has dropped from 34.7 percent of the American work force in 1954 to 15.5 percent in 1994, The New York Times reports. Labor's cause has also suffered in public-opinion polls, as Rush Limbaugh and other conservative faux populists persuade lower-middle-class workers to side with their billionaire bosses against a caricature of corrupt and lazy unionists who whine about wages and working conditions.

weeney is right when he says that American workers have not been this badly off since the Depression. Locked-out Staley employees in Decatur, Illinois, know it. So do the striking newspaper workers in Detroit. So do hundreds of thousands of people in cities like Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Youngstown, Ohio, who have seen well-paid jobs in manufacturing dry up and blow away. So do the growing number of people all over the country forced to work long hours for low pay and no benefits in service-sector jobs.

Sweeney's promise to spend $ 20 million a year of the AFL-CIO's funds on organizing, and to press individual unions to spend 30 percent of their money on getting new members, is certainly a good start. And his track record as the head of the Service Employees International Union is in many ways heartening. The SEIU doubled in size under Sweeney, mainly by drawing in women, immigrants, and members of minorities who work in jobs that had not previously been unionized. His confrontational tactics--staging massive marches, tying up traffic, getting hundreds of demonstrators arrested--are also refreshing in an era when labor leaders have too often remained above the fray.

But it would be a mistake to look at Sweeney as labor's messiah. It will take much more than electing one person to revive the movement. And, as Jane Slaughter, veteran of Labor Notes, points out, Sweeney is a member of the establishment that helped labor to arrive at its current weakened condition.

This weakness is visible even in one of SEIU's proudest organizing success ies--the Justice for Janitors campaign in Los Angeles. The campaign drew ands of unorganized Latino janitors into the union, in part through the successful use of civil disobedience. But after the janitors won their contract, they found that their huge, monolithic SEIU local was unresponsive to their [illegible]. So, using the same organizing skills the SEIU had taught them, they formed a caucus called the Multiracial Alliance, ran against the Anglo leadership of the local, and won. The SEIU international responded by putting the local in trusteeship--seizing control at the highest level.

"It's exactly what you don't want to see," says Slaughter. "You do this fabulous campaign and people are very militant, and then, when they get their contract, they're told to shut up and go home. The people who ran for office did this amazing thing--these mostly Latino janitors took control of their union. And the international wouldn't put up with it."

Another issue is how Sweeney relates to management on the shop floor. "The big question is," says Slaughter, "does he fall in with the prevailing rhetoric of labor-management cooperation and partnership or is he going to cut through the bullshit and say our interests are different?"

As a member of a national committee that called for labor-management partnership, Sweeney has sent conciliatory signals to employers already.

And Sweeney has gotten awfully cozy with the Clinton Administration. When there was a split in the labor movement over whether to back Clinton's healthcare plan or a single-payer program, Sweeney supported Clinton. Even after the Administration's failure to work hard to boost the minimum wage, or to pass a striker-replacement bill, even after Clinton's betrayal of labor on NAFTA and GATT, Sweeney remains totally committed to the Democratic Party, and said recently that Clinton has done a "great job" as President.

Nonetheless, the militancy Sweeney espouses ignited passions at the AFL-CIO convention. Sweeney's election, and the success of the rest of his ticket, is significant mainly because it is the work of a grassroots insurgency. Newt Gingrich called it a "disaster"--another good sign.

Sweeney talks a lot about organizing. "The question now is, what does organizing mean?" says Adolph Reed Jr., who is working for the Jobs with Justice Coalition in Chicago. "Does it mean just bringing people into unions, or does it mean building a social movement with labor at its center?"

There is some hope that the grassroots may force the leadership of the AFL-CIO to get more radical. Support is growing for an independent labor party among union members, and several large locals have endorsed the idea. "Sweeney could get swept along by it--the same way pastors got swept along by congregations in support of the civil-rights movement," Reed suggests.

The real leaders at the AFL-CIO conference were the rank-and-file in attendance, the kind of people the old union leadership tried to shut out. Among the most passionate speakers was Dan Lane, who has been conducting a hunger strike on behalf of the workers locked out by Staley in Decatur, Illinois, and who drew a standing ovation from the assembled unionists in New York City (see "On the Line," page 14).

Around the country, in places like Decatur, individual unions are waging [illegible]iring battles. They need support and solidarity on a national scale.

When one union goes out on strike, all unions in the affected industry should go out on strike. Otherwise, unions will get picked off one at a time. That has been the story for the last fifteen years. When the air-traffic controllers went on strike, the pilots didn't strike, the stewards didn't strike, and the machinists didn't strike, so the air-traffic controllers were grounded. Then, when the pilots went on strike, no one else followed, and they had their wings clipped, too.

That's no way to run a union movement. In other Western industrialized nations, there's a strong sense of solidarity, which translates into power--the power of a general strike. You'll know the union movement has changed for the better when you see a general strike again in this country.

The AFL-CIO also needs to become a force for international solidarity, and forge real ties with unions overseas. That's the only way labor will be able to compete against multinational capital.

In the last forty years, however, the AFL-CIO has served as the CIA'S organizer overseas, forging ties not with indigenous unions, but with sectors aligned with the ruling powers.

The labor federation's whole international apparatus needs to be dismantled, including the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO's subsidiary in Latin America, which was founded during the Cold War to help fight communism, and helped finance death-squad attacks on unionists in El Salvador during the 1980s.

Finally, the AFL-CIO needs to become part of a social and political movement for democracy in America. It needs to democratize itself, and it needs to align itself with the real democratic forces in society, instead of simply playing a bit part in the election campaigns of morally bankrupt politicians in the Democratic Party.

If the new leadership of the AFL-CIO can harness the energy and solidarity of the grassroots, then it may, indeed, be possible for the labor movement to scrape itself off the road. And not a moment too soon.

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AFL-CIO WORK IN PROGRESS -- January 13, 1997

WORKERS GET WINNING HAND -- The Teamsters were on a roll in three separate organizing wins last week. Dealers at the Tropicana Casino in Atlanta City voted 407-357 for the IBT, which also won an election, 21-3, to represent workers at the Forsythe & Associates Commuter Bus Co. in Scottsdale, Ariz. At New York's LaGuardia Airport, Local 851 gained 40 full-time cargo warehouse and clerical employees at Ogden Services Corp. The vote was 27-1.

TWIN STRATEGY -- Service Employees Local 250 in northern California found two different ways to provide the benefits of unionism to hospital workers. Local 250 won a late-December election to represent 49 respiratory therapists at Salinas Valley Memorial Hospital, and in the same week negotiated a new contract with Brookside Hospital that will bring 150 new members into the local.

MORE SEIU SCORES -- Metro Action Commission workers -- teachers, aides and bus drivers for the Head Start program in Nashville, Tenn. -- voted 125-40 to join SEIU Local 205. Meanwhile, two other SEIU locals won elections to represent nearly 200 nursing home workers in Westbury, Conn., and Annandale, Minn.

WORKERS UNITED -- In the second card-check recognition by FDR Laundry, UNITE garnered 90 percent of the 100 workers at the company's facility in Front Royal, Va. UNITE also won a hard-fought campaign among a diverse immigrant work force at MRC Industries in Queens, N.Y., as the workers voted 93-27 for union recognition.

SAME OLD SONG -- House Republicans decided to keep Speaker Newt Gingrich, architect of the anti-worker "Contract on America" in the last Congress, but will change the name (again) of the chief labor committee. Named the Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee 24 months ago, the panel now is the Education and Workforce Committee, although its tune is much the same. First out of the chute: a bill by Rep. Cass Ballenger (R-N.C.) that would allow employers to offer comp time instead of overtime pay. On a positive note, Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.) introduced legislation to increase the number of hours workers are allowed to take off under the Family and Medical Leave Act.

SPEAK OUT -- Workers are encouraged to attend Working Family Issue Forums in Connecticut and New York on Tuesday, Jan. 14, to meet their member of Congress and help set an agenda for the year. Rep. Jim Maloney (D) will meet with workers at the Hotchkiss Hose Co. No. 1 on David Humphrey Road in Derby, Conn., at 6:30 p.m., while Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D) will be at the Plumbers' Hall at 137 Willis Ave. in Mineola, N.Y., at 7 p.m. In Connecticut, call Roger Clayman at 860/571-6191; in New York, call Jack Caffey at 516/228-4940.

FIRST CITY -- Nearly 300 local union leaders from the Baltimore metropolitan area, meeting in Atlantic City, N.J., last week, urged the city central labor council board to be the first to adopt the AFL-CIO Union City program. The new program supports unions working together to organize, mobilize members, form grassroots political action networks and build community coalitions. For information, call Scott Reynolds at 202/637-5226.

LIGHT SHINES ON JOBS -- As many as 3,000 new construction jobs will be created as the result of a project agreement between the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and the University of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory to construct the nation's superlaser, the National Ignition Facility. The $1.1 billion superlaser will allow scientists to check aging nuclear warheads.

SEOUL BROTHERS AND SISTERS -- AFL-CIO Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson delivered a package of protest letters to the Korean labor attache during a demonstration Jan. 10 at the Korean Embassy. The situation in Korea is rapidly deteriorating, with mass arrests of trade union leaders, police violence against strikers and businesses demanding that unions be forced to pay for their financial losses. Last month, federation President John Sweeney called on the Korean government to scrap a new labor law that pulls the rug out from under workers' rights.

VOICE FOR JUSTICE -- Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich left office last week with a vow to continue speaking out for economic justice. The Clinton administration's "unfinished agenda is to address widening inequality" between the rich and poor in this nation, Reich said in a Jan. 9 speech. He also warned that some proposals to fix Social Security and Medicare would only aggravate economic inequality, not end it. Reich was given a surprise farewell reception Jan. 8 at AFL-CIO headquarters.

IN THE LINE OF DUTY -- Electronic Workers are mourning the deaths of union members Charles Jones, Greg Douchard and Arthur Brice, who were aboard the commuter plane that crashed last week in Ida, Mich. They were on their way to the formal signing of an historic three-year contract with the Packard Division of General Motors in Brookhaven, Miss.

CORPORATE TAKE GIVING -- Companies are beginning to yield to pressure from unions and other shareholders in cutting off pensions for outside directors, the Conference Board reports. Still, 43 percent of the companies surveyed said they still give these retirement benefits to non-employee directors.

UNIONS POUR IN TO HELP -- The AFL-CIO's Western area community services liaisons have been busy establishing food banks and offering assistance for families affected by the floods in Sacramento, Calif., and Northern Nevada. Workers from some of the larger construction locals in Sacramento are volunteering to make repairs.

RIGHT TO VOTE IT DOWN -- A last-minute effort to pass right- to-work legislation in Illinois was shot down by quick-acting workers and their leaders. The attack on labor, which came in the waning hours of the 89th General Assembly Jan. 7, was denounced also by lawmakers on both sides of the aisle. Attempts by the business lobby to slash workers' compensation and unemployment insurance failed to move during the final days as well.

TWIN-CITY WAGES -- The drive for living wages received a shot in the arm from the St. Paul, Minn., City Council, which voted to require businesses receiving at least $100,000 in city aid to pay their workers the equivalent of at least 110 percent of the federal poverty level for a family of four -- currently about $8.25 an hour. Those providing basic health care would be required to pay 100 percent. The initiative awaits the signature of Mayor Norm Coleman (R), and a similar proposal is likely to come up before the Minneapolis City Council next month.

ON THE RIGHT TRACK -- Rail workers at Norfolk & Western Railway Co. who took early retirement after signing liability releases for their employer are still free to make claims against management, a federal appeals court ruled. The workers, who suffered hearing loss from exposure to excessive noise on the job, sought relief under the Federal Employers' Liability Act. The court ruled the release cannot serve as a bar to the plaintiff's claims under FELA "unless the release was clearly executed as a settlement for their hearing-loss injuries."

DRY DOCK -- Labor scofflaw Avondale Shipyards was slapped by the National Labor Relations Board's general counsel, who asked an NLRB judge to approve extraordinary measures to end "outrageous" and "pervasive" labor law violations. The yard, the target of a four-year organizing campaign by the New Orleans Metal Trades Council, has been the site of hundreds of unfair labor practices and health and safety violations, and is the subject of a two-year trial. The latest trial is scheduled to begin Jan. 27.

BERRY NICE CARDS -- The Strawberry Workers Campaign's notecards featuring pastels by artist Tony Ortega are still available for $10 for a set of 12 or $25 for three sets. To order, call 202/637-5043 and ask for item No. 271. Proceeds support the campaign to improve the lives of 20,000 California strawberry workers. More on the campaign follows on Page 3 of this report.

CLOCK IS TICKING -- A federal judge has denied supermarket giant Albertson's bid to slow a suit by its California employees alleging illegal off-the-clock work. The judge also ruled that 25,000 more employees can join the suit, which is being supported by the Food and Commercial Workers.

GIANT STEP -- Striking Teamster drivers for Giant Food asked the chain's British owners, J. Sainsbury PLC, to sign a code of conduct pledging that it will not undercut the prevailing wages and benefits that exist in communities where they own stores. The drivers have been on strike since Dec. 15 after Giant demanded that it be allowed to contract out the drivers' jobs to non-union firms as they retire.

INTEREST YIELD -- Air Line Pilots at Atlantic Coast Airlines credit interest-based bargaining for a new tentative accord. The process, under which both sides meet and identify shared interests before staking out positions, "has strengthened labor-management relations at Atlantic Coast," said Capt. Jeff Brundage, who chairs ALPA's Master Executive Council at the carrier. The pact would increase compensation and improve work rules for 500 pilots at the United Express commuter. Members will vote before the end of the month.

STEADY AS SHE GOES -- The unemployment rate remained unchanged in December at 5.3 percent, matching the average for the last two quarters of 1996. However, the government's alternative measure, which includes marginally attached workers like those discouraged or working part time involuntarily, was 9.2 percent, up from 8.9 percent in November. Payroll jobs increased by 262,000, led by a 112,000-job increase in the services industry. Manufacturing added 19,000 jobs.

TEMPORARY CHIEF AT OSHA -- Deputy Assistant Secretary for OSHA Gregory Watchman has been designated acting OSHA head while the Clinton administration searches for a permanent replacement for Joseph A. Dear. Watchman previously served as counsel to the Senate Labor and Human Resources labor subcommittee and as associate counsel for civil rights with the House Education and Labor Committee.

THE ENVELOPE, PLEASE -- The Sidney Hillman Foundation, whose prizes honor journalism that investigates issues relating to social justice and public policy, is accepting submissions for 1996. For the first time, a "UNITE" award will be presented to individuals whose work brings together disparate people or groups locally or globally. The deadline for submissions is Jan. 17. For more information, call Executive Director JoAnn Mort at 212-265-7000, ext. 725.

HEALTH TRAINING -- The National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences is sponsoring a technical workshop at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Md., Jan. 23-24 on training partnerships to promote worker safety and health. For more information, call 301/431-5425; or FAX at 301/431-6464; or e-mail at chouse@dgs.dgsys.com.

Support Strawberry Workers

Why we do it

"They have a contract"

Jorge wants to be a doctor. "What I like to do best is to study. I've always had that idea of getting ahead," he says. But for the last six years Jorge has picked strawberries along with 20,000 other California workers, earning about $8,500 a season.

What he's learned in the fields: strawberry workers don't do nearly as well as workers in some other crops.

The reason others do better: _They have a contract."

So, the 24-year-old strawberry picker got involved with the United Farm Workers organizing drive last year. He believes organizing a union will lead to better wages, a family health insurance plan and some sort of pension similar to what workers have in crops such as mushrooms and roses.

It wouldn't take much to improve conditions for strawberry workers. For only 5" more per pint of strawberries, workers' piece pay rates could increase by at least 50 percent. But, the $650 million-a-year strawberry industry is standing in the way, fighting workers like Jorge and their attempt to improve their lives.

Needed: 20,000 people

You can change the world -- or, at least a piece of it.

A broad coalition will meet in Watsonville April 13 to support The Strawberry Workers Campaign. Activities will culminate with a march that aims to attract 20,000 people from throughout the U.S.

Central Labor Councils, state federations and international unions are helping to build support for the march.

For information, call 202-637-5280.

Taking the lead

Ralphs, the largest supermarket chain in California and the sixth-largest chain in the nation, topped the news in December as it signed on to The Strawberry Workers Campaign.

In a Dec. 20 announcement at the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, the 408-store chain backed the drive for basic rights for strawberry workers. A store executive signed the pledge supporting a living wage, clean drinking water and bathrooms, job security, health insurance and an end to abuses such as sexual harassment.

Ralphs joins several other large chains, including two in New York City -- Key Food, with 130 stores, and Gristedes and Sloans, with 62 stores. CLCs are working toward producing more signees around the nation.

l Local governments are lining up behind the campaign. CLCs have helped organize resolutions of support in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, Boston, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

l The Strawberry Workers Campaign tour that helped build support in the Northeast will travel the Midwest in February, not January as originally planned. Tours are also being planned for the West Coast and a return trip is being set for the Northeast.

l The more than 40 member groups of the National Strawberry Commission for Workers' Rights are developing local support networks. Member groups plan to tell their members and the public why the strawberry workers' fight is their fight. The commission is also planning to send a delegation to the strawberry fields this spring.

The Strawberry Workers Campaign: 1-888-AFL-CIOO.

Media inquiries: 202-637-5279 or 805-822-5571, x3255.

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Washington Post

August 23, 1993, Monday, Final Edition

NAME: GERALD M. SHEA

SECTION: FINANCIAL; PAGE F9

LENGTH: 535 words

HEADLINE: Reconciling Union Infighting and Health Care Changes

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Frank Swoboda, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

When people in the labor movement are asked to describe Gerald M. Shea, the word that most often comes up is "conciliator" -- a pragmatic, affable man who somehow has managed to survive and prosper during a decade of bitter union infighting over the shape of national health care changes.

Starting next month, Shea, 47, will need all those traits when he takes over as director of the AFL-CIO Employee Benefits Department, making him the federation's top policy adviser on health care changes.

He succeeds Karen Ignagni, 39, who resigned to become president of Group Health Association.

After a career as an organizer, local union official and adviser to the top leadership of the Service Employees International Union, where he specialized in health care matters, Shea appears to be a natural choice to replace Ignagni. For the past 10 years he has been the alter ego to SEIU President John Sweeney, who heads the AFL-CIO Health Care Committee.

In that job, Shea has been repeatedly called on to referee disputes between union factions pushing for a "single-payer" Canadian-style government health program and those seeking a more politically palatable "managed competition" approach along the lines being pushed by the Clinton administration.

As a result, said a federation official, "Gerry's been walking on eggshells for a long time."

Although it will involve leaving the union he has worked for since 1972, Shea doesn't see his new job as a major change from what he's already been doing. "For me this is not so much a leap as it is a progression," Shea said. "There will be new relationships, but not new people."

The way Shea sees it, going from his current job to the AFL-CIO post "is like being asked to ice your own cake."

Because of his close ties to Sweeney, who remains as chairman of the federation's health care committee, Shea is expected to bring more political clout to the job than his predecessor, a fact of internal union life that should make his job somewhat easier as the health care battle moves to Congress this fall.

AFL-CIO officials acknowledge that Ignagni often found herself in jurisdictional fights with the federation's legislative department when she tried to move about on Capitol Hill. Without commenting on any problems his predecessor might have had with the AFL-CIO lobbyists, Shea said he didn't anticipate any trouble.

Shea said his job will not be to lobby. Instead, he said, his job will be to help the AFL-CIO develop the policies that labor will pursue on Capitol Hill.

As Sweeney's adviser, Shea has been meeting regularly with Clinton administration officials working on legislative plans to overhaul the health care system.

Once Clinton's proposal is introduced in Congress, Shea said a major part of his work will be to mobilize grass roots lobbying efforts on behalf of labor's positions.

"First and foremost, my role is to make sure that workers themselves effectively participate in the political process that affects this legislation," Shea said.

Shea, a native of Massachusetts, is a graduate of Boston College. He spent two years as a Vista volunteer before joining the labor movement organizing hospital workers for the SEIU.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, GERALD M. SHEA IS REGARDED AS A "CONCILIATOR," A TRAIT HE'LL NEED IN SHAPING THE AFL-CIO'S HEALTH CARE POLICY. TOM ALLEN

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 21, 1993

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The New York Times

January 7, 1997, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 6; National Desk

LENGTH: 1615 words

HEADLINE: SOCIAL SECURITY: THE OVERVIEW;
PANEL ON SOCIAL SECURITY URGES INVESTING IN STOCKS, BUT IS SPLIT OVER METHODS

BYLINE: By ROBERT PEAR

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 6

BODY:

A Federal advisory panel suggested today that the nation consider investing part of its Social Security revenues in the stock market to insure the solvency of the retirement program. But panel members disagreed on whether workers or the Government should decide how the money is invested.

Seven of the 13 panel members recommended compulsory private savings through individual investment accounts. Labor unions said they would fiercely resist the use of such accounts to replace any part of the Federal program.

Under current law, Social Security payroll taxes not needed for today's benefits are invested exclusively in Government securities, mainly long-term bonds. In its final report, issued after more than two years of work, the advisory panel agreed that Social Security could obtain a much higher return by investing some of the money in stocks.

"Private investment is the key to bolstering the return on workers' very substantial tax payments," said Carolyn L. Weaver, a panel member who is an economist at the American Enterprise Institute. "Our proposal could produce larger retirement incomes for workers and boost national saving and economic growth."

But panel members disagreed over what level of financial risk was acceptable to workers and retirees. And they could not agree on whether workers should be allowed to choose the stocks and mutual funds in which their money would be invested.

In view of these disagreements, no major changes in Social Security are likely any time soon. But the panel's report sets the stage for a national debate on retirement policy. [Excerpts, page A14.]

The report represents a possible turning point in the history of Social Security, which was created in 1935 and is the nation's biggest, most successful social insurance program. It could also prove a boon to Wall Street by funneling billions of dollars into stocks. [Article, page A14.]

The panel, the Advisory Council on Social Security, was appointed in June 1994 by Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services. She asked the members to take a long view of Social Security's financial health. The chairman of the panel was Edward M. Gramlich, a professor of economics at the University of Michigan.

As they completed their work, the 13 members of the panel found themselves agreeing in groups of 6, 5 and 2. Each faction advanced its own plan to guarantee the solvency of Social Security over the next 75 years. Seven of the 13 members favored compulsory private savings through individual accounts, but they disagreed over whether workers should have limited or complete control over them.

The six other members said that the Government itself should consider investing part of the surplus in the Social Security trust fund -- up to 40 percent -- in stocks.

This group of six included three labor union officers and was led by Robert M. Ball, who worked at the Social Security Administration for more than three decades and was Commissioner from 1962 to 1973.

The amount of money that would be injected into the stock market varied under the three plans. In 2015, for example, stock holdings would range from $1.2 trillion to $4.2 trillion. These totals, expressed in terms of today's purchasing power, range from $601 billion to $2.1 trillion.

Panel members estimated that these totals would be equivalent to 5 percent to 15 percent of the total market value of stocks. (By contrast, the assets of 401(k) plans quadrupled from 1984 to 1990, when they reached $385 billion, and they totaled $525 billion by the end of 1994.)

Mr. Ball said there was no need for radical change. "Social Security is not in the emergency room and does not require radical surgery," he said. "To maintain its long-term health, it requires only a series of moderate adjustments to revenues and expenses."

Clinton Administration officials and senior Republicans in Congress, knowing that Social Security is an explosive issue among voters, reacted with utmost caution. They said that they wanted to study the proposals before taking action, and that action would not come for several years, at the earliest.

Administration officials and members of Congress said that Medicare, the health insurance program for the elderly, faced much more urgent financial problems. Its Hospital Insurance Trust Fund is expected to run out of money in 2001, assuming no change in current law.

Labor representatives were more vocal. Gerald M. Shea, a panel member who is assistant to the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., denounced the proposals to replace part of Social Security with compulsory private savings that would be invested in stocks and bonds. He said that labor unions were organizing a campaign to "prevent these ideas of radical reform from getting beyond the fantasy stage."

Mr. Shea said that the proposals would "divert large amounts of money to Wall Street" and could be a boon for stockbrokers, mutual funds and investment advisers. Companies involved in financial services are already trying to whip up support for such plans, he said.

Sylvester J. Schieber, a panel member who helped draft the proposal for personal savings accounts, said that financial service companies "did not influence our thinking." Moreover, he said, "this is a highly competitive industry," and added that the competition among investment managers would prevent them from "reaping undue or exorbitant profits." Mr. Schieber is a vice president of Watson Wyatt Worldwide, a management consulting concern that specializes in employee benefits.

Proponents of personal savings accounts rejected the characterization of their proposal as radical. "There was a time," they said, "in the early 1930's, that Social Security was considered radical. We must get beyond such politically charged words."

Social Security pays monthly cash benefits to 44 million people: 31 million retirees, 7 million survivors and 6 million disabled people.

The first baby boomers will reach the age of 65 in 2011. The Social Security trust fund now has assets of more than $550 billion, and the surplus is expected to rise to $2.8 trillion in 2018. But then, the Administration says, the assets will begin to decline, as the payments to retirees begin to exceed the revenues paid by workers. By 2029, if the system is unchanged, the trust fund will be depleted, and revenues will cover only three-fourths of benefit costs.

Council members expressed surprising agreement on the importance of the annual cost-of-living adjustment, which is intended to preserve the purchasing power of Social Security benefits and offset the effects of inflation.

Benefits are now increased each year to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. The advisory council said that the cost-of-living adjustment could be reduced to reflect corrections that might be made in this index by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

But the panel said Congress should not dictate changes in the cost-of-living adjustment because such action would set "a bad precedent" that could be used to cut benefits unfairly.

A panel of five economists appointed by the Senate Finance Committee said last month that the index overstates the cost of living by 1.1 percentage points. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, has said that Americans need not make immediate changes in the structure of Social Security if they agree to corrections in the cost-of-living adjustment.

Representative Bill Archer, the Texas Republican who supervises Social Security as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, did not endorse any specific recommendation, but said he hoped that President Clinton would display "bold leadership."

Mr. Clinton's press secretary, Michael D. McCurry, offered a noncommittal response to the council's recommendations. At Mr. McCurry's regular briefing for journalists today, this exchange occurred:

Question: "What does the President think of investing some of the Social Security money in the stock market?"

Answer: "He believes that there are a number of ideas that have surfaced as part of this debate -- and certainly in the report of the advisory council itself -- that merit further discussion. He is not wedded to any of the suggestions made by any of the separate groups of members of the council itself, but agrees that many of these ideas will have to be discussed further and will have to be an element of the bipartisan process that would lead to resolution of questions about the future of Social Security."

Horace B. Deets, executive director of the American Association of Retired Persons, said: "Social Security is not in crisis. There is no reason to rush to radical reform proposals that would undermine the stability of the program."

Mr. Deets said that the proposals to channel a part of payroll taxes into individual investment accounts would be "especially risky for poor and middle-income elderly who rely on Social Security" as their main source of income.

These families, he said, "would have significantly less to invest than wealthy investors, would pay more in administrative fees and would be less able to protect themselves against downturns in the stock market."

Edith U. Fierst, a lawyer and member of the advisory council who specializes in women's pension rights, said: "Privatization is a threat to American women. The money accumulated in a personal savings account would belong to the person whose earnings were taxed, not to the spouse. Men are still earning more than women, so their accounts would be larger. If the man is not required to buy an annuity, he could take the money to Las Vegas or use it to support a girlfriend or buy a business."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Gloria T. Johnson, Gerald M. Shea and Robert M. Ball, members of the Advisory Council on Social Security, met with reporters yesterday. (Associated Press)(pg. A14)

Graphs: Social Security contributions could be invested in stocks instead of just government securities under the proposals. The amount varies among the plans: individual investing from new taxes, Government investing from trust funds and individual investing from payroll taxes. Figures tracked from 1996 to a projected 2020. (Source: Advisory Council on Social Security)(pg. A1)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 7, 1997

AFL-CIO Mounts Drive to Organize Las Vegas Workers

By G. PASCAL ZACHARY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The AFL-CIO, in its largest organizing effort in decades, is mounting a crusade in the boom town of Las Vegas.

The labor federation is backing a three-pronged campaign, pursuing hotels, hospitals and construction workers. The drive, expected to last for years, is designed to showcase new organizing techniques and should say a lot about the chances for unions to regain a central role in American life.

"If this works, Las Vegas will become the symbol of a revitalized labor movement," says Harley Shaiken, a union expert at the University of California, Berkeley.

The AFL-CIO is spending at least $6 million on the Las Vegas effort, with individual unions contributing millions of dollars more, say people familiar with the

Please Turn to Page A8, Column 4

Continued From Page A2

plan. The money is paying for scores of organizers assigned to membership drives led by the Hotel and Restaurant Union, the Service Employees International Union and the Building Trades Council, which represents 15 construction unions.

Union officials are tight-lipped about their designs on Las Vegas, but are expected to formally kick off the campaign in the second week of February, when AFL-CIO President John Sweeney visits the city to publicize the campaign.

No Promises

Even then the AFL-CIO is likely to withhold crucial details out of a fear of prematurely raising the ire of employers. "We don't want want to hype things on the front end," says Richard Bensinger, the federation's organization chief.

That's partly because every big AFL-CIO organizing initiative for the past quarter century has been a bust, and Mr. Bensinger says he wishes to avoid promising too much. Underscoring how far unions must travel in order to regain the economic influence of their heyday, Mr. Bensinger says that any growth in Las Vegas "will have to be duplicated in 50 other cities."

Since the election of Mr. Sweeney as its president in October 1995, the AFL-CIO has concentrated most of its fire on politics. But after the November elections it turned its attention to organizing, which has never before been a high priority. The Las Vegas effort is the federation's biggest organizing effort nationally, and by a wide margin. The other significant campaign the AFL-CIO currently is supporting involves organizing thousands of strawberry workers in California.

Casino Belt

"AFL-CIO money allows us to do things on a scale we couldn't do before," says Mark Kay Henry, industry organizing chief for the SEIU. A spokesman for the Building Trades adds, "We've never done anything as big" as this campaign and involving so many unions.

To those who associate unions with heavy industry and the Rust Belt, Las Vegas might seem an unlikely target, especially since it is located in a conservative, right-to-work state. But observers say Las Vegas is a natural target for unions because its economy is booming and its core service jobs can't be moved elsewhere by employers. "Because we are a very visible city, Las Vegas is a logical place to go after," concedes Mark Smith, president of the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce.

Many employers will fight the union efforts, Mr. Smith says, but he thinks that unions "can make some inroads because in a boom time employers tend not to fight [unionization] as hard."

Another reason: This booming tourist destination is home to the nation's fastest-growing local union. The local union, which represents culinary workers at some of the biggest hotels and casinos in Las Vegas, added 8,000 members last year and doubled its ranks to 40,000 in the past 10 years.

The hotel industry attributes much of the growth to a shrewd deal struck by the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union's international secretary-treasurer, John Wilhelm, a graduate of Yale University who in the late 1980s foresaw a boom period for Las Vegas. Alone among the city's big unions, Mr. Wilhelm negotiated a deal whereby management agreed to stay neutral if the union tried to organize the workers at their new hotels. When construction boomed in the 1990s, the union cleaned up.

Saavy Seer

"He's the most enlightened union guy in the U.S.," says Peter Pantaleo, a labor attorney who represents many hotel employers. "When others thought Las Vegas would stagnate, he kept his eye on organizing and created a method for his union to grow successfully."

Mr. Wilhelm, who splits his time between Las Vegas and the hotel union's headquarters in Washington, says he wants "to be as militant as possible when I need to be." But he insists, "You don't organize only by spitting in the boss's face."

The willingness to strike flexible deals that benefit both employers and workers will be crucial to avoiding a stalemate in Las Vegas. It is perhaps almost as important for different unions to forge effective alliances, something that hasn't happened in many parts of the U.S. "Unions waste an enormous amount of resources fighting each other," says Kate Bronfenbrenner, a labor professor at Cornell University. "They need to learn how to work together to share resources."

The AFL-CIO isn't saying just how it plans to leverage union cooperation, but Mr. Wilhelm's hotel workers are expected to play a big role since they and their families number about 100,000, or a good chunk of the Las Vegas population. Mr. Wilhelm suggests that if the SEIU faces unfair resistance in its drive to unionize nurses at two of the biggest hospitals in the city, owned by Columbia/HCA Healthcare, his hotel workers might respond by taking their business elsewhere.

AFL-CIO Executive Council Statement
December 16, 1996, Washington, D.C.

STOP THE RAIL INDUSTRY RAID ON WORKERS_ PENSIONS

Because of the hazardous nature and uniqueness of work in the rail industry, Congress amended the Railroad Retirement Act of 1946 to provide occupational disability protection for career industry workers who may become sick or injured.
Section 2(a)(2) of the Railroad Retirement Act provides that the Railroad Retirement Board _with the cooperation of employers and employees_ shall secure the establishment of standards for determining the conditions that would disable industry workers for various railroad occupations. The Act further provides that _the Board, employers, and employees shall cooperate_ in the promotion of uniform standards.
The rail unions have been working in good faith since 1979 to develop the disability standards that the law requires and in fact supported the standards developed by the Board_s technical staff in 1988. Unfortunately, the American Association of Railroads (AAR) refused to agree to these standards thus preventing an agreement from being implemented.
The AAR has instead hired an outside contractor to develop a set of standards designed to their specifications. These standards purposely create a costly and time-consuming process by which sick and disabled employees are evaluated for disability.
The Management Member of the Board has convinced the Chairman to set an arbitrary deadline for the joint task force that was formed to conduct the legally-required review of disability standards. This is a blatant attempt by rail management to circumvent their good-faith agreement to work with rail labor towards developing a complete and uniform set of standards.
The Board has indicated that it is ready to impose the AAR standards that were designed to make it more difficult for sick and injured rail workers to qualify for a disability pension.
The railroad industry_s termination of the ongoing negotiations and its attempt to unilaterally impose the AAR standards is a direct attack on rail workers. It amounts to a raid on the pension system that they depend on. This action is unfair, corrupts the negotiating process and is contrary to a long-standing law. This threat to the health and welfare of rail workers cannot and will not go unchallenged.
The AFL-CIO supports the political and economic efforts of the labor organizations that represent rail workers to persuade the rail industry and the Railroad Retirement Board that the unilateral course of action they are pursuing is unfair, unwise and illegal.
The AFL-CIO will support the members of our rail affiliates as they work to protect the health and welfare of rail workers and to end this misguided effort to undermine occupational disability standards and the railroad retirement system.

AFL-CIO Home Page | Executive Council Page

AFL-CIO Executive Council Statement
December 16, 1996, Washington, D.C.

BLOCK GRANTING ECONOMIC SECURITY PROGRAMS

The Great Depression of the 1930s proved that only the federal government can provide national economic stability. Unrestrained private-sector economic activity had resulted in the Great Depression, and private charities and state and local governments were overwhelmed by the unemployment and the poor. Since then, the nation has constructed an economic security _safety net_ which has helped individuals in need and reduced wide swings between deep recession and rapid economic growth. All Americans have benefited from increased economic stability. That safety net is now under attack.

In fact, the recently-passed welfare law (TANF) has already ended one of the original economic security programs, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, thus making it all the more important that we retain and strengthen the others: unemployment insurance benefits and employment services for workers who lose their jobs; Medicaid health benefits for poor and unemployed families; and food stamp assistance for the poor and unemployed.

Further, TANF is silent with regard to whether welfare-to-work participants will receive at least the minimum wage or coverage under workers_ compensation, health and safety, anti-discrimination, collective bargaining, and other employment laws. In addition, TANF does not adequately protect unfilled union jobs from being converted into workfare slots or protect against partial displacement of the current workforce through reductions in hours and wages.

Additional proposals have been advanced that would weaken or destroy key features of the Medicaid, food stamps, unemployment insurance and employment services programs. By limiting how much money the federal government could spend in the form of fixed _block grants,_ these proposals would destroy their crucial counter-cyclical features and their ability to stabilize the American economy. They would lead to a reduction in the number of people receiving those benefits and the value of the benefits.

In addition, these devolution plans would allow the states to turn the public administration of these programs over to private organizations, triggering contract bidding wars of unprecedented magnitude. Crucial accountability mechanisms, such as requirements for merit-based personnel systems which have protected these programs from political corruption would be lost.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly opposes any attempts to devolve and privatize the Medicaid, food stamp, unemployment insurance and employment service programs;

That the AFL-CIO will work to ensure that public employees continue to administer welfare programs so that the programs remain impartial and accountable to the public.

That the AFL-CIO secure pledges from non-profit organizations to which it contributes or promotes that they will agree to participate only in welfare-to-work programs that treat the participants fairly and do not reduce their current workforce;

The AFL-CIO also resolves to work for passage of legislation which guarantees that welfare recipients are entitled to all the same rights and protections as other workers, thereby maintaining the integrity of our labor laws.

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AFL-CIO Executive Council Statement
December 16, 1996, Washington, D.C.

STRAWBERRY WORKERS MARCH - APRIL 13, 1997

In California, 20,000 strawberry workers are struggling for justice and dignity in the workplace. They are organizing for decent working conditions like clean drinking water and restrooms, for a living wage, for job security, health insurance and an end to sexual harassment.

To win these basic rights that have been denied to them by their employers, strawberry workers have begun an industry-wide organizing campaign with the United Farm Workers of America. In response to the workers' determination to end decades of exploitation in the fields, the strawberry industry and its allies have launched a vicious anti-union campaign marked by lies, firings, intimidation and even violence. Its purpose is to confuse, frighten and terrorize workers to force them to give up their effort to organize. As one of its tactics, the strawberry industry has threatened not to rehire union supporters for the 1997 harvesting season unless they stop supporting the campaign.

Despite the war being waged against them, thousands of strawberry workers have courageously signed cards in support of the UFW. They have given birth to the national Strawberry Workers Campaign, in which thousands of workers are speaking out, telling other workers across the country about the conditions they endure and about their desire to exercise their right to organize a union and improve life for themselves and their families.

To help focus public attention on the struggle, the United Farm Workers have called for a Strawberry Workers March for Fairness on April 13, 1997, in Watsonville, Calif., the heart of strawberry country. The strawberry workers will demand that they and their co-workers be rehired in 1997. They are asking that their call for the most basic human, social and economic justice be heard, and they are standing up for the right of every worker to organize without fear of retaliation or intimidation by an employer. They deserve the support of the entire labor movement.

Through support for this march, the labor movement can show the strawberry industry -- and all of corporate America -- that workers will not be daunted or deterred from their determination to organize.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council urges all affiliated unions, its state federation and its local central bodies to participate in the strawberry workers march on April 13 in Watsonville, and to encourage their members and their families to turn out in massive numbers to support the UFW and the strawberry workers in this struggle for justice.

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For information: Deborah Dion 202/637-5036

Statement by AFL-CIO John J. Sweeney on the Nomination of Alexis Herman to be U.S. Secretary of Labor

Alexis Herman is a wonderful choice for secretary of labor. She knows and understands working families' concerns, and we look forward to working closely with her to put their interests at the top of the national agenda. At a time when so many working men and women are struggling against declining pay and growing disrespect from corporate America, we believe Alexis' experience -- growing up in the rural South, advancing the interests of working women and minorities, and dealing with the issues of a changing workforce -- will be a tremendous asset. Few are as skilled at organizing public support for the causes she champions. Over the years, she has had an excellent relationship with me and other union leaders. In recent weeks, I have met and talked with her a number of times, and I know she is committed to putting together a strong team to fight for good jobs, justice and dignity for America's working families.

Work in progress
THIS WEEK WITH AMERICA'S UNIONS

AFL-CIO WORK IN PROGRESS -- January 28, 1997

LEVI PLANT ZIPPED UP -- The Levi Strauss plant in Blue Ridge, Ga., agreed to recognize UNITE following a card authorization check by more than half of its workers. UNITE also represents 750 Levi workers in Valdosta, Ga. The card checks fall under a three-year- ago partnership agreement between the union and company designed to increase efficiency and secure jobs, as well as to give workers a free choice concerning union membership.

ORGANIZE--STAT!! -- Some 150 physicians at Thomas-Davis Medical Clinics in Tucson, Ariz., voted to join an AFSCME affiliate after repeated conflicts over their right to practice medicine without being over-ruled on patient care decisions. It was the first private sector election for the Federation of Physicians and Dentists/National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Currently, the union represents all the physicians employed by the state of Florida and is also involved in organizing physicians in Albuquerque and Seattle.

IFPTE WINS UNIT -- Equipment specialists and production controllers at the Naval Aviation Depot in Jacksonville, Fla., voted by mail to join Professional and Technical Engineers Local 22. The latest victory increases the bargaining unit to about 500 members.

OVERNITE SENSATION -- Workers at Overnite Transportation's New Orleans terminal voted 16-9 for Teamster representation. This is the 24th Overnite win since the IBT began the campaign in late 1994.

BEVERLY REPLACEMENT OVERTURNED -- Hundreds of illegally replaced Beverly Enterprise nursing home workers represented by the Service Employees must be reinstated under a district court judge's ruling. The court upheld the National Labor Relations Board's ruling that Beverly illegally replaced and then denied rehire to nearly 1,000 nursing home workers who struck 15 of the company's Pennsylvania facilities for three days last April. Beverly faces hundreds of NLRB unfair labor practice charges for its anti-worker antics nationwide.

BEVERLY PART II -- "Bad Care in Beverly's Back Yard," issued by the AFL-CIO's Food and Allied Service Trades Department, exposes the foul conditions in Beverly-owned nursing homes in Arkansas, the company's home state. The failures include unsanitary environments, failure to control and prevent infections and failure to prevent resident abuse and neglect. The company operates 632 nursing homes in 33 states and the District of Columbia. More than 75 percent of its $3 billion annual revenue comes from taxpayers through Medicare and Medicaid. Additional information is available from Unnia Pettus, SEIU, 202/898-3266; Gene Bruskin, FAST, 501/565-6306; or Greg Denier, UFCW, 202/223-3111.

CURTAINS FOR HOMEWORK -- UNITE members at Richmark curtain factory -- who went public last year with revelations of worker abuse through industrial homework -- ratified a new three-year contract. The contract for the Everett, Mass., workers bans industrial homework and includes a pay raise and increased benefits.

CLC COUNCIL CONVENES -- The AFL-CIO's new Union Cities and Changing to Organize programs, plus the ongoing Strawberry and Living Wage campaigns, topped the agenda of a weekend meeting in Washington of the Central Labor Council Advisory Committee. The committee is made up of CLC's from large, medium and small communities.

LABORERS WIN MILLIONS FOR MEMBERS -- After more than 10 years of courtroom battles, the Laborers won a $3.1 million settlement for some 190 Laborers who were locked out of their jobs at Outboard Marine Corporation in Calhoun, Ga. Following a short walkout in 1986, the workers were rebuffed when they tried to return to work. The settlement, the largest non-litigated award in the history of the National Labor Relations Board's Atlanta regional office, included back pay, bonuses and interest to the workers.

SWEENEY TO SWITZERLAND -- AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney will bring the workers' perspective to a gathering of some of the world's most powerful business executives and influential economic thinkers this weekend in Davos, Switzerland. While most participants at the World Economic Forum will tout unfettered free trade and global competition, Sweeney will remind the forum of their obligations to working families and warn of the pitfalls and problems of unchecked free trade.

PUBLIX PAYS UP -- The Food and Commercial Workers' "Women's Action Campaign" reaps an $81.5 million victory with the announcement that Publix Super Markets will pay that amount to settle a class-action lawsuit by 150,000 female employees who had been relegated to dead- end, low-paying jobs. "If not for the UFCW, women workers would have continued to suffer in silence without an effective voice to demand equal opportunity," the union said.

AFTRA ACTS ON MERGER -- A merger between the Television and Radio Artists and the Screen Actors Guild was approved overwhelmingly by AFTRA's Board of Directors. The approval set the stage for action by members at the AFTRA convention in July. If the convention approves the plan, the final step would be a secret ballot mail referendum by AFTRA and SAG, which would require approval of 60 percent of each union's membership.

SURPRISE, GOP TARGETS WORKERS -- Senate Republicans wasted little time in targeting workers and their unions in the first batch of bills introduced. S.4 would make it easier to replace paid overtime with comp time and S.9 would limit unions' rights to spend money for political purposes. Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) called the comp time bill a "step backward" in worker protection. The Dems also introduced bills on campaign finance reform, children's health coverage, education and other "family first" measures.

CAT STRIKE WAS "UNFAIR" -- The UAW's 18-month strike against Caterpillar Inc. was based on a pattern of unfair labor practices, the NLRB found. The complaint issued against Caterpillar stems from the discharge of 11 workers following the strike. The NLRB said the strike was caused by a pattern of unfair labor practices and was "prolonged by unfair labor practices." The ruling "confirms that Caterpillar management, through harsh and numerous violations of workers' rights was directly responsible for the unfair labor practices strike," UAW Vice President Richard Shoemaker said.

BLACK LUNG BENEFITS -- Coal miners with black lung and their survivors will face a more fair fight in the battle with coal operators over black benefits under new DoL proposals. The proposal would cap the amount of evidence that can be submitted. While a miner may be able to secure evidence from a doctor or black lung clinic, companies deluge the process with dozens of opinions that can drag out the claims process for years and many black lung victims die before claims are settled.

SMOOTH SAILING AHEAD -- Bowing to union pressure, American President Lines agreed to place nine container vessels in the new U.S.-flag Maritime Security Program, ensuring U.S.-citizen crews. The decision followed a one-day strike by the Marine Engineers, supported by other waterfront unions. Also under the plan, APL agreed to re-flag four ships that have circumvented U.S. labor laws by flying the Marshall Islands flag.

HOUSTON, WE HAVE A PROBLEM -- Voters shot down a living wage of $6.50 for Houston workers by a 3-1 margin in a Jan. 18 special election. Opponents spent more than $1 million in a scare campaign. The labor-backed measure would have lifted out of poverty thousands of children with working parents and directly affected more than 200,000 workers. The Living Wage Campaign said it would continue its efforts for a higher wage.

MILL SAPS SAFETY -- Paperworkers, Machinists and Electrical Workers at the S.D. Warren paper mill in Skowhegan, Maine were not surprised by 13 OSHA citations against their employer and a proposed fine in excess of $110,000. "Employee safety and health has taken a low priority since SAPPI bought S.D. Warren," said UPIU Local 9 President Carl Turner. Workers have been without a contract for 13 months and now are working under management-imposed conditions. SAPPI workers in South Africa, Great Britain and Germany have pledged support.

FREE TRADE, HIT OR MYTH? -- A new study shatters the myth that free trade is always a good deal for workers. The report, released by the Institute for Policy Studies and the Great Cities Institute, finds that most trade-related job claims are based on export data but often ignores the impact of imports on jobs and wages. Further, increasingly mobile corporations have no incentive or requirement to use export profits to raise wages or create jobs, instead they spend the money to finance activities that do just the opposite. "Government officials, business leaders and many economists are using unwarranted claims about jobs and trade to sell the free- trade model across the globe," University of Illinois-Chicago professor David Ranney said.

HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES -- Service Employees President Andy Stern, Communications Workers Local 1109 President Tony Matarazzo and investment consultant Michael Hirsch were honored for their efforts in promoting human rights in the workplace by the Jewish Labor Committee.

NEW IN JERSEY -- Charles Wowkanech was elected president of the New Jersey AFL-CIO and Laurel Brennan became the first women to assume a top leadership post when she was elected secretary/treasurer. Wowkanech will serve out the remaining three years of retiree Charlie Marciante's four-year term. Marciante was president of the state federation since 1969. Brennan, a veteran garment industry organizer, was UNITE's assistant manager for the Philadelphia/South Jersey District Council.

AFTRA-3, NBC-0 -- The Television and Radio Artists won a third legal battle to force NBC to provide essential information to which the union is entitled. A federal appeals court upheld rulings by the NLRB and an administrative law judge that NBC must furnish AFTRA with documentation of its relationship to three subsidiary operations.

GETTING REAL -- Real average hourly wages rose 0.2 percent in December, bringing the year's increase to 0.5 percent. Real weekly earnings were up 1.1 percent for the month, reflecting a 0.9 percent rise in hours worked. Meanwhile, consumer prices rose a modest 0.3 percent, the same as the previous three months.

BRANDEIS LANDS REICH -- Former Secretary of Labor Robert B. Reich joins the faculty of Massachusetts' Brandeis University. He will teach graduate and undergraduate students across disciplines and departments and also establish a Center on Jobs, the Economy and Society.

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Work in progress

THIS WEEK WITH AMERICA'S UNIONS

AFL-CIO WORK IN PROGRESS -- January 21, 1997

KING DAY -- "All the working families in this country depend on the vision and the dream of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. -- the `Dream of Justice,'" AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney said in observance of Martin L. King, Jr.'s birthday. He noted, "In the nearly three decades since Dr. King was gunned down, this simple `Dream of Justice' is not reality . . . Without economic justice, social justice cannot thrive . . . Honest labor must raise the standard of living for all rather than enormous wealth for a few."

TEAMSTERS CLEAN UP AT TRUMP -- Cleaning workers at the Trump Plaza Hotel took advantage of the only "sure thing" in this seaside gambling mecca -- union representation -- when they voted to join Teamster Local 331 Jan 14. Most of the 243 in the Atlantic City, N.J. casino's Environmental Service Unit have not seen a raise three years. The Teamsters scored three other organizing wins when 20 film industry workers at Tri-Phoenix Film Co and 50 movie workers at Western State Services in Hollywood, Calif. voted to join Local 399, and Local 406 won 18 new members at Lake County EMS in Baldwin, Mich..

HEAD START FOR SEIU -- Service Employees Local 100 will represent 900 Head Start workers in Houston following a successful organizing drive. Combined with Local 205's organizing victory for Head Start and Community Action workers in Nashville, Tenn, SEIU's southern organizing total hits more than 1,000 for the first week of the new year.

TWA UNION VOTE SCHEDULED -- TWA's flight attendants, members of an unaffiliated union, will vote Jan. 22-27 on whether to affiliate with the Machinists. Members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants earlier this month rejected affiliation with the Flight Attendants by squeaker -- 1,198-1,180.

FE-FI-FO-FUM, GIANT SUCCUMBS -- A five-week strike by Teamster drivers against mid-Atlantic grocer Giant Food Co. ended with a contract guaranteeing current drivers life-time employment and protecting delivery work in the Baltimore-Washington market. The deal came on the heels of a letter to Giant from AFL-CIO Secretary- Treasurer Richard Trumka and several union presidents who offered to help end the strike, but warned that "if the strike is not resolved in a timely fashion, the unions will meet again to re- evaluate the situation and consider additional courses of action."

WITCH HUNT -- The Republicans' vendetta hearings against the Laborers proved just that in the final report by the House Judiciary crime subcommittee, which admitted that no evidence exists of improper White House influence in the Justice Department's handling of racketeering charges against the union. Last year, during McCarthy-like show hearings, Republicans charged that LIUNA President Arthur Coia's support of Clinton had caused Justice to water down a 1995 settlement requiring the union to rid itself of corrupt influences. Instead, Justice officials said the union is running a model program to clean its house.

BLOOD FLOWS -- A 16-day strike by workers in West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio beat back an attempt by the Red Cross to boost their health care premiums by 50 percent. After management withdrew the huge premium increase, the 68 SEIU 1199 members based in Huntington, W.Va. OK'd a three-year pact with a 9 percent wage hike Jan. 14.

UNION BLASTS GUESS? -- Guess? Inc. the company that sells its jeans as "Made in the USA, an American Tradition" is moving most of its manufacturing to Mexico, Peru and Chile. "This is about profit pure and simple. Guess wants to be free to run their sweatshops," UNITE's Steve Nutter said. The company was cited for sweatshop and labor violations in Los Angeles, Nutter said, "instead of doing the right thing by cleaning up their act, providing safe worksites and a living wage to Los Angeles workers, Guess is jumping ship to bypass fair labor laws."

SHUT DOWN MOTOWN -- After 18 months, "It's time to take a more aggressive route," Detroit newspaper striker Kate DesMet said. With that new tactic, dubbed Shut Down Motown `97, strikers and community supporters took to the streets and the airport in a trio of actions. First, hundreds blocked a street in front of the Detroit Newspapers' printing plant, resulting in 33 arrests for the civil disobedience. Four days later at Detroit's Metro airport, strikers leafleted passengers and staged a noisy caravan around the airport. About 30 strikers went to Budget car rental to protest its continued advertising in the scab papers. The local Budget manager told the strikers he had stopped all business with strike-bound papers, and that the ads were placed by the company's national headquarters. While the strikers listened, he relayed their demands to the firm's corporate offices. On Jan. 8, several hundred strikers and activists staged a rolling traffic blockade in downtown, blocking intersections and leafleting motorists.

FLIGHT DECK UNITY -- Members of the Canadian Air Line Pilots Association approved a merger with its U.S. counterpart by a margin of 89 percent. The Air Line Pilots Association represents 43,000 members at 38 U.S. airlines while CALPA represents more than 2,700 members at 10 Canadian airlines.

DIFFERENT PATHS -- Air Line Pilots and Machinist mechanics at United Airlines overwhelmingly rejected proposed wage and benefits packages, triggering an arbitration process stipulated by their 1994 ESOP deal. Eighty percent of the pilots and 63 percent of the mechanics thumbed down similar pacts with 10 percent salary increases over three and a half years. Ramp workers, dispatchers, security officers, baggage handlers, vehicle drivers and food service workers, who like the mechanics are represented by the IAM but vote separately, approved the agreement by 67 percent.

FAIR WAGES FOR WORKFARE -- More than 100 workfare workers, union officials and supporters jammed the steps of New York City Hall Jan. 15 for a press conference calling on Mayor Robert Giuliani and Governor George Pataki to negotiate with workfare workers for real jobs at real wages. Police attempted to prevent some speakers from joining, but the workfare workers chanted, "Let them in, let them in" and formed a protest picket line so the press conference could continue.

DO IT RIGHT THIS TIME -- That's what the California AFL-CIO told the CAL-OSHA Standards Board last week. The board's ergonomic standards were rejected earlier this month by the state's Office of Administrative Law because of serious flaws. But many of CAL-OSHA's proposed fixes fall far short, and labor's fight for enforceable and adequate ergonomics protection continues in the courts.

INDIA'S SAMANT MURDERED -- The murder of Indian trade union leader Datta Samant Jan. 16 sparked a strike that nearly brought activity in Bombay to a halt. Samant, who in the 1980s led one of the longest strikes ever among India's textile workers and headed a million member union, was gunned down on his way to work. Police have suggested that the killing may have been ordered by industrialists.

COURTING DISASTER -- The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions put an observer on the scene as the "subversion" trial of Muchtar Pakpahan, Indonesia's independent trade union leader, resumed. Pakpahan faces a possible death sentence for publishing a book contrasting the incomes of rich and poor, speeches, news releases and a cassette of workers' songs. Some witnesses have been coached to incriminate Pakpahan and save themselves, and the judge has prevented the defense from questioning them.

A BREAK IN KOREA -- Bowing to pressure from an almost four- week general strike, South Korean President Kim Young Sam agreed to send back to lawmakers an anti-labor legal "reform" railroaded through Parliament Dec. 26. Police arrested trade union leader Kim Byong-Soo and were set to arrest other strike leaders who took refuge in a Seoul cathedral last week. The AFL-CIO, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and other labor groups strongly condemned the government's policies.

MEBA SUPPORTS RADIO OFFICERS -- The Marine Engineers have rallied support for a waterfront strike by the American Radio Association against American President Lines to protest the carrier's refusal to bargain. Since ARA members walked off the job Jan. 10, individual MEBA members have refused to cross the picket lines at West Coast ports.

OSHA FINGERS FACTORY FOR FINE -- A Syracuse, N.Y., plastics factory was hit by a $720,000 fine for violating federal safety laws. The company, Landis Plastics Inc, was cited by OSHA for repeated failure to install necessary machine guards and for 63 cases of record-keeping violations. The plant is a target of a Steelworkers' organizing drive.

CALIFORNIA UI SUIT -- The AFL-CIO filed a class action suit on behalf of at least 120,000 unemployed California workers who have been unfairly denied $230 million in unemployment insurance. Due to an anachronism in state law, recent earnings are not counted in calculating benefits and that can cause delays for weeks and months, or even denial of UI benefits. A report by the state found that almost 30,000 workers are forced onto the welfare rolls because of delay or denial of benefits. Ten other state have updated their laws to minimize such delays.

CHARTING A COURSE -- Representatives of affiliates attending the Economics Education Working Group last week indicated their agreement with the basic vision, policy parameters and necessary analysis to achieve a multiyear, multilevel program to present a workers' perspective on the political economy. Further meetings are scheduled.

CONFIDENTIALLY -- In a major decision, a federal appeals court protected the confidentiality of documents related to corporate campaigns by the Steelworkers. The appeals court overturned a lower court ruling that two public relations firms must turn over USWA corporate campaign documents to Food Lion, the grocery chain, which is involved in a legal battle with another union represented by the two firms.

CHAVEZ-THOMPSON WINS DNC POST -- AFL-CIO Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson was elected a vice chair of the Democratic National Committee Jan. 21. The committee also elected Colorado Gov. Roy Romer general chair and philanthropist and businessman Steven Grossman national chair.

ANTIDOTE TO POISON PILL -- Shareholders now have more control over how a corporation governs itself thanks to a successful suit by the Teamsters. A federal judge in Oklahoma ruled that Fleming Companies must let shareholders vote on a binding resolution concerning that company's "poison pill" plan. The company ignored a 65 percent shareholder vote for a non-binding resolution when it enacted a new "poison pill" plan. The judge ordered the company to allow shareholders to vote on a binding resolution.

MEANY'S KAUFMAN DIES - Stuart Kaufman, 54, archival advisor to the George Meany Center and Archives died from a heart attack at his Maryland home last week. Kaufman was the founder and editor of the quarterly Labor Heritage magazine. He also was editor of the 12-volume "Samuel Gompers Papers" and author of "Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896. He is survived by his wife and a son.

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AFL-CIO Executive Council Statement
December 16, 1996, Washington, D.C.

JOBS WITH JUSTICE COALITION

Workers have a fundamental right to job security, a decent standard of living and the right to organize on the job. Employers' attacks on these basic workers' rights are increasing while workers' rights to organize are being deeply eroded.
The Jobs with Justice coalition, founded and supported by the labor movement, has worked tireless for nearly a decade to build local coalitions of community, religious and labor organizations in cities across the country. Through its efforts, including its innovative Workers' Rights Boards, Jobs with Justice has helped build community-wide support to mobilize activists in support of every worker's right to organize a union and to have a voice in conditions on the job.
The AFL-CIO Executive Council supports Jobs with Justice and encourages national and international unions, state federations and central labor councils to work cooperatively with the coalitions in their communities.
The AFL-CIO Organizing Department and Field Mobilization Department look forward to cooperative efforts with Jobs with Justice coalitions on campaigns to organize new members, to focus public attention on abuses in the workplace and in the community and to mobilize support for struggles for justice and dignity.
The AFL-CIO will provide financial and staff support for Jobs with Justice that will assist the coalition in coordinating with central labor councils in their cooperative efforts to broaden community and religious participation in support of organizing, to expand and develop strong community coalitions and in the formation of Workers' Rights Boards in many communities.

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AMERICA NEEDS A RAISE

AFL-CIO

Visit the Stand Up Online Center, produced for the 1995 AFL-CIO Annual Convention.

- America Needs Good Jobs
- America Needs Good Wages
- America Needs Worker Protections
- America Needs a Real Voice on the Job
- **What YOU can do to help**

The new leaders in Congress are moving so fast and on so many fronts at once that it is almost impossible to keep up with what they are doing, and even harder still to understand what it all means.

But, make no mistake about it: their right-wing agenda is an assault on working families. Our concerns are not their concerns. They are not doing anything to bring greater security to American workers.

Instead their program will destroy our jobs, drive down our wages, take away our health and safety protections, and deny us a real voice on the job. Here are just a few examples of what they are trying to do:

- Cut billions of dollars from employment, job training and educational programs, and billions more from investments in technology, highways and transportation to help pay for a tax cut for big businesses and the very rich.
- Allow corporations to compete for federal contracts by driving down the wages and benefits of their employees.
- Gut the Occupational Safety and Health Act by making it harder for the Labor Department to enforce health and safety standards, to inspect workplaces, to fine an employer who violates the law or to provide new occupational safety and health protections.
- Cut programs that help middle-class families make ends meet, including school lunches, medical benefits for veterans and housing for seniors.
- Threaten the retirement income security of working Americans by allowing Social Security to be raided to balance the federal budget.
- Allow employers to create company-controlled unions to substitute for independent, democratic unions chosen by the employees.

These proposals must be stopped now, before it is too late. That's why the men and women of the AFL-CIO are leading a campaign to Stand UP for America's Working Families.

It's a campaign to

- America Needs Good Jobs
- America Needs Good Wages
- America Needs Worker Protections
- America Needs a Real Voice on the Job

-Their REAL Agenda

The new leaders in Congress use high-priced manipulators of public opinion to disguise their real agenda. Their slick packaging makes their platform sound as American as apple pie. But beneath the rhetoric is a menacing reality.

They say they are conservatives. But the truth is they're not out to conserve anything; their mission is to destroy programs that Democrats and Republicans alike have developed together over many years.

They say they are for a balanced budget. Yet they propose a tax cut which will cost $725 billion over the next ten years and will benefit big businesses and the rich who already earn more than $200,000 a year.

They say they want to return power from Washington to state and local governments. Yet they propose to saddle new responsibilities on our states and cities without giving them the funds needed to discharge those responsibilities.

They say they are for economic opportunity. Yet they propose to slash programs to provide nutrition for infants and pregnant women; school lunches for poor kids; summer jobs for teenagers; and job training programs for laid-off workers.

They say they want good jobs and good wages. Yet they propose to eliminate the programs that produce and prepare workers for those jobs and they propose to use federal contracts to drive down wages, and to make it easier for companies to send jobs overseas.

They say they care about working people. Yet they propose to relieve corporations of their responsibility to provide safe and healthy workplaces. And they propose to weaken the labor laws so that there will be no one left to speak for workers.

Their ideology is clear. Let big business do what it wants, and don't worry about the consequences for workers, for consumers or for the environment. Leave the rich alone to enjoy their riches and donþt worry about working families living paycheck to paycheck and falling further behind or about the neediest among us þ children, the aged or the infirm.

They are, as their leader Newt Gingrich says, "revolutionaries." But what they are revolting against are the laws and protections that made America the strongest democracy in the world and allowed working Americans to share in the riches of our society. That is their revolution. It is up to us to stop it.

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Work in progress
THIS WEEK WITH AMERICA'S UNIONS

AFL-CIO WORK IN PROGRESS -- February 3, 1997

CHAMBER LOSES, MD. WORKERS WIN -- It's on to the bargaining table for Maryland state workers. A circuit court in Anne Arundel County threw out the Chamber of Commerce's lawsuit to overturn a state employee collective bargaining executive order issued by Gov. Parris Glendening. AFSCME Maryland won the first four union elections covering 18,000 employees with an average victory margin of 3-1. Ballots go out Feb. 7 for the fifth election, covering 9,000 administrative and clerical employees. The Teamsters and AFT also have organizing drives under way for other sectors of Maryland state workers.

UNITE AT UNITED -- Home care workers at United Home Care Services in Miami voted 78-53 for UNITE representation. The "per diem" employees work only for a salary, receiving no benefits, holidays, vacation or compensation for using their cars during the working day.

TEAMSTERS DRIVE ON -- For the second time in as many months, toll collectors on Florida's Hillsborough County's Veterans Expressway voted and won Teamsters representation. Barton Protective Services raised objections about the security of the ballot box after the December win, prompting the second election with the same results. Other recent IBT victories include: the pilots at the Monroe, Mich.,-based Grand Aire Express; workers at Western Container in Los Angeles; workers at the York County, Pa., youth development center; and 24 employees at Waddington Dairy in Salem, N.J.

IFPTE TAKES THE METRO -- Following up on two victories, the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers sewed up two more King County, Wash., Metro transit units. The yearlong organizing drive brings 400 new IFPTE members into the fold.

COOKIES DON'T CRUMBLE -- Some 3,000 Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers at Keebler Biscuit are working under one contract after the company agreed to bring its agreements at recently purchased Sunshine Biscuit in line with the better Keebler deal. The new deal raises former Sunshine workers' pay by an additional $1 an hour over two years. It also raises pension benefits and guarantees continued health benefits.

NO SCAB SEATS -- Johnson Controls backed off plans to keep two strike-bound plants open with scab labor when Ford announced that it would not accept nonunion products from the company. The 500 newly organized UAW members walked out Jan. 28 after talks reached an impasse. The plants manufacture seats for Ford's Econoline van and the hot new Expedition sports utility vehicle.

WRONG GUESS -- Despite Guess's attempt to silence them, writers and poets joined a former Guess worker at the Midnight Special Bookstore in Santa Monica, Calif., Feb. 2 to talk about the need to organize workers. Guess tried to stop the reading and discussion by suing Common Threads and UNITE as part of their campaign to harass workers that are involved in organizing activities.

FREE PAKPAHAN! -- Join AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, Executive Council members and international labor leaders at the Embassy of Indonesia this Wednesday at 1 p.m. to demonstrate support for Muchtar Pakpahan. The Indonesian labor leader, who was interrogated and imprisoned last summer on phony charges, now is on trial for subversion for his defense of worker rights in Indonesia, and faces possible execution. For more information contact Stacey Heath at the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department, (202) 637- 5074.

ECONOMISTS SLAM BUDGET AMENDMENT -- More than 1,000 prominent economists, including 11 Nobel laureates, condemned a balanced budget constitutional amendment as "unsound and unnecessary." They point out that Congress and the president can balance the budget without a constitutional amendment that they predict would put the country in an "economic straight-jacket." It also would prevent, the economists say, borrowing to finance "infrastructure, education, research and development, environmental protection and other investment vital to the nation's future well-being." The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the amendment last week and a vote is expected in late February. House committee action is set this week.

GET ON BOARD -- During Black History Month, A. Philip Randolph and thousands of African-American railroad employees will be remembered by the Pullman Blues Tour. The cross-country whistle- stop railroad tour, which includes three former Pullman porters, recalls the victories of the Sleeping Car Porters. The tour begins in Oakland on Feb. 9, with stops in Los Angeles, Kansas City, Mo., and St. Louis before ending in Pullman, Ill., outside Chicago, on Feb. 16. For more information, call Norm Hill at APRI, 202/289- 2774.

BACK ON TRACK -- Rail workers stayed on the job after unions and the National Railway Labor Conference agreed to work together to find a fair solution to differences over disability pensions. Workers came within a hair's-breadth of a national walkout after the Railroad Retirement Board announced drastically changed qualifications for workplace disability pensions.

DON'T CHICKEN OUT ON ETHICS -- The National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice (NICWJ) has called for a "Code of Ethics for Poultry Companies." The action was based on testimony from Laborers' members working at Case Farms, the North Carolina poultry processor. The code addresses concerns about increased worker injuries, declining income for growers and the treatment of immigrant workers. Case Farms workers voted for LIUNA representation in 1995, but the company refuses to recognize the union.

MOTOWN MOTORS EAST -- Striking Detroit newspaper workers carried their 18-month dispute to Washington, Boston and New York last week. Prior to the Jan. 28 meeting of the Knight-Ridder board, strikers and supporters traveled to the three cities and approached directors at their homes and offices to offer information on the strike. Editor & Publisher, the leading newspaper industry trade paper, reports that the Detroit newspapers have lost 35 percent of their readers since the strike began.

GM STRIKE OVER -- More than 4,000 workers at General Motors Corp.'s truck assembly plant in Moraine, Ohio, returned to the job after reaching a tentative contract agreement that ended a strike against the automaker. The Electronic Workers said GM agreed to settle all grievances and to scrap a more restrictive absentee policy it had proposed. That policy led to the rejection of an earlier contract.

NEEDING MORE LIFT -- In a move to bolster its leverage with management, the Air Line Pilots asked hundreds of its members at United Airlines to stop participating in the work of dozens of employee committees and task forces sponsored by the carrier. "We want it recognized that we're what made this company successful, not a couple of right moves by management," said Kevin Dohm of ALPA. The action came a week after pilots rejected a new pact, throwing the issue into arbitration.

PUTTING PATIENTS FIRST -- New Jersey residents are the lucky beneficiaries of the new Patients First Coalition -- composed of units from AFT, AFSCME, Operating Engineers and an independent union. The coalition is sponsoring a public education campaign in which patients and health care workers speak out about the horrors of profit-gouging and cost-cutting in the health care industry. Consumers are asked to call toll-free -- 888-PT-HELP-9 -- to tell their health care horror story. Radio spots, a consumer survival guide and legislative H_arings on the state of the state's health care industry also are planned.

GOP PAYBACK -- In a blatant move to silence labor's political voice, Senate Majority Whip Don Nickles (R-Okla.) introduced legislation to require unions to get written permission of individual members and agency fee-payers before spending union funds for political activities. Union members now have the right to request refunds for any dues money used for political purposes. GOP lawmakers have placed the bill high on their list of legislative priorities.

JOB 1? KEEP YOUR WORD -- Ford Motor Co.'s 30,000 workers in the United Kingdom are voting on whether to strike over the company's decision to cut 1,300 jobs at a plant in Liverpool and produce the new model Escort car elsewhere in Europe after the year 2000. Ford had promised to make the Liverpool plant the European source for the new Escort.

MEMBERSHIP HAS ITS ADVANTAGES -- Union membership continues to offer a substantial economic advantage to workers. Organized workers got $615 in median weekly earnings last year, compared with $462 for nonunion, a 33 percent union advantage. In manufacturing, the union advantage was about 16 percent; 42 percent for precision production craft and repair; 44 percent for transportation and material-moving occupations and 48 percent for machine operators, assemblers and inspectors. The pay differential was 61 percent in the construction industry and 68 percent in such heavily unionized protective services as fire and police.

TOTALLY BOGUS...NOT -- New federal legislation would restrict Federal Aviation Administration certification of foreign aviation repair stations, while making all domestic and foreign maintenance facilities subject to the same operating and safety procedures. It also would yank certification from any facility knowingly using bogus parts.

CAL SEEKS SAFE SCHOOLS -- A drive by the United Teachers Los Angeles and other teacher organizations throughout the state to bolster student and teacher safety soon may pay off. State Sen. Teresa Hughes is sponsoring a bill to create a code of conduct that will require public schools to draft a discipline code and safety plan. If enacted, school officials who fail to comply will be subject to criminal penalty.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE -- A new video featuring real people from around the country discusses the issues concerning restructuring in the electric power industry. "Power Switch," produced by the Electrical Workers, contrasts some of the promised benefits of competition with reality when regulatory safeguards are removed and market pressures determine electricity cost. For more information, call IBEW's Media Relations Department at 202/728-6135.

STEEL DRIVING -- The American Labor Museum/Botto House will open a new exhibit, "Iron Men, Steel Rail: Track Labor and the Art of Mark Priest," which includes paintings and drawings of railroad crews portraying the agony, challenges, issues and fellowship of workers. The exhibit will run March 1 through April 27 at the museum in Haledon, N.J. For more information call 201/595-7953.

ART TAKEI DIES -- Asian-American labor pioneer Art Takei, 73, died at his Los Angeles home Jan. 28. Interned as a teenager during the World War II incarceration of Japanese-Americans, Takei worked after the war as a grocery clerk and then rose through the ranks of the Food and Commercial Workers. In 1987, he formed the Alliance of Asian Pacific Labor and was instrumental in the founding of the Asian-Pacific-American Labor Alliance, AFL-CIO. A memorial service is scheduled for Feb. 8 at UFCW Local 770 in Los Angeles; call (213) 387-1974 for details.

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Work in progress

THIS WEEK WITH AMERICA'S UNIONS

AFL-CIO WORK IN PROGRESS -- February 10, 1997

ORGANIZING FOR GOOD HEALTH -- The Maryland Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals have jumped into the drive to organize Maryland's state workers. The AFT affiliate will campaign for the right to represent 2,120 state health care workers. Md. FNHP made it over the first hurdle when the State Mediation Service certified authorization cards. An election date is to be set this month. In addition to AFT, AFSCME and the Teamsters have organizing drives under way for other sectors of the state work force.

CWA WIRES UP WINS -- The Communication Workers in Houston and Austin, Texas, have 155 new brothers and sisters thanks to an agreement between the union and Southwestern Bell Communications. Meanwhile, workers at cable companies in Michigan, New York and California voted for CWA representation. They are the inside technicians at Comcast Cable in Detroit, workers at Chambers Cable Television in Chico, Calif., and the tech unit of TCI Cable in Smithhaven, N.Y.

SMOOTH LANDING -- Flight Attendants at Executive Airlines, based in San Juan, P.R., landed a first contract providing pay increases for its 113 crew members. Attendants at the American Eagle regional carrier joined AFA in 1995.

UNPLUG ELECTRIC DEREGULATION -- Utility Workers Locals 369 and 387 led 2,500 people in a rally in Boston Feb. 1 to decry the headlong rush to deregulate and restructure the electric utility industry. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Richard L. Trumka closed the rally with a rousing speech reaffirming for the workers that "we will not go gently into the long, dark night of rapid, radical, destructive utility deregulation."

GOP AIMS AT OVERTIME -- While President Clinton and the Democrats want to expand the Family and Medical Leave Act, Republicans in both houses want to let bosses substitute comp time for paid overtime. Workers certainly want more control over their time at work, but the GOP bills "will mean more control for employers --and less money for working people," Karen Nussbaum, director of the AFL-CIO's Working Women's Department, told House and Senate committees last week.

AVONDALE WORKERS STAY AFLOAT -- The National Labor Relations Board ordered Avondale Shipyard to count a final group of 550 ballots to decide a long-postponed certification ratification for some 4,000 workers. The union needs less than 20 votes to win at the Metairie, La., yard, where management has used a succession of loopholes since a June 1993 election to deprive workers of their rights.

TWIN CITIES' CLEAN UP -- Some 3,500 Service Employees working in the Minneapolis-St. Paul cleaning industry have a new three-year master contract that provides full-time employees with wage increases and part-time workers with paid holidays. The deal covers workers employed by 18 janitorial companies.

NO-FLY ZONE -- In the wake of USAir's use of an employer- dominated employee association (AKA company union), the Communications Workers will challenge the results of a representation election for nearly 10,000 passenger service workers. Although 3,973 ballots were cast in favor of CWA out of 4,190 cast and deemed valid, the Railway Labor Act requires a majority of all eligible voters. "It was clear that CWA would have won this election under the labor laws that govern most private- industry workers," AFL-CIO President John Sweeney said.

OVERNITE MUST BARGAIN -- Two federal appeals courts ordered Overnite Transportation to negotiate with Teamsters locals at the company's terminals in St. Louis and Milwaukee. Both units were elected and certified last year, but management refused to bargain with workers. "The Teamsters aren't going to let Overnite get away with anything and, it appears, neither are the courts," said IBT Freight Division Director Dennis Skelton. The union is involved in a massive national organizing campaign at the nation's largest nonunion trucking firm.

COMIN' INTO LOS ANGELES -- The City of Angels is the site for the AFL-CIO Executive Council's annual winter meeting next week -- the first the time the gathering has been held outside of Bal Harbour, Fla. in 40 years. The Federation's trade departments begin their meetings this week and an indoor "picnic" at Union Station for L.A. union members, activists and leaders kicks off the main event Sunday night. A march to support organizing efforts at the New Otani Hotel in L.A. is set for Wednesday Feb. 19. Vice President Al Gore, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) and House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) will address the council. Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson and a delegation of union presidents tour the strawberry fields and workers' homes in Watsonville, Feb. 16 and will update the council on the strawberry campaign.

NY PROJECT LABOR AGREEMENTS OK -- New York Gov. George Pataki (R) has OK'd project labor agreements on several public work construction projects. Under the agreement, unions and the prime contractors agree on terms and conditions of employment and all project workers must join their craft union. "We praise the governor for honoring his commitment to stimulate job creation for the working men and women of the construction industry," said Edward J. Malloy, president of the New York State Building Trades Council.

BUSTED AT YALE -- In a major reversal of policy, the National Labor Relations Board regional office charged that Yale University illegally threatened graduate students who participated in a "grade strike" last year. The strike was part of an action by the Graduate Employees and Students Organization, affiliated with the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, which was seeking recognition by the school. Previously, the NLRB has ruled that graduate students who taught were not employees under federal labor law.

JIMMY AND THE BLAZERS -- Electronic Workers at GM's "sport ute" assembly plant in Moraine, Ohio, ratified a new three-year pact. The settlement comes on the heels of a three-day strike and the rejection of an earlier GM offer that would have included a controversial absenteeism policy.

BAD LIGHT AT GE -- Five months before a contract with the 14- union Coordinated Bargaining Committee expires, GE's CEO has thrown down the gauntlet. John Welch rejected outright three important union bargaining goals and began preparing for strife by declaring GE was the "best prepared company in the world to take a strike." The unions reacted with shock to Welch's "irresponsible, union busting" rhetoric.

NO BUBBA GUMP HERE -- UNITE filed charges of race and sex discrimination on behalf of more than 200 of its members working at Kitchens of the Ocean shrimp processor in Deerfield Beach, Fla. Last year, the workers overwhelmingly voted to join UNITE, but the company refuses to bargain.

SEEKING SAFE WORKPLACES -- A judicial order upholding a major lockout/tagout citation against Dayton Tire, a Bridgestone/Firestone subsidiary, wins Steelworkers' applause. One hundred violations carrying a total fine of $518,000 remain on the record, including "willful" violations that led to the death of Robert Julian on a tire assembly machine. "Nothing can bring back Bob Julian," Tony Carr, USWA Local 998L safety and health chairman says, but the decision "means that Bob's coworkers will not have to face the same hazards."

16-YEAR DISPUTE SETTLED -- The Denver Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals (AFT) and St. Anthony Central and North hospitals resolved a 16-year dispute with a settlement that calls for the hospital to pay $381,000 to 435 technicians and licensed practical nurses. Sixteen years ago, hospital administrators made changes in time-off policies without negotiating with the union.

WAGE LAWS IGNORED -- The Massachusetts Foundation for Fair Contracting has a new survey that finds many contractors violate the state's prevailing wage laws by underpaying workers and misclassifying workers. Of the 309 workers the foundation polled, 64 percent were nonunion. Of those, 43 percent had no health insurance, 48 percent had no pension plans and 81 percent had never received apprenticeship training, even though their employers had promised to train them.

PHILLY TEACHERS BLAST TEST -- As President Clinton attempts to put children and education first, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers continued its offensive against the school district's accountability plan, blasting a standardized test that does not measure what students have been taught. The union, which represents 12,000 teachers, declared that the only ones to "benefit from this are the administrators who will get bonuses for falsely inflated test scores."

SOMETHING IN THE OVEN -- Food and Commercial Workers Local 1059 gained a new three-year contract at Pillsbury that will boost the hourly wage rate for workers at the Wellston, Ohio, plant by $1.50 per hour over term. The contract, which also increases the company pension contributions, covers 1,100 production and maintenance workers.

IMITATION IS NOT FLATTERY -- AFL-CIO President John Sweeney urged many of the world's leading financial and political leaders to resist copying a U.S. model of export-led growth, tight money, tax breaks for the affluent and cutbacks for the poor, deregulation of corporations, flexible labor markets and weakened unions. Speaking before the World Economic Forum in Switzerland, Sweeney warned that following that path would lead to "massive social upheaval, with far greater economic costs than benefits."

SHOWING THE MONEY AT AP -- The Associated Press reached separate, three-year labor agreements with two unions representing 1,700 editorial and technical employees of the news cooperative. The contracts with the Wire Service Guild and Communication Workers both will increase salary and benefit costs approximately 9 percent over three years. Both improve pensions and provide for 401(k) matching.

DETROIT PAPERS BIASED --Four Detroit-area newspapers unfairly kept striking Detroit newspaper pressmen from working as substitutes in their pressrooms, an administrative law judge ruled. The judgement against the Bay City Times, Flint Journal, Grand Rapids Press and Saginaw News said the papers discriminated against the strikers and violated their contract with the union. The Times was ordered to pay five workers for lost wages as a result of being taken off a list of possible substitutes and all four papers were ordered to let strikers work as substitutes.

INDONESIAN PROTEST -- Hundreds of demonstrators chanted "Free M.P., Free M.P." as they marched in front of the Indonesian embassy demanding the release of Indonesian labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan. Pakpahan, known as M.P., was arrested on trumped-up charges of subversion, and faces possible execution. AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and several international union leaders delivered a message to the Indonesian ambassador calling for Pakpahan's release and the granting of trade union rights.

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

The AFL-CIO Executive Council

The officers of the AFL-CIO were elected in October 1995 to a two-year term.

President John Sweeney -- formerly the President of the Service Employees International Union. Sweeney took over SEIU in 1980, having previously served as president of a large building maintenance workers local in New York City. Sweeney is carrying out an ambitious agenda for the Federation, reorganizing both its headquarters staff and field operations. In 1996, the AFL-CIO reportedly spent $35 million on grass roots political action and organized its first "union summer," in which 1,000 young activists were trained and sent into the filed to help in local organizing campaigns. Also during 1996, the Federation began its "America Deserves a Raise" campaign, leading to the enactment of the minimum wage increase and, the AFL-CIO hopes, a renewed interest in unions and collective bargaining. The AFL-CIO has announced that among its priorities for 1997 will be opposition to the privatization of Social Security and efforts to fight cuts in Medicare.

Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka -- formerly the President of the United Mine Workers. Trumka was a rank-and-file coal miner who rose through the union and in 1981 at age 33 was elected president. Trumka led the UMWA through several major strikes (including one against the Pittston Coal Co. in 1989 and a nationwide strike in 1993 - both of which were settled with the help of a special mediator appointed by the Secretary of Labor); but he also negotiated ground-breaking agreements without strikes. He is a strong proponent of labor law reform. In 1994, President Clinton appointed Trumka to the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform, where he defended social security, Medicare, and other federal entitlement programs. At the AFL-CIO, Trumka has been developing a program to use worker pension funds and other assets to force changes in the governance of U.S. businesses.

Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson -- formerly a vice president of AFSCME. Chavez-Thompson was the first person of color to become an officer of the AFL-CIO, and is the highest ranking woman in the labor movement. Born in (b)(6) Chavez-Thompson was the daughter of sharecroppers and, as a union organizer, rose through the ranks of AFSCME to become one of its Vice Presidents. Since the AFL-CIO election, Chavez-Thompson has traveled across the country speaking to state federations of labor and local central labor bodies. [002]

The Executive Council (by union in order of size):

Bob Georgine -- President of the Building and Construction Trades Department. The Building Trades top priorities remain Davis-Bacon and the Service Contract Act, construction safety, and regulations governing multi-employer health and retirement funds (Taft-Hartley funds). Another priority for this session of Congress is repealing an independent contractor provision that was quietly passed last year as part of the minimum wage bill. The provision shifts the burden of proving misclassification from the employer to the IRS.

At a recent governing board meeting, the unions decided not to pursue a Davis-Bacon reform bill as long as the Republicans remain in control of Congress. While the trades are willing to discuss making improvements in the collection of prevailing wage data, they remain opposed to making any major changes in the wage survey system that is currently administered by the Department of Labor Wage and Hour Division.

In addition to being President of the Building Trades Department, Georgine is President and CEO of Union Labor Life Insurance Company (ULLICO) - an insurance company that provides pension and health coverage for multi-employer funds. As a result, Georgine will soon be named to the National Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry. The Building Trades oppose state taxation of multi-employer plans to fund public health care institutions and argue that states are pre-empted from doing this by ERISA. AFSCME is on the other side of this contentious issue.

1. **Ron Carey** -- President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Carey was just re-elected to another five year term, defeating James Hoffa, the son of the legendary union leader. In 1989, the union entered into a consent decree with the federal government to settle a racketeering complaint brought by the Justice Department. In addition to holding direct elections under a court-appointed monitor, the union agreed to cooperate with a government-created Independent Review Board - a three member watchdog panel - that investigates charges of corruption. Carey is credited with making impressive strides against the union's corrupt old guard, taking control of over 60 locals and removing or disciplining hundreds of local and regional union officials.

Carey was a vocal opponent of NAFTA, particularly the trucking provisions that will eventually allow Mexican trucks access to the entire U.S. The Administration - led by the Department of Transportation - has notified the unions that it will soon lift the moratorium on cross border trucking. A moratorium held up the border opening last year after serious concerns were raised about truck safety. DOL is consulting with DOT on the need to negotiate an agreement with Mexico that would give DOL greater access to company records so that it can enforce labor protection statutes, including the minimum wage and OSHA.

A majority of the strikers at the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press are members of the Teamsters. The union's agreement for nearly 200,000 workers at the United Parcel Service is up for renegotiation this summer.

> **(Mr.) Carroll Haynes** -- Haynes is a Vice President of the IBT from New York City and is a Carey supporter.

2. **Gerry McEntee** -- President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. McEntee chairs the Executive Council's political action committee, and remains among the Administration's most vocal and enthusiastic supporters. He was critical of the President's decision to sign the Welfare bill and has been to the White House to raise concerns about the displacement of public sector workers by welfare recipients and the need to assure that these new workers are protected by the minimum wage and other labor laws. He has also expressed concern about state efforts to privatize social service agencies, in particular, the state employment services.

AFSCME has led a large coalition of public interest groups opposed to the Balanced Budget Amendment and will work to protect Medicaid funding for disproportionate- share hospitals. Because AFSCME represents workers in public hospitals, McEntee follows health care issues and will soon be named to the National Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry.

He was instrumental in the creation of the Secretary of Labor's Task Force on Excellence in State and Local Government Through Labor Management Cooperation. The report, which was released in March 1996, argues that greater employee involvement leads to improvements in public service. The report cites numerous examples where collective bargaining relationships in state and local government have led to improved service.

Bill Lucy -- Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Lucy is active on welfare, civil rights and international affairs. He was a leader in U.S. anti-apartheid movement.

3. Andy Stern -- President of the Service Employees Union. Stern, the union's young and aggressive former organizing director, was elected last year on a reform ticket that ousted Richard Cordtz, Sweeney's Secretary-Treasurer and successor as SEIU President. Stern has completely restructured the staff around an ambitious program to organize new workers.

Under Stern, the union had a history of using aggressive tactics to organize low wage service workers, particularly in hospitals, nursing homes, and commercial buildings. As part of its "Justice for Janitors" campaign, SEIU asked the Administration to use its clout as a major tenant to pressure Washington, D.C. landlords to provide better pay and benefits to janitorial workers.

Stern is active on health care issues and recently criticized the Administration's plan reduce Medicaid spending. He will closely follow the activities of the National Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry.

4. Doug Dority -- President of the United Food and Commercial Workers. Dority chairs the Executive Council Committee on Public Affairs. Dority was UFCW's organizing director and is vocal critic of the anti-union tactics of many large businesses. He led a well publicized battle against Food Lion, exposing the company's mistreatment of employees and its poor safety and health record. Food Lion responded by suing the union for $100 million under civil RICO.

Because UFCW represents workers in poultry and meat packing plants, Dority is anxious to get an ergonomics standard that would protect his members against repetitive motion injuries. Dority is also interested in health care and pensions.

5. Steve Yokich -- President of the United Auto Workers. In November, the UAW wrapped up the last of its Big Three auto contracts, signing a three-year agreement with GM after several weeks of difficult bargaining over job security, and local strikes that involved nearly 15,000 autoworkers at several major U.S. assembly plants. In September, GM had been the target of a 21 day strike by the Canadian Auto Workers (not affiliated with the UAW) that had forced GM to layoff nearly 20,000 U.S. workers. The GM agreement was modeled after contracts signed earlier with Ford and Chrysler that included corporate commitments to maintain 95 percent of current UAW jobs. A 17 day strike in March 1996 over outsourcing at two Ohio brake plants virtually shut down GM's North American operations. Secretary Reich remained in touch with GM CEO Jack Smith and Yokich throughout both strikes.

Trade remains an important issue for the UAW, as well as OSHA, labor law reform and striker replacement.

While the second of the UAW's two national strikes against Caterpillar ended in 1995, the union is still in litigation against the company for alleged unfair labor practices committed during and after the strike.

The UAW-Machinists-Steelworkers merger plan is on track to be completed by the year 2000.

Carolyn Forrest -- Vice President, United Auto Workers.

6. **Jack Barry** -- President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. One-third of IBEW's membership is in construction; one-third in the utility industry, and one-third in manufacturing, broadcasting and telecommunications. IBEW has written DOL to express its very serious concerns over the deregulation and restructuring of the electric utility industry. The union argues that policy makers have so far ignored the adverse effects of deregulation on communities and workers. Davis-Bacon and other construction industry issues remain a top priority of the IBEW.

7. **Albert Shanker** -- President of the American Federation of Teachers. Shanker has been suffering from cancer for several year. Informal talks continue between the AFT and the National Education Association about a possible merger. The union is pushing a national program of teacher accountability and quality standards called "Lesson for Life." Shanker remains one of the strongest supporters of public education and lobbies hard for education funding at all levels.

8. **George Becker** -- President of the United Steelworkers of America. The Steelworkers, UAW and Machinists have agreed to merge into one union by the year 2000. The Steelworkers recently won a new 4-year agreement with Bridgestone/Firestone after a lengthy labor dispute that included a 10 month strike and the hiring of 4,000 permanent replacement workers (The USW merged with the Rubber Workers in 1995). As a result of the new agreement, every striker will be recalled.

A strike involving 4,500 steelworkers at Wheeling-Pitt, where the union and the company are at odds over pension issues, is now in its fourth month. There are no talks scheduled. Bargaining with Goodyear and Uniroyal-Goodrich will begin in a few months. John Sellars is the union's V.P. for the rubber industry.

Job safety, striker replacement, and labor law reform are key legislative issues for the USW and for Becker, a former union organizer. Becker personally lobbied the Administration to reject compromises on the TEAM Act and comp time.

Leon Lynch -- Vice President of the United Steelworkers.

9. **Morty Bahr** -- President of the Communications Workers of America. Bahr is concerned about corporate mergers and the potential for layoffs in the extremely volatile telecommunications industry. ATT and the all the regional bell systems are unionized, but CWA has not been able to organize ATT's main rivals, Sprint and MCI. CWA initially opposed the proposed Bell Atlantic-NYNEX merger, but Bahr recently announced that after months of negotiations, he was satisfied that a positive labor relations framework has been agreed to.

Bahr was a vocal NAFTA critic and has closely followed the accord's implementation with respect to the protection of labor union rights in both the U.S. and Mexico. CWA used the labor side agreement to bring attention to Sprint's decision to close a California facility during an organizing drive (the NLRB subsequently ruled in favor of the workers).

There are no major telephone negotiations in 1997. However, CWA's contract with NBC expires this year.

10. **George Kourpias** -- President of the International Association of Machinists. IAM will merge with the UAW and Steelworkers in the year 2000. In September, 1996, the IAM agreed to a new contract with McDonnell-Douglas after a 94 day strike that idled 6,700 hourly workers at the company's aerospace facility in St. Louis. Secretary Reich was personally involved in discussions with the two parties.

IAM, which owns 15% of TWA's stock and has two seats on its board of directors, recently called for the ouster of its CEO amid rumors that he was planning to downsize the financially-troubled airline. The union represents 15,000 of the company's 24,000 employees.

Kourpias is a vocal critic of U.S. trade policy, particularly the export of critical aerospace technology and the practice of outsourcing airplane parts manufacture to foreign companies. After a lengthy strike against Boeing in 1995, the IAM reached an agreement on outsourcing that protected much of its U.S. workforce. Kourpias served on the Advisory Council on Social Security.

11. **Doug McCarron** -- President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. McCarron is focused on building trades issues. Prior to his election as UBC President in September 1995, McCarron was the top carpenters union official in Los Angeles.

12. **Arthur Coia** -- President of the Laborers International Union. Coia chairs the Executive Council's Organizing Committee. Coia is expanding his union's organizing efforts to include non-building trades occupations, and he is a strong supporter of labor-management cooperation. Under an agreement reached with the government in 1994, the Justice Department maintains strict oversight of the union's activities and can take direct action if Coia does not take sufficient steps to clean up the union himself. The union just held its first secret ballot election for the union's top

officers (Coia won re-elected by an overwhelming vote).

The Laborers major legislative issues include Davis Bacon and construction safety. On July 31, the Labor Department issued a proposed rule that would continue the suspension of regulations -- opposed by the building trades and supported by nonunion contractors - that would permit contractors to use lower paid "semi-skilled helpers" on federal construction projects.

13. Frank Hanley -- President of the Operating Engineers. The OEs are mainly a construction union, but 25% of the membership work as stationary engineers in large commercial buildings, hospitals and schools. The OEs maintain an interest in Davis-Bacon, construction safety and training for specialized skills like hazardous cleanup.

14. Moe Biller -- President of the American Postal Workers Union. Biller is focused on protecting the postal service from privatization and preserving the integrity of the federal health insurance and retirement systems -- particularly in light of effort to balanced the budget. APWU views Hatch Act reform and Family and Medical Leave as the greatest accomplishments of the first term. In 1984, President Biller and two other federal union presidents were charged with violating the Hatch Act for their support of Presidential candidate Walter Mondale.

15. Jay Mazur -- President of UNITE. Mazur was president of the International Ladies Garment Workers before it merged with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers to form UNITE (Union of Neddletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees). ACTWU and the ILG have lost hundreds of thousands of jobs to imports and trade remains a major concern to the new union.

UNITE supports the Department of Labor Wage and Hour Division's program to wipe out garment industry sweatshops, but believes that unionization is a more reliable method of protecting workers than government enforcement of the wage and hour laws, and Mazur has occasionally been critical of the department for specific enforcement decisions. He serves on the Apparel Industry Partnership, a committee that was convened by President Clinton on August 2 to develop strategies to assure consumers that goods are not manufactured under sweatshop conditions. The Partnership is made up of industry leaders, union representatives and consumer organizations and is expected to make recommendations to the apparel industry in late February.

UNITE has been lobbying to protect legal immigrants and welfare recipients from cuts in federal aid.

Clayola Brown -- Vice President of UNITE.

16. Ed Hanley -- President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union. HERE represents workers in many of the major hotels, restaurants and casinos in the U.S. HERE entered into consent decree with the Justice Department in December, 1995 to rid the union of organized crime.

17. Boyd Young -- Newly-elected President of the Paperworkers International Union, headquartered in Nashville. Young replaced retiring President Wayne Glenn. The Paperworkers recently achieved a settlement with Staley, a manufacturer a sweeteners for soft drinks and other products. Staley was one of the three major employers being struck in Decatur, Illinois (the others were Caterpillar and Bridgestone/Firestone). The Paperworkers initiated the effort to ban the use of permanent replacement workers after the bitter International Paper strike in Jay, Maine.

18. Martin Maddiloni -- Newly-elected President of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters. Apprenticeship and training, as well as Davis-Bacon and job safety, are important to the UA.

19. Vincent Sombrotto -- President of the National Association of Letter Carriers. NALC remains deeply concerned about the federal budget and worries that the Administration will not support adequate funding for the postal service as well as for federal retirement and health benefits.

20. John Sturdivant -- President of the American Federation of Government Employees. On January 2, the Washington Post reported that Sturdivant is undergoing treatment for Leukemia, a conditions that was diagnosed on December 20. Recent reports indicate that Sturdivant is responding to chemotherapy and hopes to be back at work within a few weeks.

AFGE has played a key role in the Administration's reinvention efforts and in keeping the focus on the Republicans in Congress during the government shutdown. During the last Congress the Administration worked with Sturdivant to kill an amendment that would have denied union representatives official time to conduct union business.

21. Al Whitehead-- President of the International Association of Firefighters. In addition to federal safety regulations, the Firefighters are interested in public employee bargaining and pensions. Whitehead requested the Administration's help in number of areas prior to his union's August convention and was able to announce to his membership that the White House was being responsive to each request. Specifically, the union requested that OSHA clarify its regulations with regard to the so-called "2 in/2 out" rule which requires that two employees remain outside a building fire to provide emergency assistance. On July 29, OSHA issued a memorandum strengthening the regulation.

22. Arthur Moore -- Sheet Metal Workers International Association. The majority of the union's membership is engaged in commercial and industrial construction (they build most U.S. auto plants); about 25% of the union's membership works in the manufacture of construction materials. In addition to Davis-Bacon and construction safety, Moore is concerned about the misclassification of construction workers as independent contractors.

23. Edward Fire -- Newly-elected President of the International Union of Electronic Workers. Fire defeated long-time President Bill Bywater at the union's November convention. Bywater had been a vocal critic of NAFTA and a strong supporter of striker replacement legislation. Major IUE employers are GE and Westinghouse. Contracts covering nearly 50,000 GE workers are up for renegotation this summer.

Gloria Johnson -- Vice President of International Union of Electronic Workers. She is also the President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She served on the President's Advisory Committee on Social Security.

24. Frank Hurt -- President of the Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers. Hurt is concerned about FDA jurisdiction over tobacco. He prefers a legislative rather than a regulatory solution to control teenage smoking.

25. Jim LaSala -- President of the Amalgamated Transit Union. ATU represents city bus and subway systems, as well as some long distance bus lines, including Greyhound. ATU's most important issues are mass transit funding and statutory labor protections for transit workers. DOL enforces Sec. 13© of the Federal Transit Act, which requires that employees of mass transit systems receive employment protections when federal funds are used to operate a transit system. DOL decisions in this area can be controversial with the ATU.

26. Mike Monroe -- President of the Painters and Allied Trades.

27. James Norton -- President of the Graphic Communications Union. Norton is working in close cooperation with the unionized printing industry to preserve jobs that have been threatened by rapidly changing technologies.

28. Michael Goodwin -- President of the Office and Professional Employees Union.

29. Jack Joyce -- President of the Bricklayers and Allied Craftsman. Joyce is interested in foreign affairs and health care policy, as well as the more traditional building trades' concerns. He supports labor management cooperation efforts in his industry and is concerned about the shortage of skilled tradesmen. He has approached DOL about getting the federal government more involved in labor-management training programs.

30. Robert Wages -- President of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Wages is outspoken in his criticism of both political parties and has lent financial support to Labor Party Advocates, a group which held a convention last year to consider forming a labor party in the U.S. Wages has spoken up at previous council meetings on the need to focus on the relationship between global environmental issues and U.S. industrial policy.

31. Jake West -- President of the Ironworkers. West is primarily interested in Davis-Bacon and construction safety. He credits OSHA for a successful negotiated rulemaking on steel erectors.

32. Mike Sacco -- President of the Seafarers International Union and the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. Sacco's main legislative priorities are the protection of cargo preference laws - requiring that government cargo (foreign aid and military shipments) be shipped on U.S. flagged vessels; and the Jones Act - requiring that sea going cargo within the U.S. be moved on U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged, and U.S.- crewed vessels.

33. Lenore Miller -- President of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. Miller represents department store workers and is a member of the Apparel Industry Partnership. The Partnership is considering a strategy for assuring consumers that goods are not made under sweatshop conditions. RWDSU will soon merge into the UFCW.

34. Sonny Hall -- President of the Transport Workers Union. TWU represents transit, airline and railroad employees. Maintaining federal funding for mass transit and fighting privatization are major issues for TWU.

35. James Hatfield -- Chairman of the Glass, Molders, Pottery, and Plastics Union.

36. Robert Scardelletti -- President of the Transportation Communications Union. During 1996 TCU the other major rail unions negotiated new five-year agreements with the major freight railroad carriers (there are nearly a dozen rail unions, representing over 145,000 workers). TCU was the second to last carrier to reach an agreement. For the first time in nearly a decade, the contracts were hammered out without strikes or imposed settlements.

Under the Railway Labor Act, either side in a contract negotiation may request mediation from the National Mediation Board, and neither party can resort to self help (strike or lockout) until 30 days after they are released from talks by the NMB. The President then has the discretionary authority to appoint an Emergency Board (PEB) to investigate the dispute. (The 1996 talks involved three Presidential Emergency Boards). Another 30-day cooling off period follows t

37. Randy Babbitt -- President of the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA). ALPA represents pilots at most of the major U.S. carriers, including United, U.S. Air, TWA, and Northwest. American's pilots are independent. Both United, which is employee-owned, and American are in the midst of difficult contract negotiations. Pilots are covered by the Railway Labor Act rather than the National Labor Relations Act, and cannot strike until 30 days after being released from negotiations by the National Mediation Board. American's pilots were released on January 16 and can strike no earlier than February 15.

Babbitt has expressed concerns about the effect of airline mergers and bankruptcies on retiree health care and pensions. ALPA waged a lengthy campaign to represent the pilots at Federal Express and, after winning an election there, was unable to win a first contract. Federal Express pilots recently voted to decertify ALPA as its union.

38. Pat Friend -- President of the Association of Flight Attendants.

39. Mac Flemming -- President of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. During 1996 the BMWE and the other major rail unions negotiated new five-year agreements with the major freight railroad carriers (there are nearly a dozen rail unions, representing over 145,000 workers). BMWE was the last union to reach an agreement. For the first time in nearly a decade, the contracts were hammered out without strikes or imposed settlements.

Under the Railway Labor Act, either side in a contract negotiation may request mediation from the National Mediation Board, and neither party can resort to self help (strike or lockout) until 30 days after they are released from talks by the NMB. The President then has the discretionary authority to appoint an Emergency Board (PEB) to investigate the dispute. (The 1996 talks involved three Presidential Emergency Boards). Another 30-day cooling off period follows the release of the PEB report, after which the unions can strike or the carrier may impose terms.

40. Arturo Rodriguez -- President of the United Farm Workers Union. Following the death of Caesar Chavez, Rodriguez signaled his intent to continue aggressive organizing in the agricultural fields. The AFL-CIO is currently backing a Farm workers effort to organize Strawberry workers in California.

41. Joe Greene -- President of the American Federation of School Administrators.

42. Sumi Haru -- President of the Screen Actors Guild.

43. Andrew McKenzie -- President of the Leather Goods, Plastic Novelty and Service Workers Union.

44. Gene Upshaw -- President of the Federation of Professional Athletes. Upshaw represents the NFL players.

January 1997

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AFL-CIO Program Initiatives
(Adopted at its December 16, 1996 Executive Council meeting)

- **"Building a movement for America's workers"** by doubling the level of overall funding for organizing campaigns, and initiating new organizing programs such as one targeted at working women;
- **"Building a Political Voice for Workers"** by training political activists and holding elected officials accountable on working family issues. [For example, the AFL-CIO plans to hold over 100 Working Family Issue Forums with Members of Congress back in their districts];
- **"Providing a New Voice for Workers in a Changing Economy"** by calling for greater corporate accountability and by using worker pension funds and other assets to force changes in the governance of U.S. businesses;
- **"Creating a New Voice for Workers in our Communities"** by using paid and free media to educate workers and their families about the economy.

The AFL-CIO's "American Working Families Agenda"

- **good jobs** - fighting for policies that promote job growth; child and elder care; safe workplaces; non discrimination and the right to join unions;
- **education** - providing affordable higher education and strong job training for incumbent workers;
- **health care** - guaranteeing quality health programs for the poor and elderly; and affordable, accessible health care for workers and their families.
- **social security and pensions** - strengthening social security without privatizing it and protecting and expanding private pension benefits;
- **fair tax, trade and economic policies** - ending tax subsidies for corporations; fighting for worker rights in trade policies; supporting budget policies that promote economic growth; protecting consumers.

Limits on the Use of Union Dues for Political Purposes: Beck Legislation; The Paycheck Protection Act.

Issue: Proposed legislation restricting the use of union dues for political purposes.

Background: Increased spending on political activity by organized labor has inspired Congressional efforts to restrict the use of union dues for political purposes. Supporters argue that current law does not adequately protect the rights of union-represented workers who disagree with the union's support for certain political candidates or causes.

Some bills would amend the National Labor Relations Act. Other bills would amend federal election law. Opponents of these measures argue that they would undermine unions as organizations and as participants in the political process.

Current Law. Current law already imposes limits on the ability of unions to assess dues and on unions' political spending. No worker can ever be compelled actually to join a union. Any type of mandatory union dues is prohibited in 21 "right-to-work" states. In other states, if a collectively-bargained "union security" clause is in place, unions may require all represented workers to pay dues or fees. If a worker objects to paying for activities unrelated to collective bargaining and contract administration, he is entitled to pay reduced fees--and thus to avoid subsidizing a union's political activity. Exercising this option, however, means giving up membership in the union. The right to pay reduced fees, along with certain related procedural rights, was recognized by the Supreme Court in a 1988 case, Communications Workers v. Beck. Beck rights are enforced by the National Labor Relations Board and by the federal courts, not by the Department of Labor.

Federal election law, meanwhile, prohibits unions from using dues money to make federal candidate contributions. Dues money ("soft money") may be used for partisan, non-candidate contributions, i.e., contributions to national and state parties. Contributions to non-partisan electoral activity, such as voter education or "get-out-the-vote" efforts are permissible.

1993, the Clinton Administration reversed two Bush Administration actions: (1) the Department of Labor revoked "functional reporting" rules that would have required union locals to provide detailed spending reports on political activities; (2) the Administration also revoked an Executive Order requiring all government contractors to post a notice informing workers of their Beck rights.

Legislative Action. In July 1996, the Worker Right to Know Act (H.R.

3580), sponsored by Rep. Fawell, was incorporated in a campaign finance reform bill (H.R. 3820) defeated in the House (259-162). Where a union-security clause was in place, the Fawell bill would have prevented unions from collecting full dues and fees from union members and non-members alike, unless they signed individual authorizations every year. By reversing the current "opt-out" procedure, the bill would likely have reduced the dues income available for union political activity. The Fawell bill would also have imposed stricter financial reporting requirements on unions, like those revoked by the Labor Department in 1993.

Current Status:

New Legislation. On January 21, 1997, Sen. Don Nickles introduced the Paycheck Protection Act (S. 9), which would amend the Federal Election Campaign Act. The bill is more sweeping than the Worker Right to Know Act. It applies wherever workers are represented by a union, regardless of whether a union-security clause is in place. Under the Nickles bill, unions would be prohibited from assessing any represented worker--including union members--to pay for any type of "political activities," unless the worker had provided prior written authorization. The bill's definition of "political activities" is very broad. It would reach union spending now expressly permitted by federal election law. In an effort at apparent balance, the Nickles bill contains restrictions on corporate political spending, but these are largely empty.

Upcoming Actions. Recent press reports suggest that Rep. Fawell will reintroduce the Worker Right to Know Act, and that Rep. Peter Hoekstra, chairman of a House Oversight Subcommittee, may hold hearings on the enforcement of the Beck decision. Meanwhile, issues related to Beck are before the NLRB and the courts.

Administration Position. The Administration has opposed new initiatives in this area. On October 10, 1996, Secretary Reich wrote to Rep. Fawell opposing the Worker Right to Know Act. He observed that "there is no need for legislative intervention as the current system is working well."

Key Constituents:

Organized labor has opposed all legislation in this area.

DECISION ON THIS ISSUE IS STILL PENDING

Garment Industry Initiative

Issue: Sweatshops still exist in the U.S. garment industry today. Although the industry is showing some signs of modest improvements, serious compliance problems and abuse of workers (mostly immigrant women) who work long hours at subminimum wages with no overtime in often deplorable working conditions continues to exist.

Background: Beginning in 1992, the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division began focusing on the garment industry as one of the low-wage industries targeted for enforcement sweeps and education/outreach activities. Instead of the traditional approach of investigating one contractor shop at a time, Wage and Hour began applying a number of innovative strategies, including expanded use of the "hot goods" provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) which generally prohibits the shipment of goods in interstate commerce made in violation of the FLSA. The effect of using the "hot goods" provision is to prevent manufacturers from deriving a financial benefit from goods illegally made by contractors. Routinely, Wage and Hour started notifying manufacturers of contractors' violations and of potential "hot goods" actions. Subsequent to the discovery of slave-like conditions at a sweatshop in El Monte, CA, in the summer of 1994, the Department's Wage and Hour Division stepped up its enforcement activities and called on the industry, especially retailers, to take steps to assist in efforts to improve compliance in the industry. In September 1994, the Department held a Retailers Summit to initiate a dialogue with the major retailers. During this time, the Department also continued to encourage manufacturers to institute compliance monitoring programs to ensure that their contractors comply with the FLSA. The spotlight, once again, was directed on the garment industry in May, 1996 when goods produced for Kathie Lee Gifford's clothing line sold at WalMart were found in a New York City sweatshop. This very highly publicized revelation provided momentum and public attention which resulted in the Department's July Fashion Industry Forum. The Forum brought together for the first time all levels of the industry to participate in a public event focusing on this problem and potential solutions. Following this event, the President convened a group of industry, labor, and other interested parties and asked them to explore means to assure consumers that goods are not made under sweatshop conditions. This industry driven partnership, known as the Apparel Industry Partnership, committed to report their progress to the President in February, 1997. The Department was named a winner of the 1996 Innovations in American Government awards program by the Ford Foundation and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University for its accomplishments in this initiative.

Current Status: Wage and Hour is continuing its "No Sweat" initiative – an innovative three-prong strategy of **enforcement**, **education**, and **recognition** to eradicate sweatshops in the U.S. **Enforcement** includes targeted enforcement sweeps in major garment centers, the notification to manufacturers of "hot goods" produced by their contractors, and the identification of retailers where "hot goods" can be traced. Wage and Hour will continue to issue quarterly enforcement reports and will this year conduct compliance surveys in the New York City and San Francisco Bay areas. As a result of a recent evaluation of Guess?, Inc.'s monitoring program, Wage and Hour is working with this manufacturer to modify its program to make it more effective. On the education front, Wage and Hour will conduct more Compliance Monitoring Workshops to inform the industry on how to implement effective monitoring programs to ensure that goods are made in compliance with the FLSA. The Department will also continue publicizing activities to encourage public interest in our efforts to convince the industry to assume greater responsibility to help improve compliance. Wage and Hour will also work to advance partnerships with socially responsible businesses and religious leaders that support the "No Sweat" initiative. The Apparel Industry Partnership, consisting of industry representatives and other community interests, is expected to make its recommendations at the end of February to President Clinton on how the industry can assure consumer confidence that the goods they purchase are not made under sweatshop conditions here or abroad. Wage and Hour will also continue with its Trendsetters List, which recognizes retailers and manufacturers that have assumed responsibility for monitoring the labor practices of their contractors. Finally, Wage and Hour will be carrying out and participating in a number of activities as a result of being named a winner of the 1996 Innovations in American Government award.

Labor Interest: The Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) is generally very supportive of the "No Sweat" initiative. However, UNITE has expressed some concern about our working relationship with INS which they claim causes workers to be reluctant about providing information on alleged violations. In addition to UNITE, there are several local worker advocate groups, such as the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) in California and the Latino Workers Center in New York, who continue to press for stepped up enforcement. Also, more than three dozen religious groups have pledged to remind Americans that they have a moral responsibility to do everything they can to ensure that garment workers are treated fairly and with dignity.

DAVIS BACON: Helpers

Issue: Whether and under what circumstances to recognize "helpers" as a separate classification on projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act (DBA), an issue that has been the source of much controversy for 15 years. Regulations allowing expanded use of helpers have been suspended through rulemaking while the Department of Labor considers whether and how to amend the regulations.

Background: Prior to 1982, the Department's policy permitted the use of helpers on DBA projects only in limited circumstances - when the helper classification was a separate and distinct class of worker whose duties were distinguishable from those of journeypersons and laborers and their use prevailed in an area. In 1982, the Reagan Administration amended the regulations to allow expanded use on DBA projects of "semi-skilled helpers" whose duties could overlap with those of skilled journeypersons, but who are paid at a wage rate lower than the journeylevel rate. The Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and the Laborers International Union of America, AFL-CIO, sued the Department over the regulations, which were enjoined and caught up in litigation for the rest of the decade.

A final rule was implemented in 1991, but subsequent appropriations riders, sponsored by Senator Harkin as Chairman of the Labor/HHS Appropriations Subcommittee, barred the Department from implementing the regulation for most of the period since then. In November 1993, the Department suspended the regulations by notice in the Federal Register in light of the appropriations ban. The current appropriations act, signed by the President in April 1996, contains no such rider. The Department is currently being sued by the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) for failing to implement the suspended regulation given that there is no longer an appropriations rider banning implementation.

Current Status: On December 30, 1996, the Department published in the Federal Register a final rule (completing rulemaking begun with the Notice of Proposed Rulemaking in the Federal Register on August 2, 1996) which continues the suspension of the helpers regulation while the Department engages in rulemaking to consider changing the regulations. Staff from Wage and Hour, ESA, ASP and SOL are developing such a notice of proposed rulemaking with options for changing the suspended regulation. Options under consideration include changing the definition of "helper" and implementing a helper-to-journeyperson ratio. The Department has publicly committed both in the 1996 final rule and before the court in the ABC lawsuit that it expects to complete rulemaking to amend the regulation by August 1997.

Labor Interest: The construction trades unions vehemently oppose any expanded recognition of helpers on DBA projects.

DAVIS-BACON: Wage Determination Reinvention

Issue: How to spend newly appropriated FY 1997 funds to begin to improve the process for determining prevailing wages for Federal construction under the Davis-Bacon Act.

Background: The Davis-Bacon Act, enacted in 1931, requires the payment of at least locally prevailing wages and fringe benefits to all "mechanics and laborers" employed on federal and certain federally-financed construction projects. The purpose of the Act is to assure that the Federal government's massive purchasing power does not depress local construction industry wages. Based on DOL-conducted surveys of "prevailing wages" in different areas, the Department of Labor sets the minimum wage and fringe benefits that must be paid as "prevailing" for occupational classifications in an area ("wage determinations").

Davis-Bacon has long been the subject of controversy and there have been many efforts to have it repealed, as well as some recent attempts at reform. Repeal efforts have been based primarily on the perception that the Act is inflationary and adds unnecessarily to the cost of government construction. In recent years, however, additional arguments have been advanced in support of repeal including charges that the wage determinations issued by DOL are inaccurate and subject to fraud. This allegation arises from a DOL review of wage surveys conducted in 1993-1994 in Oklahoma which resulted in issuance of new wage determinations with significantly increased wage rates. The Oklahoma State Labor Commissioner asserts the original wage rates were based on fraudulent survey responses submitted by local unions. The fraud allegations are currently under investigation by the FBI, on referral from DOL. Based on the review of the Oklahoma surveys and an analysis of the Davis-Bacon survey process, Wage and Hour has modified the wage survey process and provided training to those Department personnel conducting and reviewing surveys.

The current wage survey process is, nonetheless, in need of significant improvement in order to improve its accuracy. The scope of the survey task is well beyond the capacity of available resources. It involves surveying many occupational classifications for four different types of construction in more than 3,000 counties in the U.S. The difficulty of this task is reflected in the fact that the average wage determination is seven years old. In addition, the GAO has identified systemic weaknesses that call into question the underlying validity of the survey process. For these reasons, the Wage and Hour Division has been working for some time to develop options for reinventing or re-engineering the Davis-Bacon wage survey/determination process. Wage and Hour recently received a requested additional \$3.75 million in appropriations for FY 1997 to develop and begin implementing wage survey/determination system improvements.

Current Status: Wage and Hour has developed five options for reinventing the Davis-Bacon wage survey/determination process and is currently briefing interested parties (including Congressional oversight and appropriations committees staff) regarding these options and the advantages/disadvantages of each. Based on feedback from the current discussions, a decision needs to be made within the next two months on how the additional FY 1997 resources will be expended.

Employee Choice Flex-Time (FLSA) and FMLA Expansion

Issue: Last June, the President announced his intention to propose legislation to:

Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) to allow private sector workers to receive employee choice flex-time, or paid time off, in lieu of overtime pay when they work more than 40 hours in a workweek if they choose ; and

Expand the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) to provide additional time off for certain additional parental involvement and elder care reasons.

Background: FLSA requires the payment of "time and one-half pay" for overtime to most hourly workers (some employers are not covered by the Act and some employees are exempt from one or both of its basic requirements). Public sector workers are currently permitted to receive compensatory time ("comp. time") in lieu of overtime pay. (Like overtime, comp. time accrues at a time-and-a-half rate.) There are limits on the number of comp. time hours that public sector workers can accumulate and certain restrictions and safeguards on the use of such hours and cashing out of accumulated hours. The President's proposed legislation would authorize the use of employee choice flex-time for most private sector workers who are now covered by the FLSA overtime provision. Unlike other "comp. time" proposals, the President's proposed "employee choice flex-time" amendment includes strong protections against coercion of employees (e.g., safeguards against employers forcing employees to "choose" comp. time in lieu of cash or favoring those employees who "choose" comp time instead of cash) and against abuses or risks to employees if they are considered "vulnerable" employees (such as part-time and seasonal workers) or if their employer is at risk of going bankrupt. In the closing days of the last Congress, the House passed legislation proposed by Congressman Ballenger (R-NC) which would authorize compensatory time-off but which is less protective of workers' rights than the President's proposal. The President had promised to veto the Ballenger bill. The Senate did not act on this matter, but bills were introduced – most notably, by Senator Ashcroft (R-MO) – that would have similar effect.

FMLA assures up to twelve weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave each year for eligible employees of covered employers for certain family and medical reasons. Only workers who have worked for 1, 250 hours and a full year for a company with 50 or more employees are eligible for FMLA leave. The President has advocated and proposed legislation to modestly expand FMLA to provide twenty-four additional hours of unpaid leave for parental involvement in children's education and elder care. Senator Dodd (D-CT) and former Congresswoman Schroeder (D-CO) introduced legislation in the last Congress that addresses those situations but went further to expand FMLA by dropping the coverage threshold to companies with 25 or more employees.

Current Status:

The Administration sent to Congress the "Family-Friendly Workplace Act of 1996" at the end of the last session, though it was never formally introduced. These issues were repeatedly emphasized by the President during the recent campaign and have already started moving, as a Republican priority, in the new Congress. Rep. Ballenger has reintroduced his bill, that passed the House last year, as H.R. 1. A hearing has been held and a mark-up is planned for early March. Sen. Ashcroft has also introduced his bill (S. 4), which now contains the Ballenger comp. time provisions but also changes the 40-hour work week to an 80-hour biweekly work period and makes other changes in the FLSA to allow other forms of flexible scheduling. Two hearings have been held in the Senate and the Ashcroft bill is scheduled for mark-up on February 26. No decision has yet been made within the Administration regarding whether to submit the President's bill and, if so, whether any changes in the proposed bill may be warranted.

Labor Interest:

Labor unions, worker advocates and the women's organizations strongly oppose authorizing comp. time because of the potential for abuse, and because it will likely serve to reduce employees' earnings. For the same reasons, they opposed even the President's Employee Choice Flex-Time bill.

Administration position on this issue is still pending

TEAM Act

Issue: The Teamwork for Employees And Management Act

Background: The TEAM Act would eliminate the 60-year-old ban against company-dominated unions by amending Sec. 8(a)(2) of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). Under Sec. 8(a)(2), it is an unfair labor practice for an employer to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization. Typically, employer domination has been found where a company establishes an employee committee to deal with topics reserved for collective bargaining -- such as pay and benefits, hours of work and other working conditions -- and retains the right to pick the employee-members of the committee, determine the agenda, and eliminate the committee at will. It was the widespread creation of these types of "company unions" or sham unions that led to the enactment of Section 8 (a)(2). In contrast to company dominated labor organizations, labor-management partnerships that are established to improve quality, efficiency and productivity generally do not violate Sec. 8(a)(2) and have in fact proliferated among businesses interested in promoting genuine teamwork with their employees. According to one recent survey, 96 percent of large employers have established such programs.

Nonetheless, business groups allege that the law is unclear and has had a chilling effect on employers interested in forming labor-management partnerships. They have been pressing Congress to amend Sec. 8(a)(2) to give employers greater latitude in establishing and dealing with employee organizations.

The Dunlop Commission, a bipartisan labor-management group, appointed by Secretaries Reich and Brown, specifically rejected the TEAM Act. The Commission recommended that §8(a)(2) should only be clarified in the context of a package of labor law changes that maintains the balance between labor and management.

Although the NLRB is an independent agency charged with interpreting and enforcing the NLRA, the Department of Labor is generally called upon to articulate the Administration's views on important labor-management policies.

Current Status: The Team Act was reintroduced by Senator Jeffords as S. 295 on February 10. Last year, it passed the House by a vote of 221 to 202 on September 27, 1995. It passed the Senate by a vote of 53 to 46 on July 10, 1996. President Clinton vetoed the bill, and no attempt was made to override his veto.

Labor Interest: The AFL-CIO, the ACLU and several hundred academics in the fields of labor law and labor economics opposed the bill, along with a few companies and management-side labor lawyers.

Issue: **Federal "Right-to-Work" legislation.**

Background:

Federal labor law authorizes - but does not require - collective bargaining agreements that compel workers to pay the equivalent of union dues as a condition of employment. These provisions are called union security clauses. Since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947, the decision to prohibit union security clauses has been left up to the states. Twenty-one states, mostly in the south, have opted to become so called "right-to-work" states.

Opponents of state "right-to-work" laws argue that they deter unionization and allow "free riders" to enjoy the benefits of collective bargaining without paying their fair share of the costs.

Opponents of federal right-to-work legislation further argue that this has been a matter left to the states for almost 50 years, and only 3 states have become right-to-work states since 1959.

Notably, in no state can a worker be compelled to join a union as a condition of employment. Thus compulsory or forced unionism is a myth. And workers in every state are free, by majority vote, to deauthorize a union security clause. Moreover, workers can never be required to pay for a union's **non-representational** activities, such as political activity. (See briefing on Communications Workers of America v. Beck.

During the last session of Congress, Sen. Lauch Faircloth introduced a bill, the National Right to Work Act (S. 1788), that would have outlawed union security clauses nationally. The Faircloth bill was defeated on a Senate procedural vote (68-31) on July 10, 1996.

Current Status:

The Administration strongly opposed the National Right to Work Act. A Statement of Administration Policy, issued on July 9, 1996, observed that enactment of the bill "would seriously undermine the ability of unions to represent American workers and to protect workers' rights."

Labor Interest:

Organized labor strongly opposes federal "right-to-work" legislation. The National Right-to-Work Committee is its principal proponent. This is not a top priority for the organized business committee.

OSHA REFORM LEGISLATION

Issue: The House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee and the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee are likely to consider legislation to change OSHA's regulatory and enforcement authority.

Background: During the 104th Congress, 3 measures were considered. The first, offered by Rep. Cass Ballenger, was the most drastic. It would have stripped away the core of the agency's enforcement authority and imposed layers of new, costly, time-consuming processes on the agency's regulatory processes, delaying protective standards for years. It would also have eliminated NIOSH and merged MSHA into OSHA. The bill was strongly opposed by labor and the some segments of the business community. Rep. Ballenger withdrew it after the Vice-President threatened a veto.

Senators Kassebaum and Gregg introduced their own measure claiming that it codified the Administration's New OSHA initiative (a reinvention effort designed to create an opportunity for partnerships rather than traditional enforcement). In reality, the bill would have substantially narrowed the agency's enforcement authority and undermined its protective standards. The bill was favorably reported by the Labor and Human Resources Committee on a party line vote, but drew a veto threat from Secretary Reich, and lacked sufficient support to be considered by the full Senate.

Rep. Ballenger introduced a third measure --- a significantly stripped down version of his earlier bill --- and reported it from his subcommittee. He also claimed it simply codified the Administration's New OSHA programs. While some of the bill's provisions would have been acceptable with a few changes, the bill would have overturned a core principle of the original Occupational Safety and Health Act-- that worker health should be given priority over other considerations (rather than being considered as just another cost of doing business). This provision would have greatly hindered the agency's ability to protect workers in the future. Departing Assistant Secretary Joe Dear predicted that it would fall within the earlier veto threats, and the bill was not acted on by the full committee.

Current Status: Rep. Ballenger has been meeting with business community representatives to draft a new bill. It will likely contain some of the provisions of the earlier bills.

Labor Interest: Organized labor strongly opposes Republican-led reform efforts.

Section 13(c) Transit Employee Protection Program

Issue:

The TRANSIT EMPLOYEE PROTECTION PROGRAM, commonly referred to as the Section 13 (c) Program, is administered by the Department of Labor. It is the basic job protection law for transit employees in the nation. It is contained in the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA I) which must be reauthorized by September 30, 1997. The 13(c) Program has been the subject of Congressional criticism, the topic of hearings before the House Transportation Committee, and the subject of an investigation by the House Gov Ops Committee. New guidelines were promulgated in January, 1996 and Congress will be reviewing the effectiveness of the new Guidelines as it considers reauthorizing this program.

Background:

The 13(c) program requires DOL to certify that the rights of affected mass transit employees have been protected before the US Department of Transportation can release transit funds to grantees. Most of the criticism of the program stemmed from delays in certification which affected the release of some of the nearly $3 billion authorized by ISTEA. Although repealed by the House Appropriations Committee in 1995, the Section 13(c) program was restored by the full House largely on the grounds that the Department had pledged to implement new guidelines to administer the program. The protective arrangements DOL certifies include: preservation of rights and benefits under existing collective bargaining agreements, continuation of collective bargaining rights, protection of individual employees against a worsening of their positions related to employment, assurances of employment to employees of acquired transit systems, priority of reemployment, and paid training or retraining programs.

Current Status:

The new Guidelines have been in effect since January 1996. They were designed to expedite the certification process and make it more predictable, while assuring that the required protections are in place. Program data indicate that on average, 98% of all certifications issued since January 1996 have been issued within the 60 days required by the new Guidelines.

Over 300,000 union and non-union transit employees at approximately 5,000 transit systems around the country are protected by this program. Major unions involved in this program include ATU, TWU, UTU, AFSCME, IAM, IBT, IBEW, TCU, UAW, LIUNA, OPEIU, SEIU, RLEA, BRAC and the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. Their objective is to assure that the full range of protections required by the law are in place.

NAFTA: Cross-Border Trucking Issue

Issue: NAFTA liberalization of cross-border trucking: Mexican truckers in the U.S.

Background: The North American Free Trade Agreement created a timetable for liberalizing cross-border trucking between the United States and Mexico. A major implementation milestone was to have occurred on December 18, 1995. The United States and Mexico had agreed to begin permitting access to each other's border states (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas for the United States) for trucks of the other country for the delivery and backhaul of cargo. On that date, Secretary of Transportation Peña announced a delay in the NAFTA implementation because of safety and security concerns regarding Mexican trucks. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) -- who are strongly opposed to cross-border trucking liberalization -- welcomed the delay.

Both the Departments of Transportation of Labor have enforcement responsibilities regarding Mexican truckers when they begin to operate within the United States. DOT is primarily concerned with truck safety, while DOL enforces (1) minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA); (2) portions of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSH Act) dealing with trucks under 10,000 pounds, and hazardous materials operations and training; and (3) provisions of the Surface Transportation Assistance Act that prohibit retaliatory discharge and other discrimination against drivers of commercial motor vehicles and other employees whose work affects the safety of such vehicles because they complain about unsafe vehicles and refuse to operate them on U.S. roads.

Current Status: At an NEC meeting held on December 18, 1996, a decision was made that once consultations were undertaken by the White House staff with interested parties, negotiations would resume between the Department of Transportation and its Mexican counterpart to resolve remaining safety and security concerns in order to implement the trucking liberalization provisions. A delegation from the Department of Transportation went to Mexico City on January 6, 1997 for negotiations, but there has been no final decision on when the border will be opened. It is likely some additional delay in implementation will occur, and another NEC meeting is also possible.

Labor Interest: IBT President Ron Carey wrote on December 20 to Secretary of Transportation-designate Rodney Slater expressing strong opposition to the opening of the border to Mexican trucks on the basis of safety and health concerns and the loss of jobs to lower-wage Mexican truckers. The United Transportation Union (UTU), the union that organizes the bulk of bus drivers operating near the border, is also opposed to similar cross-boarder liberalization proposals for bus service for the same reasons as the Teamsters.

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Morton Bahr
President

Via Fax

February 28, 1997

Mr. Gene Sperling, Chairman
National Economic Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Gene:

The government of South Africa is seeking private investment in its telephone system. SBC Communications (formerly Southwestern Bell) is going head to head with Deutch Telecom. A decision is only several weeks away.

I believe it is in the interest of the U.S. for SBC to be selected. I urge the Administration to do whatever it can to assist SBC in this venture.

Sincerely,

Morton Bahr

Morton Bahr
President