

the rank and file in action

Labor Today

25¢

Volume 13, No.4 April 1974

412

Consent decree called license to discriminate



GEORGE EDWARDS:

“Steel contract is
a cheap sell-out”

UNION WOMEN
ORGANIZE



Brutality at Brookside

Magma rank & file
reject red-hunt



CONSENT DECREE A SET-BACK FOR FAIR PRACTICES

Steel companies now free to discriminate

By JIM WILLIAMS
LABOR TODAY STAFF

The National Steel Workers' Rank and File Committee, meeting in Cleveland April 21, announced its intention to enter a court challenge to the recent consent decrees by the steel companies, the USWA-leadership, the U.S. Department of Labor, along with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. The consent decree - a voluntary agreement approved by a court - allegedly remedies racist company and union hiring and promotion practices.

NSWRFC Chairman George Edwards termed the consent decree a "Watergate deal, concocted in an atmosphere of secrecy." "In overturning the Fairfield decision's detailed and thorough-going remedies for racist employment practices," Edwards continued, "efforts to obtain truly fair employment practices have received a setback."

The NSWRFC is projecting a national campaign to inform steel workers of the meaning of the decree and its inadequacies, along with a new effort to educate steel workers as to how racist company practices (and accommodation to them by the union) hurts every worker.

Edwards called upon other rank and file union groups also to enter the suit against the consent decree.

The rank and filers will be joining the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Organization of Women in taking court action to overturn the decree.

In Sparrows Point, Md., Francis Brown, chairman of Steelworkers for Equality at the Bethlehem Mill, told reporters the decree "sweetens the bitter taste, but it doesn't give us what we're owed. Some Black workers here have 40 years seniority and they certainly are owed more than the maximum of \$3,000. It reminds me of what they used to pay Indians for their land."

Speaking in Chicago on April 17, NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill said the decree would "have the effect of nullifying, of gutting Title Seven of the Civil Rights Act." It was under Title Seven that the Department of Justice first brought suit on behalf of minority workers at U.S. Steel's plant in Fairfield, Alabama.

Hill also charged that the consent decree's dependence upon "voluntary compliance" and "good faith" by the steel companies will not assure justice for workers.

In criticizing the decree, Edwards of the NSWRFC said there were several failings from the point of view of rank and file:

Minority workers, the first victims of discrimination, were totally excluded from all negotiations on the matter;

The key issue of plantwide seniority is left to vague, ill-defined local determinations by groups appointed by the companies and the USWA-leadership;



George Edwards, Chmn., Nat'l. Steelworkers Rank & File Comm., which analyzed contract settlement & consent decree. See contract story, page 3.

The back pay settlement, totalling some \$30 million, will average about \$400 to \$600 per affected worker, and is outrageously inadequate - roughly the equivalent of one higher job classification for two years;

Labor Today

Workers who accept the back pay settlement waive all further rights to contest the decision or past or future discriminatory practices.

"In short," Edwards said, "the steel companies are seeking to buy immunity from further litigation under the Civil Rights Act.

"While the decree provides some targets and quotas for bringing minority men and women workers into better jobs, companies are obligated to show nothing more than 'good faith' and not real progress."

"The rate retention period is only two years for those workers who transfer into entry-level jobs in other departments," Edwards continued. "This is unlikely to provide enough time for workers to advance to job classifications paying what they earned before."

The decision to challenge the consent decree came at a meeting in which the National Steel Workers Rank and File gathered to analyze the recent contract settlement under I.W. Abel's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

The nine firms signing the agreement produce about 73% of the nation's steel production and employ about 347,000 workers. About 57,000 of these are minority or women workers. Inland Steel declined to sign the consent agreement, claiming it does not discriminate.

TIGHTEN IT ANOTHER NOTCH...

Steel contract "a sell-out"

By LABOR TODAY STAFF

Steel workers meeting at the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC) to analyze the recent contract settlement between the United Steelworkers and the major steel corporations were gripped by a mixture of anger, frustration and irony.

Anger and frustration, because the recent contract is a monumental defeat and setback for steel workers in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living;

Irony, because these rank and filers had been predicting it would happen all along, hoping somehow that events would prove them wrong. This time they were right and there was no consolation in being able to say, "I told you so."

"The contract is no damn good," said George Edwards, chairperson of the NSWRFC. "It is a cheap, sell-out deal which was worked out behind closed doors."

That assessment about summed it up for the rank and filers who attended the

emergency conference of the NSWRFC. It was at this same meeting that the workers also met to plan a strategy of action against a recent sell-out of previous civil rights gains in the steel industry (see story this issue).

Over and over, rank and filers got up to voice their anger and amazement that the contract was so poor. "We knew it was going to be a bad contract with that ENA,"

(continued on p. 3)



Steel rank & file statement on consent decree

Another conspiracy of the Nixon Administration against the rights of the people has come to light in the steel industry.

In typical Watergate fashion the Nixon Gang, in alliance with nine steel corporations and the Abel leadership of our union, last Monday unveiled a scheme to bury the fight against discrimination in the steel industry. They conspired to nullify the laws of Congress and recent court decisions against discrimination.

Nixon's Department of Justice has announced that it will no longer enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and that if any workers should dare to sue to end discrimination in the steel industry then the full machinery of the Justice Department will be used to oppose the suit. Thus, what Dr. Martin Luther King and thousands of others marched, fought and died for has been wiped out by a piece of paper.

Following the Watergate format, the Administration has further announced that neither it, nor the steel companies, nor the union have any obligation to comply with the 1973 Fairfield decision of the court. Under that ruling the union and the company were required by law to end racist seniority lists, to establish the principle of plant-wide seniority to permit transfer of minority workers to new departments with full retention of pay, and to compensate fully all workers held back by years of discrimination.

This ruling shuts off all breakthroughs in all industries and sets a pattern for continuation of racism and restriction of seniority. After months of conspiratorial meetings, the Nixon Gang, the steel bosses, and the Abel Junta came to court, were charged, pled

guilty, and entered into the "consent decree" in rapid-fire order.

Under this decree minority and women workers will be offered a tiny bribe--a few crisp new \$100 bills--to compensate for thousands of dollars worth of past discrimination. But if they accept this offer they waive any further rights under Title VII, and, in any case, the Justice Department will use its attorneys to oppose any suits by aggrieved workers. Furthermore, the question of plant-wide seniority, the desire of both Black and white steelworkers is left up to voluntary compliance.

All the detailed requirements set out in the Fairfield decision are wiped out by this new consent decree. There can now be no enforcement of procedures to end discrimination so long as the companies and the union make "good faith efforts" as judged by the Nixon Administration.

The Nixon Administration has overturned a court ruling and an act of Congress to preserve discrimination and prevent the unity of Black and white workers. This latest Watergate-type action is yet another move to full Presidential dictatorship and the institutionalization of racism in our society. It represents a threat to all Americans, Black and white, workers and non-workers, in steel and all other industries.

National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee, therefore, hereby announces that it is our intention to challenge this vicious decree in court while we still have any constitutional rights left.

(For information, write National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, Box 1152, Lorain, Ohio 44055: EDITORS).

COMPANY WANTS TO BUY TITLE VII IMMUNITY

NAACP in suit to block decree

The agreement between the steel corporations and the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, negotiated with the active participation of the Department of Justice, reveals that the federal government is more concerned with protecting the treasuries of the corporations and the union than with protecting the integrity of the law.

Through this agreement, major steel corporations and the Steelworkers Union are attempting to buy immunity from further litigation under Title VII, the employment section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The most significant aspect of the steel industry agreement is that the affected class of employees was excluded from the negotiations and therefore the settlement should be rejected by the courts. This practice violates basic principles of the American legal system.

The requirement that all workers receiving back pay sign a waiver forfeiting the right to sue in the future is unconscionable and should be declared illegal. Furthermore, paragraph (c) of the agreement states that where a worker refuses to sign the waiver and is a plaintiff in a lawsuit, the Department of Justice will intervene in the litigation on behalf of the employer and Steelworkers Union.

If the steel industry settlement is accepted by the district court, then a pattern will be set for similar industry-wide agreements that will have the effect of nullifying Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The agreement is seriously deficient in many respects, and the back pay arrangement is totally inadequate. A Black steelworker with 20 years' seniority will receive between \$400 and \$500 instead of

Victory in Hawaii

As LABOR TODAY went to press, news of a settlement of the six-week strike of pineapple and sugar workers in Hawaii indicates that most of the key demands of the workers, represented by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, were achieved.

The union won concessions in the areas of job security and salaries, with sugar workers gaining 75 cents an hour over two years. A more complete report will appear in a following LABOR TODAY.

NOW will intervene

WOMEN OPPOSE CONSENT DECREE

Ann Scott, Legislative Director, National Organization for Women, says:

"We have major disagreements with the consent decree:

"One is the amount of back pay. Another is that the settlement allows the government to go into court on behalf of the company, not the party discriminated against, in future legal actions....

"Because we had to fight for back pay, and to get women into the settlement at all, we are filing a motion to intervene in the consent decree. Someone has to represent, in court, the interests of our members in the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Indiana, and in the Bethlehem plant in Sparrows Point, Maryland, as well as all 11,000 women in the industry.

"We have filed a suit in Baltimore, and Title VII complaints in Gary."



the several thousand that represent the difference between the wages he did receive and those which he would have received if there had not been discriminatory seniority provisions in collective bargaining agreements. Our system of law requires that the injured parties be made whole, but the steel industry agreement fails to do this.

In addition, the agreement fails to merge or restructure seniority lines of promotion that are based upon race, rather than job operations. It merely permits the Black worker to bid for jobs in the "white" seniority line when and if vacancies occur. The body of case law under Title VII requires more substantive relief.

The NAACP will advise its members and others employed in the steel industry to refuse to sign the waiver; and furthermore, the Association will continue its 20-year campaign to eliminate the nation-wide pattern of discrimination in the steel industry. Our program of litigation in the federal courts will continue, as the steel industry agreement is totally inadequate and fails to protect the rights of Blacks and other steelworkers now and in the future.

April 1974

Volume 13, No. 4

LABOR TODAY--"The Rank and File in Action!"--is published monthly except August by Labor Today Associates, a non-profit Illinois corporation, 343 S. Dearborn St., Room 600, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Phone 312/922-5560. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60607 AND AT ADDITIONAL MAILING OFFICES.

STAFF

EDITORS: John Kailin and Adelaide Bean
ART DIRECTOR: Peggy Lipschutz
RESEARCH DIRECTOR: Richard Herbert
STAFF WRITERS: Caryl Estéves, Paul and Linda Nyden, Elena Marcheschi, Johnny Woods
EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Andrea Shapiro, Susan de Gracia
CIRCULATION
PRODUCTION: Ken Appelbans, Bill Appelbans
Bill Mackovitch, Ezra Cohen
CIRCULATION: Douglas Wagner, Arrando Ramirez

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1 year \$2.50; FOREIGN: \$6.00 Air Mail Only

Steel rank & file statement on contract

The new steel contract is no damn good. It is a cheap, sell-out deal which was worked out behind closed doors. It does not solve the problems of the steel workers.

It is a Watergate deal, where the right to strike was stolen out from under the noses of the local union presidents, where the steel companies and the top union leaders saddled the membership with a six-year no-strike ENA, where the entire labor movement is handcuffed by the example of the second-largest union in the country becoming a company union.

What about wages? For the average steel worker the contract means only 5 percent more the first year and 3 percent in the second and third years, below Nixon's wage controls which will now be lifted anyway. The cost of living escalator will still let us fall behind inflation.

Workers in Japan, England and Italy are winning wage hikes of up to 35 percent per year. For us, that would be \$6 an hour instead of a measly 66 cents. They made full use of the right to strike. Our contract is what the ENA bought. We are stuck with the no-strike deal right on through the next contract negotiations and into 1980.

Meanwhile, price increases of steel will cover the cost of this contract. Profit margins will continue to soar to record heights. The number of steelworkers in

the industry will be cut in half, but we will have no weapon to fight back.



Those of us who work in coke plants and foundries face terrible health hazards. We risk cancer and lung disease. Instead of emergency remedies we get a company three-year study of the problem. This is a cover up. Since the majority of our brothers in these areas are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Arab, it is a racist, genocidal policy.

The Contract avoids the question of a national settlement of the use of plant-wide seniority to end discrimination, as the company and union conspire with the Nixon administration to void the Fair-field decision by their consent decree.

We must fight back against this dirty deal. The new contract does nothing to deal with the unbearable speed-up and crew-cutting drive. It does not give us the right to refuse overtime or protect us from arbitrary scheduling.

It does not reduce our workweek. It does nothing to improve safety or discipline procedures. It steps backward in more than doubling the probationary period for new hires.

Even the pension that we keep hearing about is less than that won in can and aluminum. There they got higher benefits and a reduction in the eligibility requirement from 15 to 10 years. With the high interest rate on the pension funds and the tax exemption provisions, the pension does not cost the companies much anyway.

We are tired of secret deals made by people who forgot years ago what it is like to work in a steel mill.

National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee calls on all local unions to go on record against the new contract and the six-year ENA. We ask for the support of all rank and file steelworkers in the appeal of the legal suit against ENA. We call for the election of delegates to next September's USWA convention who will fight to turn our union around, to make it once again a militant, united, democratic organization representing the interests of rank and file workers.

(Write National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, Box 1152, Lorain, Ohio 44055 for more information.)

"Steel contract a sell-out" (cont. from p. 1)

one steel worker said, "but we didn't think it was going to be that damn bad!"

Many of the daily papers that carried news of the steel settlement also carried the news that the cost of living is now climbing at a yearly rate of 14.5%, and that real spendable earnings, the value of workers' paychecks, dropped sharply in March, down about 4.7% from last year.

However, for the steel companies, industry profits in 1973 were \$1.2 billion, 66% more than the previous record set in 1972. Last November, steel prices jumped 6.5% and then upped another 2.3% in February.

PAY INCREASE ONLY 3.3% A YEAR

Ever since USWA President I.W. Abel initiated the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," rank and filers have opposed it on the grounds that it was leading up to a sell-out contract.

In a nutshell, that's what they got.

The three-year pact calls for an across-the-board pay increase of 60.9¢ an hour, with 28¢ the first year, 16¢ added during the second and third years. That's about 3.3% a year averaged over three years. (In 1971, the contract provided about 70¢ across the board--back when inflation was far less than today.)

The cost-of-living formula was revised so that workers will get a one cent increase for every 0.3% rise in the Consumer Price Index of the U.S. Department of Labor, instead of one cent for every 0.4% rise as before. However, the CPI base is being revised from 1967 to 1973, and many are wary that the new base will not yield any real improvement.

While some improvements were gained in pensions, steel pensions still fell

behind workers' expectations. One labor economist estimated that the improvement of \$265 a month to \$352 was gained without too much extra cost to the corporations, because pension fund investments provided the basis for increases.

The most glaring retrogression in the contract was the retention of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which will govern the negotiations in the 1977 contract talks. As a result, the ENA agreement will continue in effect in all its provisions and strikes are banned until 1980.

A FIGHT-BACK STRATEGY

While the NSWRFC meeting was heavy on analysis on the contract, its main purpose was to develop a fight-back strategy to deal with the sell-out.

Edwards and Eugene Moser of the District 31 Right-to-Strike Committee reported that agreement had been reached to continue court action against the ENA.

WHAT YOU DO GET DOESN'T BUY MUCH

Paycheck up, buying power down!

In 1965 the average worker took home \$95.06 gross pay. After taking out for taxes, etc., it amounted to \$91.32.

In February 1974, the same worker had a gross weekly paycheck of \$148.71. His real spendable earnings, however, were only \$91.72.

The high point since 1965 was in 1972, when gross pay was \$135.78 and real spendable earnings were \$96.40, about \$4.68 more than today.

Real spendable earnings--total pay after taxes and inflation are taken out--have been dropping since the economy recovered from the 1969-70 recession. As of February 1974, the buying power of the average worker with three dependents was only 40 cents a week higher than the average for 1965.



"BLUE COLLAR, WHITE COLLAR, WE UNITE TO ADVANCE ALL WORKING WOMEN"

Union women create new ri

by CARYL ESTEVES and ELENA MARCHESCHI

The first national Conference of Labor Union Women held in Chicago on March 23-24, was an historic coming together of more than 3,000 trade union women. The rank and filers and staffers who turned up at the Pick Congress Hotel were more than half again the number that had been expected. The stated purpose of the conference was to make the unions into instruments to fight for the rights of all working women: by creating a base for organizing unorganized women; by attacking the special problems faced by women who work; by trying to eradicate male supremacist attitudes within unions; and by bettering, in general, the position of working women through their unions and through political action and legislation.

Addie Wyatt (Women's Department Director, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen) underlined the bread-and-butter needs of women in her keynote address: "Women who work, work for the same reason that men work--we have to." Pointing to the lower wages received by women, she declared that "We cannot afford the luxury of a discriminatory paycheck."

The division between those members of the leadership who give allegiance to Meany, Fitzsimmons and Woodcock and the rank and filers, who were ready to move on the issues of male supremacy, racism and the rights of women workers came to the fore with great impact. It resulted in the consideration by the body of such specific issues as racism and the Farm Worker's struggle and the shelving of other issues of importance such as male supremacy within the unions, and democratic structures within the newly formed CLUW.

Most of the delegates were new to this type of event. At the opening plenary session, when asked how many were attending such a conference for the first time, well over half raised their hands. Yet, despite this relative inexperience in the intricacies of conventioning and floor strategizing, they established the outlines and staff of a permanent organization, dealt with a number of important political issues, and showed fine common sense in handling some very offensive bureaucratic maneuverings.

Seldom within the boundaries of the union movement has such a collection of different kinds of workers been assembled. They were school teachers, machinists, actresses, social workers, auto workers, college professors, secretaries and garment workers. All in all, more than fifty unions were represented in this remarkable gathering. There were groups which in many cases had not worked together before, and which indeed had viewed each other with suspicion, if not downright hostility.

Unity between such disparate groups cannot be forged in one weekend, although the very formation of such an organization as national CLUW is an important step in that direction. Women from blue-collar unions voiced suspicions of the white-collar trade unionists, hinting that they might not be "true" unionists after all. Others, normally active and articulate participants and fighters in their home locals,



Delegates at CLUW conference applaud speaker.

adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude, to see whether the social workers and school teachers would raise the issues which were important to blue-collar workers--questions of layoffs, for example, and compulsory overtime. These questions, of course, could only have been raised by the people who must live with them, and consequently were by and large missing from the resolutions proposed to the body.

The participants in the conference were in large measure white; something less than a fifth were black. Almost totally absent were Asian, Chicana and other minority women. But the question of racism and of the special oppression of Black and minority women was not absent. This subject had been visibly missing from the original statement of purpose, but the delegates voted with near unanimity to amend the document and include the issue of racism as central to the struggles of the new organization.

The responsiveness of the delegates to the special problems of minority women was most clearly illustrated by the reaction to the United Farm Workers. On every occasion on which a representative of that union spoke, she was received with an ovation that amounted almost to a demonstration. And the most discussed item at the conference, almost from the moment the first delegates arrived, was Item 14 of the proposed Structure and Guidelines ("National CLUW and area CLUW chapters shall not be involved in issues or activities which a union involved identifies as related to a jurisdictional dispute").

It was clear that the dispute between the Teamsters, with their negotiated sweetheart contracts with the California growers, and the United Farm Workers, was an issue that the majority of the delegates was eager to consider. Item 14 would, in the name of avoiding "disunity", have kept all resolutions regarding the

struggles of the United Farm Workers off the floor of the conference. But with almost complete unanimity by the delegates, it was pinpointed for what it was and rejected. Teamster rank and filers rose, one by one, and voiced their solidarity with the Farm Workers' struggle, asking, along with countless others, that CLUW go on record in support of the farm workers.

At the Saturday evening plenary, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hilton Hotel, the delegates voted to suspend the rules of the conference to allow themselves to deal with this proposal before the evening got too late. And they voted, by an overwhelming majority, to reject Item 14 in its entirety. There was no question that, for the leadership, the vote was an expression of unexpected depths of support and solidarity with the Farm Workers' rank and file struggle--the announcement of the vote was accompanied by joyous cries of "Viva la huelga!"

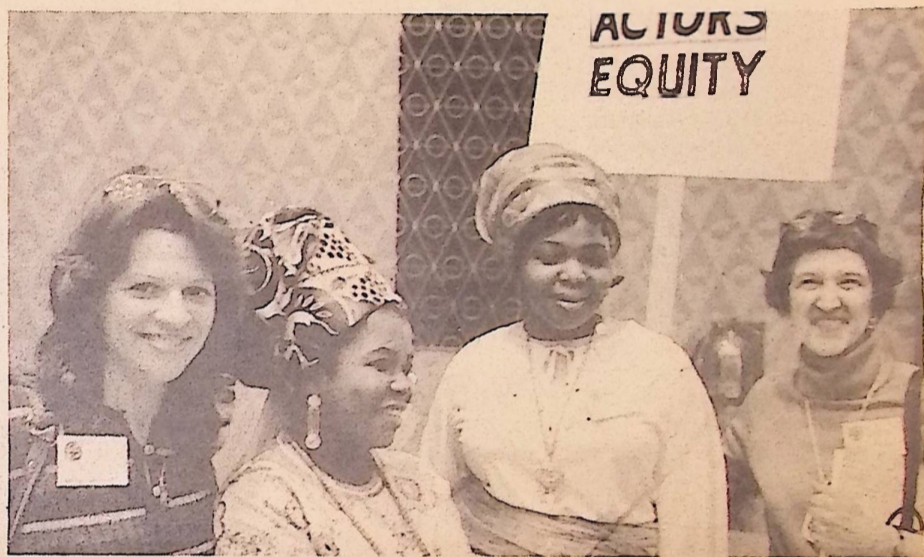
This support, which was to be voiced in an official resolution and statement of support for the Farm Workers by CLUW never officially materialized. Resolutions in support of the Farm Workers came out of almost every workshop but in the name of "not enough time" were shunted off to the incoming executive body, after having been buffeted back and forth by the maneuverings of those staffers who owe their jobs and positions to Fitzsimmons and the rest.

The question of male supremacy within the unions was skirted by the conference. Part of the reason was the obvious lack of time. Nonetheless, though perhaps it could not have been dealt with thoroughly, its total avoidance had to do with attempts by the planning committee not to alienate the most guilty among the national leadership of the AFL-CIO, the UAW, and the Teamsters. It was a sad omission, however, because it is a prob-

N" rights organization



Addie Wyatt, Meatcutters Women's Dept. Dir., keynoted CLUW conference. "Women who work, work for the same reason that men work-- we have to."



International labor solidarity was manifested by the presence of these members of a Nigerian union.



PHOTOS BY SYD HARRIS

Rank and file workers from blue-collar unions like these from a Michigan UAW local, joined white-collar women.

Nat'l. Coordinating Comm. elected to carry on CLUW's work:
 1 to r, VPs Clara Day, IBT; Dana Dunham, Communications Workers;
 Joyce Miller, Clothing Workers; Chairperson Olga Madar, UAW;
 Addie Wyatt, Meatcutters; Exec. Sec. Linda Tarr-Whelan, AFSCME;
 Treasurer Gloria Johnson, IUE and Elinor Glenn, Service Employees.



lem that directly stunts the participation of women workers in their struggles within their own unions.

Articles in the commercial press speculating on the supposed anti-leadership nature of the new organization, and urgings in that direction by some papers distributed at the conference, produced over-caution on the part of delegates and planners. The subject of male supremacy thus was replaced by statements that CLUW's purpose is to work within the union structure for the benefit of women. "We are the union," was the frequently repeated slogan.

As a result, in the name of overall unity the possibility of real unity between men and women workers within the trade unions was weakened.

Most damaging to the overall success of this founding conference was the sense on the part of many delegates that the organizing committee allowed too few outlets for rank and file expressions and reflected too heavily the traditionally suspicious attitude of union leadership to the rank and file. There was a basis for the delegates' apprehension: the inclusion of Item 14 was the most obvious, but there were other not so subtle maneuverings to keep support for the UFW off the floor altogether.

The new structure of CLUW is top-heavy, with great control by the National Coordinating Committee, which will decide many issues raised in the general assembly, and follow-up on the fate of resolutions.

The structure of CLUW needed much more discussion by the body as a whole to insure fair representation and channels through which rank and filers can express their needs and demands.

But this is only to last a year. There are plans for another conference to be held within a year, at which time CLUW will adopt a real constitution and hopefully expand its programs and policies. In the meantime, there is much that needs to be done on the local level to guarantee that rank and file issues become the base for national CLUW policies.

For CLUW to achieve its full potential will require the strong initiative of rank and file women, to assure democratic procedures in its operations and clarity in its approach to issues.

"BROOKSIDE COAL IS GOING TO BE UMW COAL"

Mine owners' brutality exposed at Brookside

by LABOR TODAY STAFF

Over 43 years ago, a delegation of prestigious citizens came to Evarts, Harlan County, Kentucky, to conduct a public investigation of instances of brutality by the coal bosses against miners seeking union representation. The finding of that panel, led by distinguished author Theodore Dreiser, shocked the nation and won widespread public sympathy for the miners' plight.

On March 11 of this year, another citizens' panel was back in Evarts - this time to investigate the efforts of Duke Power Company's Brookside Mines to break a strike for union representation by the United Mine Workers of America.

The special "Citizens' Inquiry into the Brookside Strike," made up of nationally prominent public officials, scholars, clergymen, and experts in labor and Appalachian affairs, heard testimony from miners and citizens concerning company violence against the miners.



Gravity of the Brookside struggle is reflected in the faces of these Appalachian women whose testimony indicted Duke Power's crimes against the people of Harlan County.

The panel included former U.S. Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, former Senator Fred Harris, and Msgr. Geno Baroni; also Jacqueline Brophy, director of a labor education program at Cornell University, and daughter of John Brophy, a UMW reform leader in the 1920's.

Following the hearings, UMWA President Arnold Miller announced a nationwide campaign in behalf of the Brookside strikers. Referring to the recent success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' strike against Farah Manufacturing Company, Miller said Brookside is "going to become the next Farah. Brookside coal is going to be UMWA coal."



PHOTOS BY RICH SUNLEY

Citizens' Inquiry Panel members, l to r, Rev. Max Glenn, Chairman Dan Pollitt, Professor of Law, University of North Carolina, Msgr. Geno Baroni, hear how mine owners violated workers' rights.

A key element in the Brookside strike has been the militant activity of the miners' wives. After the miners were enjoined from picketing, their wives (as in the movie SALT OF THE EARTH) took their places on the line, and were jailed last October.

Witnesses before the committee testified as to shootings and other forms of company intimidation.

Almost to underscore their testimony, Sheriff Billy G. Williams appeared at the hearings to present contempt citations to three women activists taking the stand. Judge Byrd Hogg, who

issued the citations, and whose decisions have regularly supported the company against the miners, until recently owned a coal company himself. This situation is not uncommon in East Kentucky

Sheriff Billy G. Williams interrupts Inquiry proceedings to present court subpoenas to Appalachian women who courageously spoke at the Evarts hearings. The women were cited for illegal picketing.

"I have a feeling of tremendous admiration for people who preserve their dignity and pride in a situation like this," said former Labor Secretary Wirtz after the hearings. Wirtz was visibly moved by the strength and determination of the rank and file. "This country ought to be ashamed of itself for allowing these conditions," he said.



The struggle to build the union in Brookside is the key to re-establishing the union in Kentucky coalfields after years of neglect by the Boyle administration. For more information, and to send expressions of support, write:

Brookside Miners
United Mine Workers of America
900 15th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

INTERNATIONAL'S RED-BAITING TRIAL BALLOON A BUST!

Magma steelworkers local supports John Mackoviak

By JOHN KAILIN
LABOR TODAY CO-EDITOR
as told by JOHN MACKOVIAK

Steelworkers of Local 937, USWA, at the Magma Copper Company, have taken a stand to reject an attempt to silence the rank and file by red-baiting.

On April 23rd, the membership of the Local voted 79 to 42 to support John Mackoviak, a leader of the Magma Rank and File, against a recommendation of a trial committee that he be expelled from the union.

International Staff Representative Lloyd Dayton had presented nine counts against Mackoviak, alleging his "key responsibility" for the Magma Rank and File movement and charging that Mackoviak was associated with Communists.

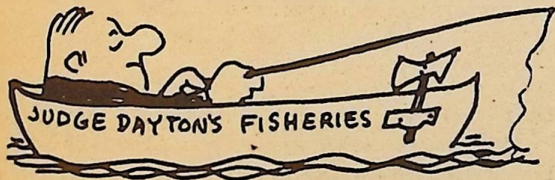
Though Mackoviak was accused of "slanders and misrepresentations," mainly against I.W. Abel, these charges were never specified. The statements cited by Dayton actually represented differences of opinion about the value of certain Steelworker policies. Mackoviak differed on ENA, as well as on what was needed to build a strong union and win much needed contract improvements.

THE INQUISITION

The five members of the trial committee admitted being totally unfamiliar with trial procedures. This being the case, Dayton was able to violate standards of due process with abandon, reported Mackoviak and others. Dayton kept inventing new charges throughout the trial, so that the very idea of preparing a defense became a mockery. In fact, it was not a trial; it was an inquisition.

After hours of playing accuser, prosecutor and judge all in one, Dayton warmed up to his subject. "Do you believe in God?" he thundered. "The president of the Local said he knows that you don't believe in God." This was followed by probes into Mackoviak's way of dressing and other personal concerns that had nothing to do with his union activity.

Next came the clincher. "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Now, Dayton was on comfortable ground. He is said to resemble in personality Spiro Agnew, and he did not have to rehearse his role. He had



been the hatchet man in past trials in the demolition job done on the progressive Mine-Mill and Smelter Union. Red-baiting was the main weapon he used then, as now. Here, false testimony was mixed indiscriminately with appeals to "God," "country," "this great union," and the need to fight "Communist devils."

As reported to the membership, the trial committee was unanimously against him on all counts, except one alleging Mackoviak participated on the Convention floor though not a delegate. Here they split 3 to 2 against him. The Communist issue was most heavily relied on. Mackoviak's support of the right of the Communist Party to be on the ballot was cited. Dual organ-

izing was charged in his leadership of the Magma Rank and File. Its ties with the National Steel Rank and File Committee were greatly stressed as another alleged "Communist association."

R&F CRITERION: IS IT GOOD FOR WORKERS?

In the face of this attack, Mackoviak defended his or any person's right to join the Community Party "tomorrow, next week, or any time." He also defended the rank and file's right to make alliances with other steel rank and file groups whether or not they had Communists in their membership, as long as their policies were in support of workers' rights, and the positions they took were good for workers. He added: "I would continue to support them, and we should all support them."

Mackoviak got wind of Dayton's intention to make a summation to the membership after he had given his defense. Mackoviak pointed out to the local president that nothing in the Union by-laws gives the committee the right to have the final say beyond its statement of charges. President Frank Salas recommended that the trial committee follow by-laws procedures. Dayton called this an outrage and said he would refuse to participate in a meeting where he was "denied his side." He announced in advance he would appeal any adverse decision.



STOP ALL U.S. SUPPORT TO JUNTA

Young unionists demand end repression in Chile

An organization of young union workers affiliated with the Connecticut State Labor Council and the Greater Bridgeport Labor Council has called for strong government action in ending the bloody repression of human rights by the junta government in Chile.

At their April meeting, the members of the Bridgeport chapter of the AFL-CIO Young Unionists unanimously adopted a resolution calling for immediate U.S. withdrawal of recognition from the Chilean junta.

The resolution followed a communication read to the membership from Abe Feinglass, Vice President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, who visited Chile earlier this year with a group of ten Americans, including labor leaders, community activists and educators.

In his letter, Feinglass reported that human and trade union rights were being violated on a massive scale in Chile, where evidence showed thousands had been brutally murdered in the overthrow of the democratically elected Allende government.

"I'm not going to bother with a bunch of (bleep)-ing punks like these. A mess of Communists are running things here," he blurted.

The membership voted almost 2 to 1, (79 to 42) to overturn the trial committee's recommendation to expel Mackoviak.

The next step is up to the International. As reported in LABOR TODAY by George Edwards, Co-Chairman of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, the top brass has called the rank and file movements a "cancer which must be removed before it spreads." The top brass has also encouraged the companies to fire members who testified against the ENA; tried to blame Edwards himself for a false bomb threat; and tried to trap Mackoviak into violating safety procedures.

Now that the membership of Local 937 has spoken, the only question is whether Abel wants to use a billy-club on the rank and file. If an Appeals Committee decides against Local 937, the case would end up before the next Convention in September in Atlantic City. A legal battle on the constitutionality of the USWA anti-Communist clause, including association, is probable.

Moved by the report, the youthful workers drafted a resolution which was sent to Connecticut congressmen and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Their requests:

1. Cessation of all American aid to the junta government.
2. Congressional investigation into the involvement of American corporations in events leading up to the recent bloodbath.
3. United States government demand that human and trade union rights be restored.
4. United States assistance to Chileans seeking political asylum.
5. Government investigation and protest of the murder of Frank Teruggi, Jr., an American student killed by the junta.

Attending the meeting when the resolution was adopted were young members of the Steelworkers, Teachers, Laborers, Hospital Workers, AFSCME, Plumbers, and Furniture Workers unions.

BEATS A THINK TANK

To the Editors:

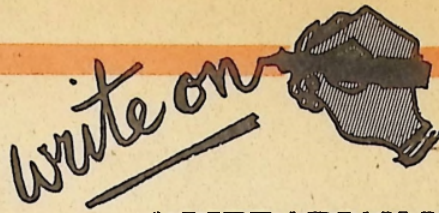
That was a great issue on how rank and filers can do research. Let me recommend a couple of books to your readers:

HOW TO READ A BALANCE SHEET, International Labor Office, 666 11th St., N.W., Washinton, D.C. 20001. \$2.00

WORK IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH, A HANDBOOK OF HEALTH HAZARDS IN THE WORKPLACE AND WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT THEM, by Jeanne M. Stellman and Susan M. Daum, Vintage Books, 457 Hohn Rd., Westminster, Md. 21157. \$1.95 & 25¢ for postage and handling = \$2.20.

The first book is a do-it-yourself, handy-dandy study course; the second book is very informative and practical.

Bob Phillipoff
Labor Research Association



A LIBRARIAN LIKES LT

To the Editors:

I am an employee of a university library which has a sub to LABOR TODAY. I'm the person who checks in the incoming periodicals when they arrive. As I was entering an issue of LT in the card file, I glanced over the articles and really liked them.

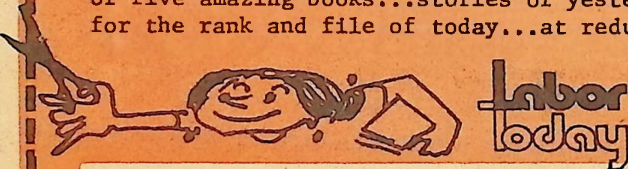
Please send me a year's sub, also a year's back issues. I want to see how you covered certain events, and would like to have my own copies instead of using the library's.

Thought you might be interested to know your university library subs can be fruitful.

Susan B. Matthews
Columbia, S.C.

SPECIAL SUB-PLUS-BOOK OFFER

LABOR TODAY'S PACKAGE OFFER: New or renewal sub to LABOR TODAY plus...YOUR CHOICE of five amazing books...stories of yesterday's rank and file struggles written for the rank and file of today...at reduced rates, including LT yearly sub.



REGULAR LT SUBS	BUNDLE RATES
...1 yr. \$2.50	Up to 100 copies
...2 yrs. \$5.00	15 cents each
...3 yrs. \$7.00	Up to 1,000 copies
...5 subs \$10.00	10 cents each
...foreign \$6.00	Up to 2,500 copies
	7 cents each

ENCLOSED IS _____
FOR _____

LABOR TODAY ASSOCIATES
343 S. Dearborn, Rm. 600
Chicago, Illinois 60604
Telephone 312/922-5560

Name _____

Address _____

Union _____ Local _____

- UNDER THE COVERS WITH THE CIA or AN ANALYSIS OF AFL-CIO'S ROLE IN LATIN AMERICA by Fred Hirsch, Local 393, Plumbers and Steamfitters \$3.50
- LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert Morais; the adventure story of the battles, betrayals and victories of U.S. working men and women \$4.50
- BLACK WORKER IN THE DEEP SOUTH by Hosea Hudson, a steel worker's story of the struggle to build the union in the south \$3.75
- WALLS AND BARS by Eugene Debs, the great labor leader's indictment of the prison system in the U.S., with a new introduction by Patrick E. Gorman, International Secy.-Treas., Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen \$5.00
- LABOR RADICAL by Len DeCaux, an epoch-making account of how the CIO happened to develop into a gigantic if transient political and economic force throughout the country, and how it happened to get killed, and by whom \$6.00