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the rank and file in action

Labor Today

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Volume 17, Nos. 7 and 8

July 1978



A storm
brewing:

**STEELWORKERS PREPARE
FOR CONVENTION**

Down the hatch

by NORM ROTH, Coordinator
Chicago TUAD

The failure of the Senate to gag Orrin Hatch and the other opponents of Labor Law Reform was a defeat for the labor movement. Any way you look at it, workers and their unions have taken it on the chin--again.

But it's not enough to say that--the trick is to understand why and then to figure out how to change things the next time around.

Hatch, Helms and Holling are as big a bunch of scoundrels as any whose presence ever disgraced the Senate chamber. Everybody can agree on that. But their "victory" was not just the result of the activity of a handful of willful men bent on returning labor-management relations to the dark ages of the 1930's.

NO WILD SCHEME

The proposals incorporated in S.2467 were not some wild scheme to give away the family jewels. Nor would they have delivered hapless millions of workers to "labor bosses". At best, they would have stopped the worst employer abuses in the conduct of organizing campaigns and representation elections.

So, the question arises: Why, if S.2467 left the "right to work" provisions of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act intact (and it did); and, if S.2467 left the secondary boycott provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act untouched (and it did); and, if S.2467 had no provisions to limit the growing intervention of the courts in labor disputes (and it didn't); then why did Corporate America raise so much hell (and



so much money) to assure its defeat? More importantly, how were they able to get away with it?

The legislation was the number one demand of the labor movement, AFL-CIO and independent. It had the blessing of the Carter Administration. (As a matter of fact, the AFL-CIO leadership had agreed to revision of the House-passed version to get that endorsement.) And still--downed by Hatch.

There are several reasons for the defeat of S.2467. They begin with the fact that Corporate America recognized that its collective interest was at stake--and they acted independently to protect that interest.

For them it's very simple. They are in the business of making money and strong unions will cost them some of it. So, as the debate droned on in the Senate, the sky above Washington National Airport was blackened with dozens of corporate jets bringing lobbyists and corporate executives to Washington in a mass campaign to stop the legislation.

Frankly, we don't blame them. We only wish that the labor movement had adopted the same strategy.

IT'S WORTH PONDERING

What if those who lead our labor movement had spent some of their time and our money organizing a mass lobby of rank and file trade unionists in Washington, D.C. over the Memorial Day weekend? What if they had organized mass meetings in a hundred major industrial cities where organized and unorganized workers could have had the chance to demonstrate their support of S.2467 and

where Senators would have been forced to make their intentions public?

Nobody says that it would have been easy or that a quarter of a million workers marching down Pennsylvania Avenue would have made it happen. But the Civil Rights Movement did these things in the '60's and they forced the Senate to pass the Civil Rights Act and other legislation that was enacted during those years.

It may have taken a million workers marching down Pennsylvania Avenue--but isn't the labor movement capable of doing what the peace movement did when they put millions of people into the streets--including a million in Washington--to force the Senate to accept its responsibility to end the war in Vietnam?

THE SAME OLD THING

It's not that Meany doesn't know this. It's that the labor leadership in this country--with but few honorable exceptions--rejects the idea of mobilizing the rank and file and leading them into struggle. Instead, they insist on doing what they've been doing

for years: They wheel and deal with the Senate leadership and they depend on the Administration.

At LABOR TODAY we're glad that Secretary of Labor Roy Marshall testified in support of S.2467. We're glad that President Carter gave it passing mention in a press conference or two.

But, after we look at the way Barry Boswell and Bob Strause are running around the country in an effort to saddle us with wage controls, we have to ask ourselves just how much the Administration really put into a campaign for S.2467. Or, after the way President Carter performed when it came to the sale of jet fighters in the Middle East, we have to ask just how hard he really worked for passage of S.2467.

We have nothing against presidential endorsements but to rely on them is to weaken the struggle. We think there are better ways. Why not bring a million workers to Washington? What better way to exert political clout and establish a measure of political independence? What better way to spend a weekend?

AN EDITORIAL

The Bakke decision

The Supreme Court's decision in the Bakke case was a set-back to the struggle for human and social progress. As such, it was a set-back for working people and for the labor movement. The decision, made possible in part because of the shrill support of some in the leadership of important unions, has given another boost to those who would divide the working class and weaken its ability to reverse the anti-labor, anti-people offensive against the living standards of workers and other poor people.

But, after saying that, we reject any argument that says the path toward economic and social equality for Blacks, Latinos and other national and racial minorities has been blocked for all time. It's just that, tough as it's been in the past, the battle

for meaningful affirmative action is going to be tougher--and more necessary--now.

We've always said, and we think it worth repeating, that Bakke was a willing tool (and probably a damn fool) who joined with corporate and other rightwing interests in a conspiracy aimed at rolling back the rather modest victories won in the long struggles against discrimination because of race, sex and political affiliation. His case was deliberately conducted in a way that would sew the most confusion in the ranks of working people with the ultimate aim being to drive wedges of suspicion and distrust between workers. From the start Bakke was put forward as a "defender" of the interests of white workers who had, somehow, all become victims of "reverse discrimination".

THURGOOD MARSHALL IS RIGHT

No trade unionist who is concerned with building a fightback against speed-up, against harassment, against lay-offs and in support of legislation to reduce the hours of labor without cutting wages will disagree with Thurgood Marshall, the only Black Negro in America is the tragic but inevitable consequence of centuries of unequal treatment. Measured by any benchmark of comfort or achievement, meaningful equality remains a distant dream for the Negro." Nor will any serious rank and file leader argue with Marshall when he says that, "The combined actions and inactions of State and Federal Government maintained the Negroes in a position of legal inferiority for (a) century after the Civil War."

It was acceptance of these facts, it was recognition of this reality by the overwhelming majority of workers that forced a reluctant Congress to pass the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960's. And, as a logical consequence of that, a majority of working people also recognized (and still recog-

(continued on page 2)



"If we'd plugged his side first, we'd all be better off!"

The Bakke decision

(continued from page 1)

nize) the need to establish affirmative action programs to ensure equal treatment and equal opportunity.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION NEEDED

We might wish, as many claim, that the sole justification for affirmative action is the need to right past wrongs. But wishing that racism will disappear has proven to be rather fruitless. Affirmative action is needed today to reverse today's discrimination; to overcome today's racist practices.

Despite all of the hullabaloo, there's no deep mystery about what is meant by affirmative action. It's nothing more than concrete programs to guarantee equal treatment under the law, a concept firmly grounded in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.



STATEMENT of PRINCIPLES

LABOR TODAY is an independent labor publication, written for trade unionists, by trade unionists.

LABOR TODAY seeks to unite the labor movement from top to bottom, leaders and rank and file, in a struggle to defend our unions, our jobs, and our standards of wages and working conditions.

OUR PROGRAM

Jobs

- Renew the struggle for shorter hours
- Ban compulsory overtime

Working class unity

- Outlaw racist practices on the shop floor--end accommodation to racism on the union floor
- End all discrimination against women and youth

Political independence

- Elect workers and trade unionists to public office
- Build a labor-community electoral and legislative coalition

Peace

- End the arms race--build homes, schools and hospitals
- Expand peaceful trade with all nations
- Establish relations with the world labor movement

Militant democratic unions

- Protect and extend the right to vote on all contracts
- Establish the right to elect stewards, bargaining and grievance committees, officers and convention delegates
- Guarantee the right of all members to participate in the conduct of union affairs -- remove all clauses from union constitutions that discriminate on the basis of political belief or affiliation.

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Nor is the concept of quotas as a necessary part of affirmative action some foreign import. When racist exclusion has existed for as many years as it has; when racist exclusion has been re-enforced by the "action and inaction" of government for as many years as it has, there's no way in hell that those who have been discriminated against can or should be expected to go along with vague promises of restitution.

BANKS HAVE QUOTAS

Consider a car note or a home mortgage. Doesn't the bank insist on a certain amount to be repaid--and isn't that a goal? Doesn't the bank insist that the money be paid by a certain date--and isn't that a timetable? Doesn't the bank insist on a definite payment each month--and isn't that a quota?

Then why should it be different when it comes to affirmative action programs to deal with discrimination? Why, if they are okay for banks and mortgage companies, is it not also right that there be numerical goals and timetables--that there be quotas, if it please the Court, in affirmative action programs? Or, put another way, how can there be real affirmative action programs without quotas?

We said earlier that the Bakke case had been deliberately conducted in a way calculated to confuse and divide. We think that most people reject these distortions but we are also mindful of the fact that many workers are convinced that there is something to this "reverse discrimination" thing.

RACISM HURTS ALL

To begin with, whites are victims of discrimination directed against minorities. Discrimination against Blacks and Latinos costs every worker money.

Consider the case of white workers in the south where open-shop employers have granted a near-monopoly on higher paying jobs to white workers.

If the majority of whites were beneficiaries of this kind of discrimination, it would be logical to expect that they would be better off financially than white workers who live in the north and west.

But that isn't the way it is. Per capita income of white southern workers was \$433 less than the national average in 1970 and there's no reason to believe that the gap has been closed by any significant amount since then.

So, when it's all added up, the more than 46 million whites who live in the south receive a total of 20½ billion dollars less than they would if their income were equal to the national average.

WE'LL CONTINUE TO FIGHT

At LABOR TODAY we plan to continue our participation in the battle against discrimination because of race, sex or political affiliation. We plan to continue our support for affirmative action backed up with quotas and timetables. And because we think that this fight must be conducted in the ranks of the labor movement, we will concentrate our energy in three areas:

1. We will work with rank and filers everywhere to protect and establish affirmative action programs in hiring and up-grading and, where necessary, we will work to modify seniority systems that reinforce past or present discrimination.

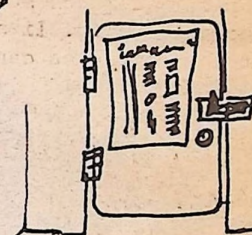
2. We will continue our participation in those movements to guarantee greater representation by Black, Latin and women members in positions of effective leadership and decision-making in the labor movement.

3. We will continue our efforts to build the movement for shorter hours with no reduction in income as the surest guarantee of protecting and creating jobs for all who need and want them.

We are confident that others will join us and that the infamy of June 28, 1978 will be erased from the record.



write on



A CRITICISM

Dear LABOR TODAY:

As a regular reader of LABOR TODAY, I have enjoyed Gaboury's column and have been pleased to see LT's continuing efforts to present workers with clear and relevant information on the economy.

In his May column, however, Gaboury showed the income of workers at constant dollars and the profits of corporations in current dollars. That approach seems a bit manipulative to me, and it provides pro-business types with an opportunity to point out the inconsistency and score a point or so. I imagine that workers are ready enough to believe that profits are too high--whatever their rate of growth--so that it isn't necessary to overstate the case.

In unity,

Pat Manning
 AFT Local 1493



GABOURY'S RESPONSE

Sister Manning is quite right -- I did mix the statistics.

I'm glad she appreciates our "continuing effort to present workers with clear and relevant information on the economy." The material we've published elsewhere in this issue is another of those efforts.

WOMEN STEELWORKERS

Dear LABOR TODAY Staff:

I clipped the article on women steelworkers from the March issue of L T and posted it in the "temporary bathroom" for women in the steel mill where I work.

I'm sure that we could go down the line and just about match our sisters at Burns Harbor, incident for incident. Unfortunately we have not made the progress that the sisters at Burns Harbor have made in winning the leadership of our local to fight for women workers. For this reason, especially, your article is a big help.

Management deliberately tries to isolate women in the mill by assigning them as far apart as possible. But we can see that unity can be built and that gains can be won.

I appreciate this issue so much that I'd like you to send me an additional 50 copies if you've still got that many to spare.

Sincerely,
 Liz Hrenda
 Harrisburg, Pa.

Steelworkers gear for convention

by SCOTT MARSHALL
National Field Organizer, TUAD

The 19th Constitutional Convention of the United Steel Workers of America takes place this September. On the one hand, the steel companies are in the midst of an all out offensive against steelworkers and their union, and on the other hand, the rank and file are increasingly ready to fight.

The company attack has 60,000 steelworkers on the streets, many permanently. It has the grievance machinery jammed and overloaded with harassment, discipline, and health and safety violation cases. In some plants as many as 90% of these cases are aimed at Black and minority workers, proof of the companies' game plan to divide and conquer. Add to this a daily diet of speedup, contracting out, job combination and forced overtime and "offensive" might not be a strong enough word.

Steel corporations are doing their part in the national big business drive to weaken the unions. Look at the attack on the miners, the campaign in the newspaper industry. These are but two that were big in the news. Here is the virtual defeat of the Labor Law Reform Act and the crippling of OSHA health warrant requirements toround out the picture. And in all this the steel industry in boast of a boom in profits, prices and inflation.

STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK

When there is the rank and file steelworkers side of the story. Take a quick look at some resolutions coming out of district conferences preparing for the national convention. In Spokane, Washington, District 38, over the recommendation of the resolutions committee, voted for the right of rank and file to ratify all contracts. In District 26, meeting in Youngstown, Ohio, the delegates voted for a fighting stance in shorter hours. And in District 31 in Chicago, Illinois, the delegates, over recommended non-concurrence, voted strong resolutions on affirmative action for Black, minority and women steelworkers, and for democratic nationalization of steel mills that the companies cannot or will not keep open and working.



The District 31 Conference passed a broad range of resolutions to the national convention. These included resolutions calling for an end to the arms race, for peace and detente, with the money saved to be used for full employment and the good of the people. Other resolutions covered such questions as support for the Labor Law Reform Act, an end to U.S. Steel's investment in racist South Africa, support for the just struggles of Black South African workers, and for the creation of an International Women's Department within the USWA.

ONLY THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

These resolutions are only the tip of the iceberg. Below, there are the many new currents that rallied around the Sadlowski-Montgomery slate in the International officers race--a race that the rank and file won in most of the largest locals of the union and in many smaller ones, too.

In Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Steubenville, Cleveland, Lorain, Youngstown, Gary and Chicago, to name a few of the larger areas, there have been rank and file meetings to prepare for the convention. Add the growing organized participation of women, especially in District 31, and the revitalization

(continued on page 6)

"We are bound to live with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement until 1980. But we must rid ourselves of it at the earliest possible moment. Any benefits it may have produced have all gone to the companies. Remember the jobs we were supposed to save by eliminating the strike threat? Where are they now? Instead, we see a growing attack on all labor by big business. We must prepare ourselves to retrieve our strongest weapon in 1980."

James Balanoff, Director District 31, USWA
From a speech delivered to the District 31 Conference

Resolution on
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
by District 31

- WHEREAS, affirmative action programs are a step toward achieving equality in employment practices for women and minorities; affirmative action is necessary to begin to compensate for the effects of discrimination and to move toward real equality; and
 - WHEREAS, the civil rights gains through affirmative action plans are being threatened by the Bakke case which claims that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination"; and
 - WHEREAS, it is of vital interest to all steelworkers to defend the benefits of current affirmative action programs and those of the Consent Decree as one positive way of fighting inequality; without affirmative action, women and national minorities are systematically denied their rights to an equal share of economic benefits;
 - THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the District 31 Women's Conference goes on record in support of the principle of affirmative action and in opposition to the Bakke decision; and
 - BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we strongly urge that our International Union go on record in support of affirmative action programs and in opposition to the Bakke decision.
- (Non-concurrence overridden.)

A National Steelworker Rank & File Committee CONVENTION PROGRAM

1. The shorter work week: Support for the All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week's program including passage of Congressman Conyers' H.R.11784 35-hour bill.
2. Affirmative action: Put the Consent Decree's quotas for minority and women workers into the contract.
3. ENA: End ENA for the right to ratify all contracts negotiated by the union and for the right to strike.
4. Referendum elections: Keep the referendum election of international officers.
5. Health and safety: Strengthen the union's ability to fight on health and safety issues, including the right to shut down unsafe operations.

George Edwards
Co-Chairman
National Steelworkers Rank & File Committee



Resolution on
SHORTER WORK WEEK
by District 26

- WHEREAS, a shorter workweek, with no cut in pay, is one of the major goals of the United Steelworkers; and
- WHEREAS, this goal has not as yet been achieved through contract negotiations
- NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that District 26 urges the United Steelworkers of America to develop a program to achieve, through national legislation, a shorter work week with no reduction in pay.

Resolution on
NATIONALIZATION
by District 31

- WHEREAS, the imports used by the companies to misdirect our aims and to cover up the actual cause of the loss of jobs in our industry; and
- WHEREAS, the price gouging of the industry is directly responsible for the depressed demand for steel; and
- WHEREAS, the speedup and change to new technologies is the reason for the loss of 200,000 steelworkers jobs since 1955; and
- WHEREAS, the jobs and people are more important than the profits of the corporation
- NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that District 31 supports the protection of steelworker jobs by
 1. Calling for a rollback of steel prices to reflect cost rather than greed.
 2. Support government programs to rebuild the railroads, urban transit systems and the cities as well as open trade with all of the world to increase the demand for steel.
 3. Nationalize the steel industry if the corporations cannot or will not run them.

Resolution on
RATIFICATION
by District 38

- WHEREAS, local union members have no voice in contract settlements; and
- WHEREAS, local union members have no voice in granting contract extensions or not granting them,
- NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that future contracts and/or contract extensions be ratified by the rank and file.

SELL-OUT IN NEW YORK

Bricklayers United leads

AN INTERVIEW WITH SID LANZAFAME,
Secretary-Treasurer, Bricklayers United

Most of our readers have little idea of how things are done in the Bricklayers Union. Perhaps it would be helpful if you would tell us a little bit about how your contracts are negotiated.

Seven Bricklayer locals make up the District Council of New York City and Long Island. Each is run--and I mean "run"--by a Business Agent and a Secretary.

Prior to 1975 our contracts were negotiated by a seven-member committee, with one man coming from each local and elected by the membership of his local. Although we never had a membership vote on the contracts, no contract was ever signed until its terms had been explained and until we were basically satisfied with it. That's the way it was until 1975, anyway.

What do you mean, "That's the way it was until 1975"?

What do I mean? Let's begin with the 1975 contract. We were to get a 35¢ raise on June 1, 1975 and another 35¢ raise on June 1, 1976. Then, on June 1, 1977 we'd get a 70¢ raise and our hourly rate would be \$11.04.

In addition to wages, we were getting an annuity of \$2.05 per hour as well as another 30¢ an hour that went to pay our vacations. These are our "fringes" and were negotiated years ago as an incentive to keep bricklayers in the trade--a trade where most earn a great deal less in the course of a year than these hourly wages would indicate.

Some time toward the end of October, 1975, the International moved in and established a "B" classification that covered a number of jobs--two-family homes, brick veneer jobs and the idea behind this was to combat the loss of jobs to non-union contractors.

Many of us believed our officials and went along with the program, even though it meant a loss of more than \$5.00 per hour. Under this new set up, the hourly rate for "B" jobs was cut 25% and contractors on these jobs were not required to pay either annuities or vacations.

Eventually--no, almost immediately--all

David Leonard,
President
Bricklayers
United



safeguards for determining a "B" job were pushed aside. Small shopping centers, then large shopping centers, rehabilitation work, department stores and luxury housing became eligible for this classification and the \$8.04 an hour wages that went with it. Eventually, "B" wages fell as much as 50¢ an hour below that of a laborer and the bricklayers' wages became the laughing stock of all other tradesmen in New York.

Close to \$6,000 had been stolen from our annual income by a mandate handed down by the President of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Crafts.

Damn! Didn't anybody try to do anything about it? Even in the Bricklayers there must be something that can be done.

I'll answer that in a minute but first let me say something more about that "B" situation.

These were eight-hour jobs, despite the fact that the 1975 agreement had language calling for consideration of a six-hour day/30-hour week should there be severe unemployment.

Now, back to your question. We put up with this situation until some time in March 1977 when, in an effort to keep such a sell-out from happening in the next round of negotiations, I began to study the International Constitution to determine if there were any provisions that would allow some kind of membership ratification of working agreements. It does, and by Novem-

ber 1977 I began to accumulate signatures to present to the Labor Board, demanding that our District Council give us this referendum on the next contract.

Well, that's a beginning. How did it go?

The petitioning went like wildfire. I collected 1,400 signatures from members in seven of the locals in less than four months. Keep in mind that there are only about 5,000 members in all seven locals and you can understand the feeling in the rank and file that the time had come to do something.

The late

A federal judge has to determine the validity of New York City bricklayers

The "B" rate has been dropped and are paying \$2.31 per hour on the 1978 contract--with its 14

The recent New York State and Allied Craftsmen adopted for membership ratification

But then the plot thickened. On October 28 our elected representatives who had begun the process of negotiating the 1978 contract were all fired without cause or explanation by Thomas F. Murphy, International President.

They were replaced by the Business Agents from the seven locals and, within three days, they signed a new contract.

Sure, the "B" category was dropped--but that was nothing that they did. The terms of the 1975 agreement had already provided that it would end on June 1 although the Business Agents had made some kind of a deal to extend it until December 31. However, it was thrown out in the contract that was to begin on June 1 -- but there was a clinker in the new contract: Wages were cut by 14 1/2 percent and there was no provision for a cost-of-living increase during the three-year contract. So, any way you look at it, by the time the contract was up,



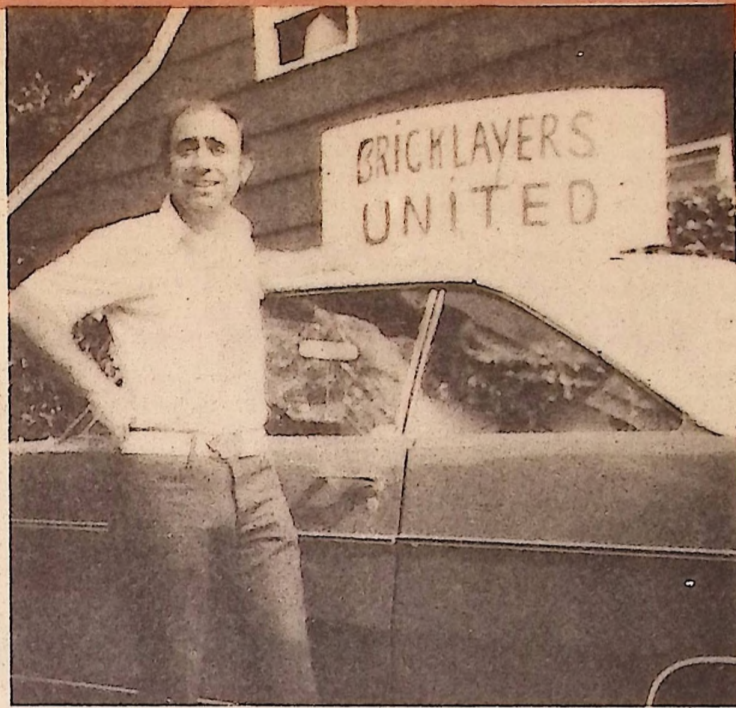
Bricklayers demonstrate to protest 14.5% wage cut.

fight back

we would all have taken a 45 percent cut! They gave with one hand and took away with the other and thought that we wouldn't be able to do anything about it!

Did you? No, make that, "What did you do?"

They signed that contract on November 4 and Bricklayers United was formed on November 21. We held four meetings before the first of the year and through our efforts four of the seven locals involved protested the contract and the arbitrary removal of our elected negotiators.



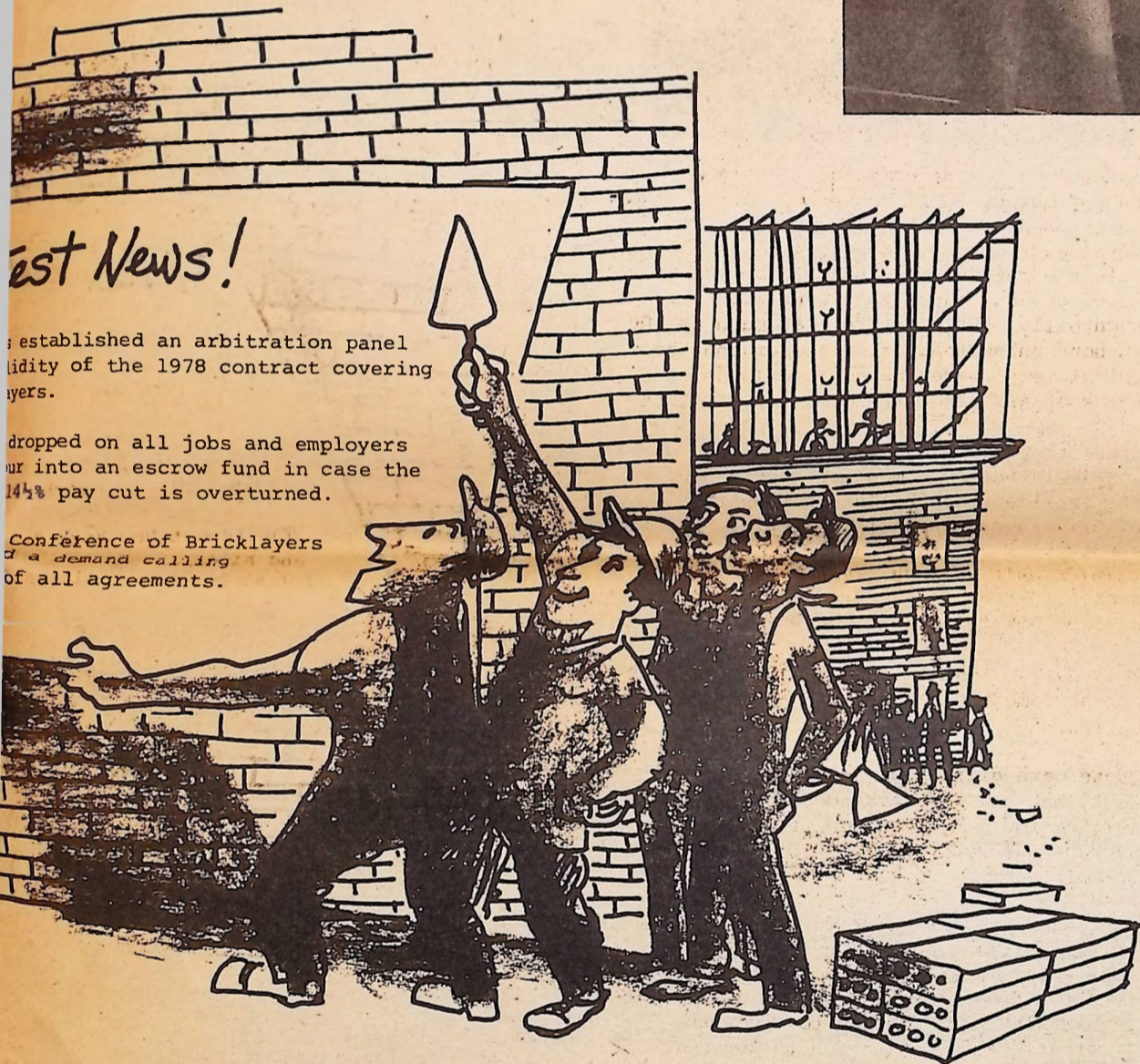
Sid Lanzafame

Best News!

established an arbitration panel for the validity of the 1978 contract covering all bricklayers.

dropped on all jobs and employers and put our money into an escrow fund in case the 14 1/2% pay cut is overturned.

Conference of Bricklayers and a demand calling for a review of all agreements.



In early January we had a mass meeting that was attended by hundreds of bricklayers and we agreed to continue the campaign by organizing a protest demonstration at the District Council a couple of weeks later. About 300 showed up and, when our demands were ignored, we went to court to try to have the contract thrown out.

It's not that we were really ignored. No, sir, President Murphy labeled us as troublemakers and assured us that there would be no new contract talks, no new demands, or any changes--and the next contract opening would be in 1981.

We were left with no choice but to institute a lawsuit, and we took them all to court: President Murphy, the International Union, the District Council, all seven Business Agents and the Associated Brick Mason Contractors of Greater New York, Inc.

We spent a couple of months trying to

reach some kind of a settlement but it was a stand-off. Finally, on March 23, the International was able to hold things up while the matter was taken to the International Union's Executive Board.

Well, that sounds like progress. What happened next?

We appeared before the Executive Board on April 4. They listened and told us they would give us an answer--which they did in court two days later.

The Board tried to have it both ways. They said that the International President had the power to remove the elected negotiators and that he had the power to put us in receivership. But they admitted that they had violated the procedures mandated by our International Constitution and by federal law.

As far as I can see the only reason for

doing this was to placate the contractors by assuring them that as far as the International was concerned, the sweetheart contract with its 14 1/2 percent wage cut would stand. They brought in the 10th Vice President--some guy named Thomas McIntyre from Boston--as the receiver, and as most of your readers know, receivers have a lot of power and Murphy has full power to negotiate contracts here.

They are a persistent bunch, aren't they?

Yes, but so are we and we went right back to court demanding that the judge clarify the status of the contract and the status of our elected negotiating committee.

Let's change the subject a little bit. How does Bricklayers United take care of business?

To begin with we have five officers who also act as the day-to-day leadership. We talk things over and make what you might call the operative decisions.

Then, whenever a major decision is needed, we call a mass meeting of bricklayers from all seven locals. We make a progress report, suggest some steps that we think should be taken, and ask for support.

As many as 300 people attend these meetings. We charge a couple of bucks to pay for the cost and we also have a dollar-a-year dues. But most of our money--and we've spent a lot of it--comes from bricklayers who have donated more than \$50 each. And just recently my own local voted to lend Bricklayers United \$25,000 to pay court costs!

What's going to happen to Bricklayers United when you get the contract straightened out?

We are going to keep right on going. In the first place we'll be a watchdog over the officers of our locals and district. We don't need to go through these fights every time the contract is negotiated.

Secondly, we are going to run for office. We've already made some progress. We've swept the delegates election to a statewide conference in two local unions and we're going to run for local union office in 1979. After all, the fight against sweetheart contracts and for decent representation and union democracy is the same fight and the problem doesn't end with our local of District Council.

Militancy and unity key

A militant five-day strike in early June prevented the NEW YORK NEWS from gutting the contract of the Newspaper Guild.

During the negotiations that preceded the strike, the conduct of the NEWS--the largest newspaper in the country--was par for the course these days: Foot dragging, "take away" demands (the NEWS had a list of 35 demands that would have seen the Guild giving up many hard-won conditions), rejection of a settlement proposed by the Mediation Service, while, all the time, making preparations for publication in the event of a strike with specially-trained management and supervisory personnel.

AN INJURY TO ONE...

The NEWS hoped to be able to take advantage of divisions between the unions that represent workers at the paper as well as to capitalize on divisions within the ranks of the Guild itself. But, as things developed, it didn't work out that way.

The printers, represented by New York Typographical Union No. 6, felt forced to cross the picket line under threat of having a long-term contract that runs until 1984 abrogated, along with its life-time job security provisions. But the Guild's lines were honored by the other craft unions, representing mailers, pressmen, paper handlers, engravers, electricians and machinists.

When the strike began, negotiations with NEWS delivery drivers represented by an independent union were near agreement. Drivers were split on the question of honoring the picket line, with one group, including the local's President, Douglas La Chance, crossing the lines, while a larger group of drivers refused to become scabs.

AIN'T GOING TO LET NO POLICEMAN...

New York's reactionary, anti-labor and racist mayor, Ed Koch, rushed to the support of the NEWS and surrounded the NEWS building with hundreds of police. The strikers and their friends refused to be intimidated and as many as 2,000 were on the picket line when the paper came off the press and the drivers were set to leave. Other Guild members from the NEW YORK TIMES, the POST and the DAILY WORLD joined the lines in a show of labor solidarity. Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women drew cheers when they paraded down the street singing "Solidarity Forever". On several occasions, strikers laid down in attempts to prevent trucks from leaving. At least 13 strikers were arrested and many others were beaten by the police. Several trucks were damaged and deliveries were delayed and the number of papers delivered was greatly reduced.

By the third day of the strike, the drivers were unanimous in a decision to honor the picket lines. This act of solidarity forced the NEWS to suspend publication and come to an agreement with the Guild.

Steelworkers (continued from page 6)

of the AdHoc Black Caucus and you have a glimpse of the major rank and file forces that will be at the convention.

STEEL CORPORATIONS WORRIED

As Brother George Edwards, head of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, put it when we talked to him recently, "The steel corporations will be watching this convention closely. They are worried about the rising fighting spirit among

THERE'S GOTTA BE SOME CHANGES

The NEW YORK NEWS strike shows that the American Newspaper Publishers Association's offensive against the unions in the newspaper industry can be stopped. It showed that militant unity between unions in the industry is possible. It once again demonstrates the need for amalgamation of all unions in the industry into a single industrial union.

The coming conventions of the Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union can begin the process of merger. They can, in so doing, mark an important turning point in bringing about that amalgamation.



50 Dividends That Have Outrun Inflation

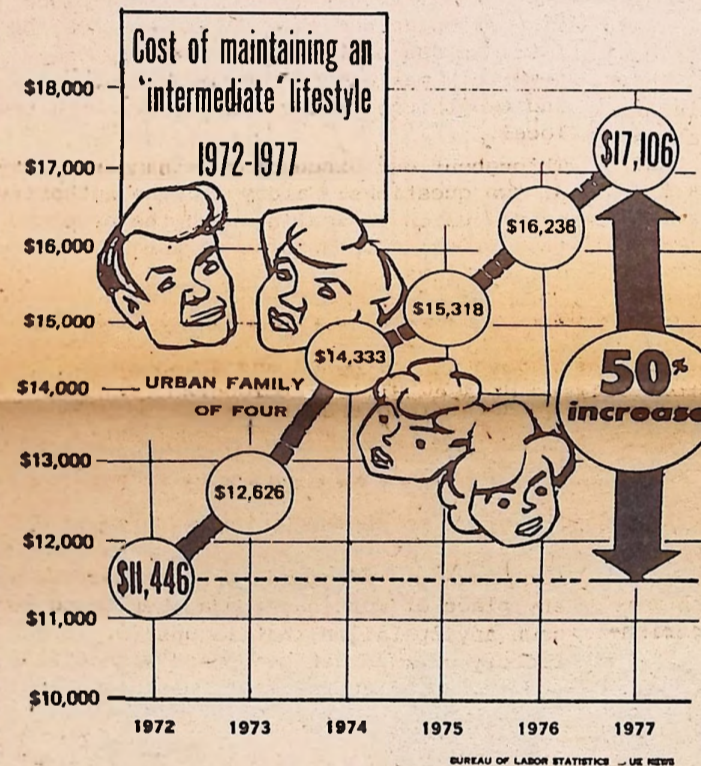
These firms, among other leading companies, more than doubled their dividend rate between 1970 and today. During the same period, consumer prices rose 66 percent.

Dividend Increase	
Brunswick	600%
Dart Industries	558%
Leaseway Transportation	527%
Blue Bell	367%
Gulf & Western	329%
Crane	311%
Sun Company	301%
Reading & Bates	300%
Esmark	283%
Northrop	260%
White Consolidated	259%
Nalco Chemical	254%
Jim Walter	250%
American Express	250%
Dennison	237%
Cone Mills	220%
Norris Industries	210%
Melville Corporation	209%
Hanes	204%
Union Camp	200%
IBM	200%
Thiokol	200%
Cabot	197%
Dow Chemical	177%
Colt Industries	175%
Koppers	175%
Kellogg	167%
Deere	160%
Vulcan Materials	160%
H. J. Heinz	156%
Diamond Shamrock	155%
American Home Products	152%
Standard Oil (Indiana)	143%
Coca-Cola	142%
Atlantic Richfield	140%
Lucky Stores	140%
Ethyl	138%
Emhart	134%
Colgate-Palmolive	131%
Minnesota Mining/Mfg.	129%
Kimberly-Clark	126%
Castle & Cooke	125%
Whirlpool	125%
United Technologies	122%
Quaker State Oil	120%
Gould	119%
Beatrice Foods	116%
Joy Manufacturing	114%
Cessna Aircraft	112%
Eagle-Picher	103%

from U.S. News & World Report

from UE NEWS

Urban Family Budget Costs Rise 50 Percent in 5 Years



THE COST of feeding, housing and caring for a family of four at an "intermediate" level in an urban area of the United States rose by another 5.4 percent last year, according to the latest figures of the U.S. Dept. of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). The costs of maintaining an urban family of four at a "higher" and "lower" standard of living also increased over the 1976-77 period — to \$25,202 and \$10,481 respectively.

The higher, intermediate and lower budgets set by the BLS include the costs of food, housing, transportation, clothing, medical and personal care, and social security and income taxes. The increase in the intermediate budget was \$900 last year, bringing the total increases over the past six years to \$5660 — a 50 percent rise from the autumn of 1972 to the autumn of 1977. The lower and higher budgets have increased at similar rates. These increases reflect the rising costs of goods and services that have been steadily draining workers' paychecks and reducing the real buying power of workers' wages.

Simply put, this all means that while it cost a family of four \$11,446 a year to maintain an "intermediate" standard of living in 1972 — it cost \$17,106 to maintain that same living standard in the autumn of 1977.

steelworkers. They are beginning to see that even a McBride can't keep a lid on the anger of steelworkers over company attacks.

"The convention program of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee is the kind of program that can unite forces at the convention. If we do our job, we can mount our own offensive against company attacks on our union and its members. We can continue the process of making the United Steel Workers a fighting union again. I think we are going to do our job."



Another quote from THURGOOD MARSHALL on the Bakke case

A Negro child today has a life expectancy which is shorter by more than five years than that of a white child. The Negro child's mother is over three times more likely to die of complications in childbirth, and the infant mortality rate for Negroes is nearly twice that for whites. The median income of the Negro family is only 60 per cent that of the median of a white family, and the percentage of Negroes who live in families with incomes below the poverty line is nearly four times greater than that of whites.

When the Negro child reaches working age, he finds that America offers him significantly less than it offers his white counterpart. For Negro adults, the unemployment rate is twice that of whites, and the unemployment rate for Negro teenagers is nearly three times that of white teenagers. A Negro male who completes four years of college can expect a median annual income of merely \$110 more than a white male who has only a high school diploma. Although Negroes represent 11.5 per cent of the population, they are only 1.2 per cent of the lawyers and judges, 2 per cent of the physicians, 2.3 per cent of the dentists, 1.1 per cent of the engineers and 2.6 per cent of the college and university professors.

THE RELATIONSHIP between those figures and the history of unequal treatment afforded to the Negro cannot be denied. At every point from birth to death the impact of the past is reflected in the still disfavored position of the Negro.

TUAD delegation visits USSR

by MARION CALLIGARIS and RAYFIELD MOOTY
Co-Chairmen, National TUAD

Last October, TUAD hosted a delegation of rank and file trade unionists from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on a five-city tour of the United States. We made a little history in the process, as our guests were the first formal delegation of Soviet trade unionists ever granted entry to the United States.

One of the delegation members was Maria Sadova, a member of the Trade Union Committee of the Zil automobile factory in Moscow, and in June the Zil Trade Union Committee invited a TUAD delegation to visit the Soviet Union.

We were gone two weeks and traveled to Moscow, Novgorod, Rostov on the Don, and Volgograd. We did our share of sightseeing--there's a lot to see in a country that is 11 time-zones wide and has a history that reaches back more than a thousand years--but we spent most of our time talking to workers and trade unionists. We visited a coal mine, a logging-lumber complex, a

* "Everywhere we went, the first and last toast was to peace and friendship *
* between our two countries. After visiting Mamayev Hill at Volgograd, I can *
* understand why every Soviet citizen is so determined that there not be *
* another war." *

collective farm and, of course, the Zil factory. We visited workers' homes, paid our respects at Lenin's tomb and laid wreaths at monuments commemorating the more than 20 million Soviet citizens who perished during World War II.

OUR QUESTIONS WERE ANSWERED

Everywhere--and it made no difference if we were sitting in a miner's home near Rostov



At a coal mine in the Rostov Region

or meeting with officials of the All Unions Council of Trade Unions--we asked questions and we got answers.

To begin with, more than 120 million workers belong to one or another of the 30 different branch unions in the Soviet Union. (A branch union corresponds to an international union in the United States.) Nearly 100% of the eligible workers in manufacturing industries belong to unions as do about 98% of what we'd call "public employees." More than 14 million agricultural workers have joined unions since legislation authorizing workers on collective farms to join unions was passed in 1976.

Laying a wreath for the fallen at Novgorod



* "After meeting with trade unionists in four cities, we came away impressed *
* by the optimism that our friends in the USSR have for the future. They are *
* proud of what they have and of what they are building--and they have every *
* right to that pride. They look forward to expanded contacts with U.S. *
* workers and with U.S. unions." *

All unions in the USSR are industrial unions and all workers in the same place of work organized into one of the 700,000 local unions that presently exist. Dues come to a maximum of one percent of wages and two-thirds of the money stays with the local.

Throughout our discussion we hammered away at two questions: Safety and the authority of the union in dealing with the problems that arise in the course of solving everyday problems.

AUTHORITY TO SHUT DOWN UNSAFE OPERATIONS

For instance: The Trade Union Committee in any place of work has the authority to shut down any operation that is unsafe. No new factory or mine can be opened without first receiving the approval of the union involved.

There are 6,000 full-time technical inspectors on the payroll of the trade unions (the money for these inspectors comes from industry) who are backed up by volunteer

* "In both the U.S. and the USSR, unions perform many of the same functions: *
* they negotiate working agreements, they enforce those agreements, they *
* initiate legislation. If there are differences--and there are--they are in *
* the additional authority and responsibility exercised by unions over there. *
* Can you imagine the federal government giving the AFL-CIO twice as much *
* money as the Pentagon to provide for the social, recreational and health *
* needs of workers? Well, that's what happens in the USSR." *

* "We were impressed with the role of the trade unions in the lives of a *
* healthy, happy people who were obviously enjoying a good life. The attention *
* given to meeting the concerns and needs of children and young people deserves *
* special mention." *

committees in every mine, mill and factory. In 1976 there were 4,000 safety-related plant or departmental closures in the Soviet Union and in each case the workers involved were paid their normal wage until the problem was corrected.

(Another measure of the effectiveness of Soviet trade unions in enforcing safety is the figure for fatalities among the more than 100,000 coal miners working in the Don Region. When we talked to the head of the

Miners' Union, he apologized for the union's inability to get the number of fatal injuries below the present level of three or four a year. In the course of the discussion, we were told of a mine explosion in 1957 that saw eight miners perish in what was the worst mine disaster in the area since the end of the war.)

SAFETY IN THE LOGGING CAMPS

When we visited the logging-lumber complex north of Novgorod, we got another look at the question of safety enforcement and how, when the chips are down, the union has the final say in how things are resolved.

A week or so before we arrived, there had been a serious accident in the sawmill that resulted in a worker suffering a fractured arm. After an investigation by the Trade Union Committee--the president of the Committee works full time for the union as do about six percent of all elected trade union officials--the plant manager was asked to remove the head of the department where the accident occurred.

The manager didn't think the union was on firm ground but--and this happened in 10,000 instances in 1976--the union had the final say in the matter and the individual was demoted and transferred out of the department.

INTERESTS OF SOVIETS DEFENDED BY UNIONS

Before we left the Soviet Union, we called a press conference where we spoke of our experiences. We said then, and we say it now: We were impressed by what we saw: by the absence of speed-up and coercion, by the high level of technology and the overriding concern for safety. It is obvious to any who look with open eyes that the interests of Soviet workers are defended by powerful trade unions led by diligent and dedicated leaders.

A note from Naurice

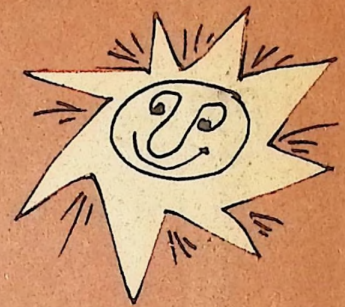
If any of you have been wondering why this issue is so late, the answer is very simple. Our editor was traveling in the Soviet union and ... well, no one can do two things at once. We promise to get back on schedule with the next issue.

As you know, there will be no August issue and so don't get worried if no LT comes next month.

This doesn't mean that we won't be busy in August. To begin with, I will be working with our mailer in an effort to straighten out the problems that we are still having with the mail, especially with our bundles. Also, we are going to investigate the possibility of sending our larger bundles by UPS. When more information is available I'll tell you about it and then we'll see what to do.

Sometime toward the end of July, we will be writing to each of our mail subscribers to ask that they join in a sub-campaign during August and September. If each of you were to get one subscription during that time we could double our mail circulation by the first of October.

We are also planning to resume the sale of books in time to help solve your Xmas shopping problems. To start with, we will be offering Len De Caux's latest --



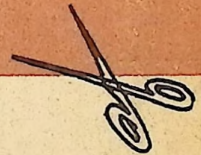
it's a history of the IWW -- and Micheal Meyerson's , NOTHING COULD BE FINER, which deals with the situation in North Carolina.

Thanks to Sandy for setting all those headlines.

See you in September!



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