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the rank and file in action

Labor Today

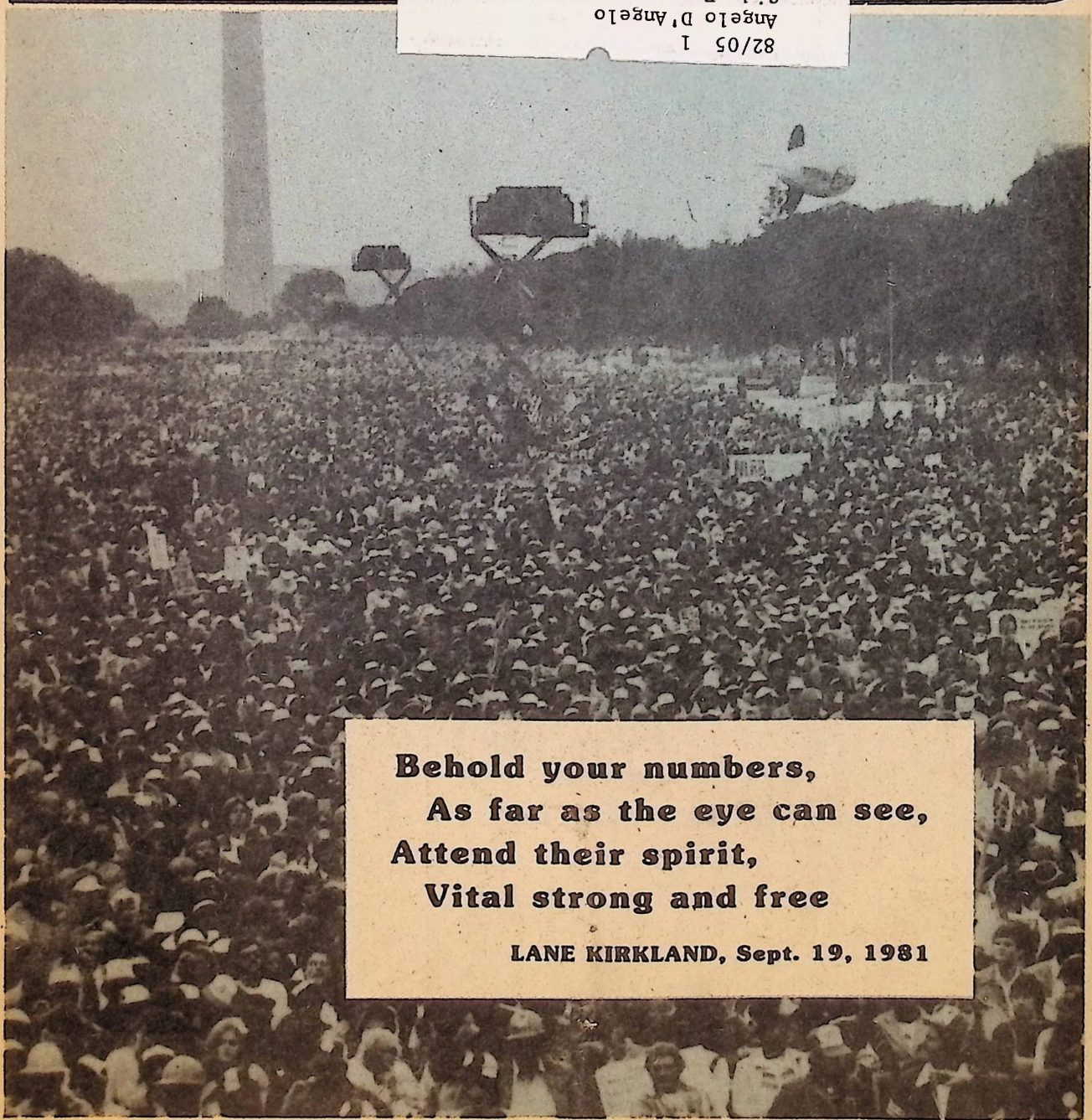
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82/05 I
Angelo D'Angelo
Side Entrance
96 Gary Pl
Staten Island NY 10314

Volume 20, No. 10

November 1981



**Behold your numbers,
As far as the eye can see,
Attend their spirit,
Vital strong and free**

LANE KIRKLAND, Sept. 19, 1981

Well done -- What now?

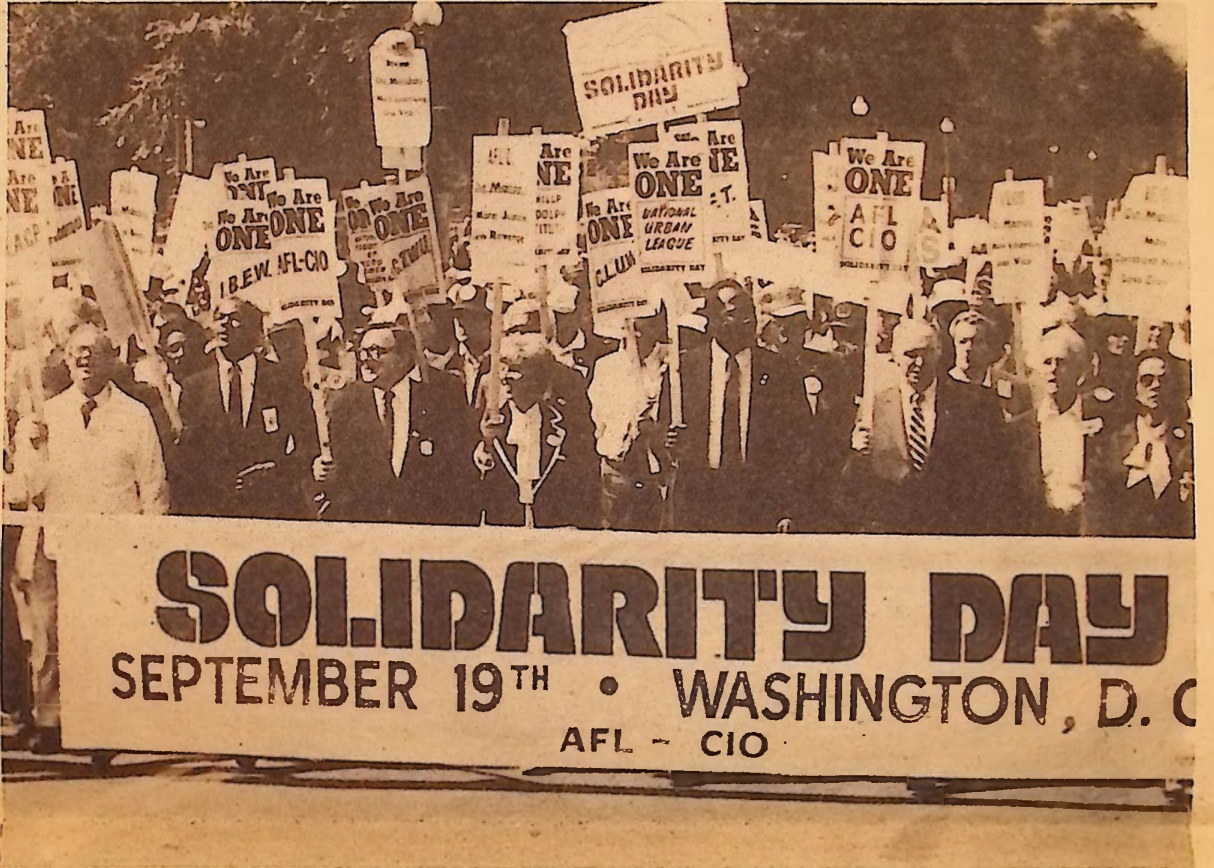
By any measure Solidarity Day was a success: perhaps the largest, certainly the most representative, the broadest and the best organized demonstration ever to march in the streets of our nation's capital. It was worth all of the work that went into it, from sowing the seeds that eventually blossomed into a demonstration of a half-million plus to the nitty gritty work of making sure there were enough "jiffy-johns" and that the right people got onto the right buses at the right time. Neither the labor movement nor those who participated will ever be the same again.

The militancy, the unity, the confidence, pride, determination and yes, joy, of those who overcame countless obstacles to march in Washington provides the basis for a new level of activity by the labor movement in the days and months ahead.

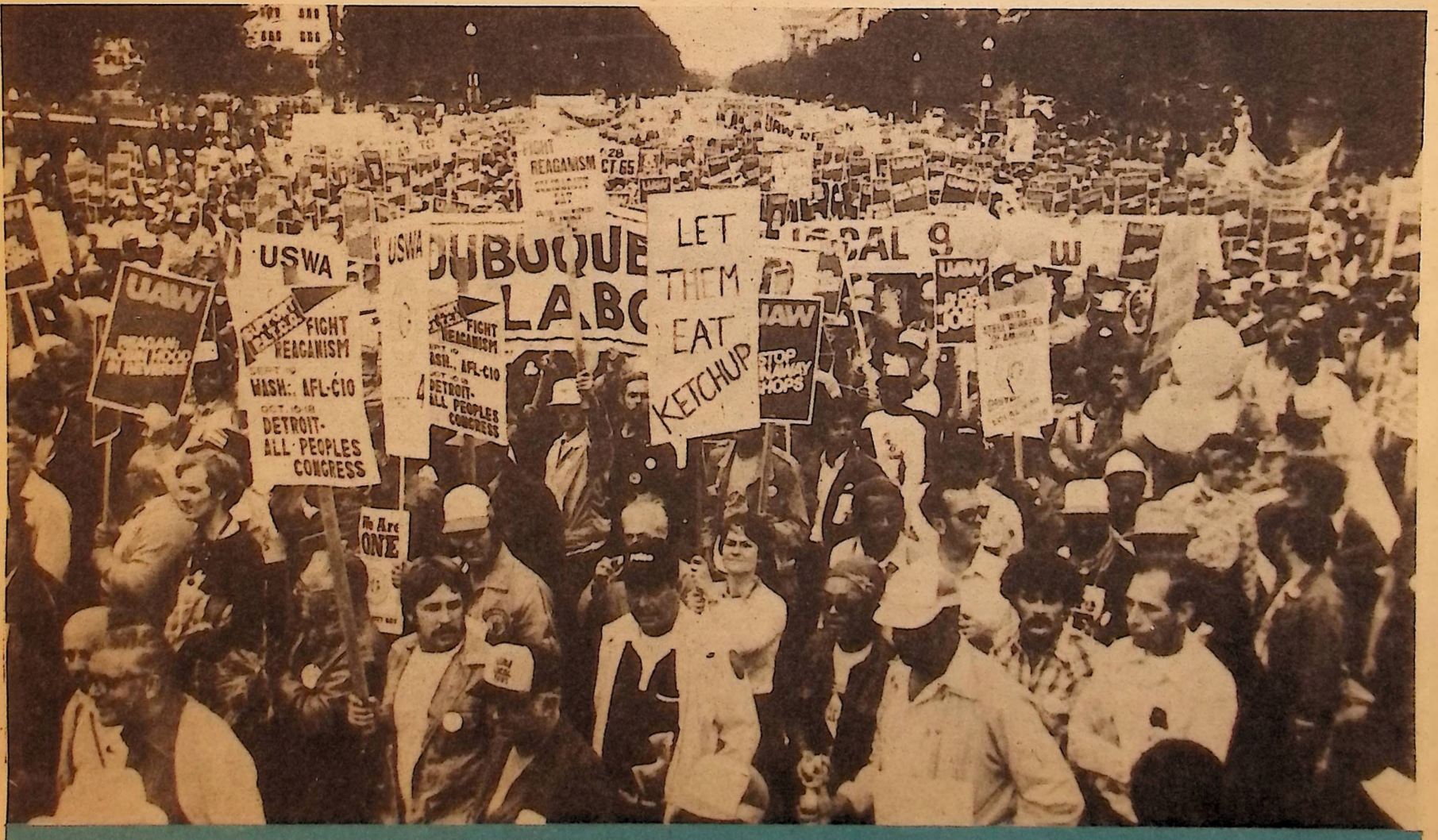
If properly nurtured, if the initiatives that resulted in the formation of the Solidarity Day Coalition are continued, then the labor movement, together with its allies, can become a power in our land capable of taking on -- and winning -- the challenges that loom before us. If properly built, the Solidarity Day Coalition can do more than fight defensive actions. It can launch new campaigns to organize the unorganized, shorten the work week, outlaw *plant closings*, cut the military budget, and strengthen affirmative action programs.

But questions arise: How do we preserve what we've built? How do we broaden the base of the Solidarity Day Coalition by anchoring it in the ranks of the labor movement and sinking its roots in the community? Around which issues shall we build -- and how should we pursue them? And, as is always the case, questions are easier to ask than to answer.

(continued on page 5)



National Mall—from left: Benjamin Hooks, executive director of NAACP; Mayor Marion Barry of Washington, D.C.; AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Mrs. Irena Kirkland; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of National Urban League; AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue; Federation Vice President Peter Bommarito; Coretta Scott King, president of Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change, and Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of Southern Christian Leadership Conference.



MORE TRICKLE-DOWN SOLUTIONS



Welcome to the "Enterprise Zone"

Reprinted from UAW publication, *Solidarity*, September 1981 on a new approach to rejuvenating business raises serious questions for workers.



To someone trapped in one of the distressed neighborhoods that blot America's urban landscape, the idea sounds deceptively simple.

Why not give private corporations massive incentives to re-open the boarded-up plants, pave the weed-covered lots, and provide work for the jobless?

Start with especially hard-hit areas. Give business sharp tax reductions if they'll set up shop and hire workers in these islands of distress. Maybe even let them pay less than the minimum wage, or avoid zoning regulations and safety standards.

The payoff? More jobs and a stronger economy. Sounds interesting, doesn't it?

In a nutshell, that's the underlying approach to the "Enterprise Zone" idea which, in one form or another, has cropped up in over 70 federal and state legislative bills ever since 1979, when Dr. Stuart Butler of the conservative Heritage Foundation introduced the plan to the US.

WHAT'S THE CATCH?

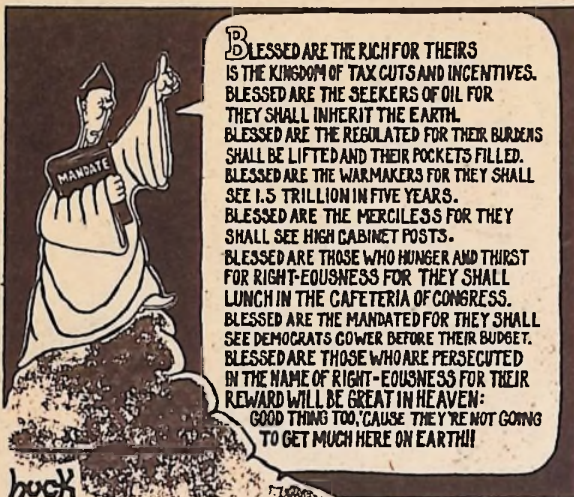
Peter Hall, the British economist who originated the Enterprise Zone concept, calls it "fairly shameless free enterprise." Judging from some of the proposals that have been put forth in its name, he's right.

For example, Enterprise Zone legislation now before Congress would allow businesses who set up shop in such zones to deduct half their gross receipts from taxable income and pay nothing in federal capital-gains taxes. Local communities would be encouraged to provide businesses in Enterprise Zones with tax abatements and "relief" from regulations.

Like most of the Reagan Administration's economic program, Enterprise Zones represent "trickle down" economics in its most elementary form: Fatten business with more sweeteners, and maybe the rest of us will get some of the droppings.

Unfortunately, Enterprise Zones have an ever more insidious side. As formulated in some of the bills introduced in state legislatures, they could once again turn workplaces into sweatshops.

Legislative proposals have called for exempting Enterprise Zones from environmental controls, OSHA regulation, and full Social Security coverage. In Illinois, one bill called for cutting back workers' compensation and unemployment-insurance benefits from current state levels, and banning union-shop contracts inside Enterprise Zones, even if a majority of a company's workers



wanted it. As of now, that provision has been eliminated thanks to massive lobbying efforts by labor.

KEMP-GARCIA PLAN

Currently, the most visible piece of Enterprise Zone legislation is the "Urban Enterprise Zone Act," cosponsored by conservative Republican Rep. Jack Kemp (of Kemp-Roth tax-bill fame) and Democrat Robert Garcia, both of New York.

Their bill calls for creating between 10 and 25 Enterprise Zones each year in distressed areas having at least 4,000 residents, 70 percent of whom are classified as "poor." The zones would be limited to areas with a jobless rate 50 percent higher than the national average.

To qualify for the tax cuts and possible "relief" from local regulations, Kemp-Garcia would require businesses locating in Enterprise Zones to hire a workforce 40 percent of which met the qualifications for CETA employment.

As it now stands, Kemp-Garcia does not call for any federal deregulation in such zones. But Kemp is under pressure from his conservative colleagues to eliminate at least federal minimum-wage protection in the zones. Garcia says he'll withdraw his sponsorship if any federal deregulation is included.

WILL THERE REALLY BE NEW JOBS?

Most surveys of why businesses choose certain locations show that tax breaks rank far down the list. More important are good transportation, a qualified workforce, and good public services.

It's doubtful, therefore, that Enterprise Zones simply offering federal tax incentives and local regulatory "relief" would bring in massive investments. They might simply attract nearby businesses who would pack up shop and move down the street to the zone, bringing their old workforce with them. Not only would no new jobs be created, but the community's tax base could be eroded, and workers could run the risk of even lower wages and unsafe working conditions.

Other firms might move only their high-volume, low-employment sections -- like sales offices, warehouses, or distribution offices -- in order to take advantage of the tax relief on income.

In short, business could get all the breaks, employees could take all the risks, and local communities could be left holding an empty bag.

WHAT NEXT?

Once the proponents of Enterprise Zones find that "moderate" legislation like Kemp-Garcia isn't going to encourage much new urban investment, what will happen?

One obvious danger is that the Reagan Administration, guided by the Enterprise Zone plank in the 1980 Republican platform, will opt

for more extreme versions -- including banning minimum-wage requirements in the zones, lifting OSHA regulations, and promoting "Right to Work" rules.

For business, always looking for ways to cut labor costs and avoid regulations, these attractions could work. Indeed the "free-trade" zones in the Philippines, Singapore, and elsewhere, with their low wages and curbs on unions, could become a pattern for Enterprise Zones here. Sam Brown, former head of ACTION, calls Enterprise Zones "colonialism brought home."

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

If Enterprise Zones aren't the solution to the urban economic crisis, what is?

For years, unions like the UAW have urged a system of democratic national planning to help stabilize the economy and attack unemployment. Government, they argue, has the duty to formulate broad social goals, and then assure that the incentives and deterrents that it provides the private sector are consistent with such goals.

For example, while the UAW doesn't oppose certain kinds of tax credits to private business, there ought to be accountability to the public, in return.

Acceptable incentives could include a national Development Bank to help finance investment in distressed areas -- without the loopholes and deregulatory dangers of Enterprise Zones.

Democratic national planning also would mean greater consideration for targeting hard-hit areas for the location of new federal facilities, granting defense contracts, or allocating dollars for research and development.

On the deterrent side, government could control runaway shops by denying federal loans and tax credits for any investment project that merely transferred jobs from one site to another.



A federal ban on all state and local tax reductions or incentives that "bribe" businesses to particular areas also could be institute, to halt the "cannibalizing" of industry by competition among states and cities.

GUARANTEES AND ACCOUNTABILITY NEEDED

America won't be rebuilt by creating a checkerboard of "Enterprise Zones" in which business is free to do what it pleases. It will take a coordinated program of democratic national planning, with built-in guarantees and accountability to stem the blight that still mars the country's urban landscape.

FOR EXAMPLE

Public Assistance for WHAT?

County funds are being used to build a Toyota dealership in St. Louis, Mo. -- a bizarre example of how public money can be used to subsidize questionable private enterprise.

Over the objections of UAW members, the St. Louis County Industrial Development Authority issued \$865,000 in bonds to finance construction and equipment for the dealership. Over 7,000 St. Louis UAW members have been laid off, many as a result of import competition.



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The PATCO STRIKE

by Lucius B. Gravelly, IV
President-Local 316
Chicago-O'Hare, PATCO

While it may be that air traffic control is a difficult concept to understand, it should not be too difficult to understand the half-truths and real lies that have been told by the Administration. We only have to look back to the "body counts" of the Vietnam era to realize that. At that time, if an intelligent person had taken the time to do simple arithmetic, one could have seen that we had killed the populace of North Vietnam several times over. The concerned public should, now as then, be very skeptical of figures and percentages passed out by an Administration that is openly hostile to labor and the controllers in particular.

Let us begin by examining some of these numbers to refresh everyone's memory and educate those who never heard:

... In high density areas, a single controller often has the responsibility for the lives of 2,000 people at one time.

... The life expectancy of a controller in a major, high-density facility is 56 years.

... Only 11 percent of all controllers last to see a normal 20-25 year retirement program; 89 percent do not.

... By comparison, commercial airline pilots can fly to age 60 and only 20 percent do not make it to retirement age.

The way controllers cope is to accept management jobs as supervisors with few people to supervise or office jobs with useless papers to manage. The controllers who were too tired or too scared to continue controlling live traffic are now the ones who are controlling traffic.

"There were 3,000 too many controllers anyway," said the Reagan Administration. So they fired 11,600, and some of the manpower shortfall is being made up by 3,000 supervisors. Were the jobs necessary and essential? The obvious answer to a thinking person is that it is those 3,000 supervisors who weren't necessary.



OVERKILL

The real shortage is now, and always has been, that of skilled controllers. Controller training has always been a real problem. The countrywide training failure rate is around 50 percent. At busy facilities it is often over 70 percent. If the Government plans to replace 8,000 controllers, as they say, how long is it really going to take?

Faced with the normal attrition rate, the 21 months that Drew Lewis has publicly stated to rebuild the system is a bold-faced lie! Included in the lie is the vast amount of money the FAA intends to spend on automation -- as though it will require less controllers. Unfortunately, the automation that has already been implemented has required just as many, if not more, controllers to work the air traffic system. The main reason is that no one consulted the

controllers as to the way the automation was to be used. Controllers have never set the staffing required to run the system -- the FAA has.

The minimum time needed to rebuild the system to some semblance of its former level of competence is 3 to 5 years and it will cost the FAA \$1.2 billion, far in excess of the total demands formulated by PATCO. This also assumes that all 8,000 people who survive training will become skilled controllers -- not just 8,000 warm bodies who manage to meet minimum requirements.

Controllers have documented certain deficiencies in the system for years and have not been listened to. This author has served on many committees related to safety and has seen nothing change unless the FAA wanted to in the first place.

When the first "contract" was given to the PATCO membership for ratification in June, the safety issue was left in the hands of the FAA and not the controllers.

It was never the controllers' desire to see over 20,000 fellow air system related workers fired as flights were cut. We never wanted to be the ones blamed for the current recession that the government has fostered. And we also deny the lie that we would deliberately do something dangerous with aircraft to further our own cause. Our main desire was to see a safe system, with limits on the traffic and equipment based on safety instead of public relations considerations. We wanted an occupation with a less hectic pace so that we could live to retirement.

The controllers of this country were the most productive of any in the public sector and by far the most efficient of any of their counterparts in the world. They were loyal, highly-intelligent and innovative people. They were not "quitters." They walked away from their jobs because they felt they had no input as the actual operators of the system.

The controller felt on August 3 and still feels that, not only was no one in the Department of Transportation listening, but that no one there even cared. And the facts cannot be denied. Even with the great reduction in traffic, the airspace system of the US is far less efficient than it was. Based on facts gathered from all sources, it is also less safe. That, friends, is the bottom line.

Let us hope that it doesn't take a fatal accident to highlight the mistake the President made.

JUST WHEN YOU THOUGHT IT WAS SAFE TO GO BACK IN THE SKY

The following conversation occurred at 10:55 AM, Tuesday, September 8, as Republic Flight 215 was coming in for a landing at Fort Lauderdale. A tape of the conversation was leaked from the Miami control tower to a local television station, then played on NBC's "Today" show. The FAA protested the "unauthorized broadcast" but did not deny that the conversation occurred.

REPUBLIC 215 PILOT: Yes, sir, we did just barely miss a Baron [a Beechcraft Baron, a private plane].

MIAMI AIR ROUTE TRAFFIC CONTROL CENTER: Did what, sir?

PILOT: We just missed a Baron, by about 15 feet.

CENTER: Republic 215, turn on heading 270 VFR right down on

PILOT: Yes sir, 270. Did you ever see him down there?

CENTER: No, sir, I didn't. The only thing I see appears to be on the pattern at Executive [a nearby private airport].

PILOT: I could see the rivets on his cowling. He must have been at about 4500 feet. He looked like he was fixing to go upside down when I saw him.

CENTER: I don't see a thing. I see one aircraft. It looks like it's in the pattern now. Another one about a mile east of Executive Airport is all I've got.

PILOT: OK, we're just right on him.

Source: *Boston Globe*, 9/10/81

"Unionists in Reaganland"

A recent article by A.H. Raskin has drawn much attention. For many decades, Raskin has been the leading reporter of the labor movement for big business. He has everybody's ear, he knows where the bodies are buried. LABOR TODAY asked Jim Williams to review Raskin's article and its significance for the rank and file.

by Jim Williams

A recent article "Unionist in Reaganland" in the September 7 New Yorker is drawing attention



Jim Williams

from observers of the labor scene. Its author, A.H. Raskin, is the former labor writer for the New York Times and is considered the Dean of US labor reporters. His views carry weight -- particularly upon the affluent readers of the posh New Yorker.

Raskin describes new trends that are emerging in the labor movement that have led to a new display of militancy, culminating in Solidarity Day, noting that the "AFL-CIO's top leadership has set aside its traditional abhorrence of mass protest" and that AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland is acting in ways that must have former President George Meany spinning in his grave.

Raskin notes that Kirkland spent the first six months of his term as President "communicating with the rank and file," plucking himself and AFL-CIO topiders "out of their insulated offices two blocks from the White House to ride circuit in a manner that would have been deemed unthinkable in the quarter-century of magisterial rule exercised over the movement by George Meany."

It was at a series of meetings held around the country, with no-holds-barred discussions, that the sentiment for a march on Washington emerged in a commanding fashion.

Kirkland also took steps clearly out of the Meany ("I-Never-Walked-A-Picket-Line") tradition when he joined a United Mine Workers picket line outside the White House denouncing cuts in Black Lung benefits. Kirkland's "participation in a mass demonstration initiated by an organization that has been in self-exile from the AFL-CIO," Raskin writes, "represented the most radical departure that Kirkland has yet made from the AFL-CIO tradition long consecrated by Meany." In months that followed, Kirkland aligned himself with demonstrations by thousands of railroad workers denouncing cuts in Conrail and Amtrak, and textile workers protesting cuts in brown-lung benefits. Kirkland also hauled the entire AFL-CIO Executive Council down to join a PATCO picket line in Chicago.

In setting the pace for the Solidarity March, Kirkland rejected as "revolutionary defeatism" proposals that the AFL-CIO let Reagan carry out his programs so that workers could learn from bitter experience the meaning of Reagan's policies. Kirkland sided with those who called for an inclusive march that would involve the civil rights organizations, community organizations, and even, TUAD.

Another departure from Meany, Raskin notes, is Kirkland's initiative "to involve the federation in

the life stream of the Democratic Party." Meany had backed away from the Democrats in 1972 when they nominated George McGovern, and the AFL-CIO had not played an activist role in 1976. Kirkland has decided that the AFL-CIO should become involved actively in the candidate selection process -- backing a candidate in the Democratic Presidential primaries. Kirkland, according to Raskin, became a "prime mover" in electing the Chairman of the Democratic Party and winning inclusion of 15 union leaders on the National Democratic Committee, five of whom serve on the Executive Committee.

Kirkland has named a new committee of the AFL-CIO to further explore its political action approach, including the socialist President of the Machinists William Winpisinger.

While Kirkland's steps are an advance over Meany's, by seeking a voice for the federation in selection of Democratic candidates, "for Kirkland, a labor party presents no part of the answer," Raskin notes.

Winpisinger disagrees with Kirkland, calling for the building of a political coalition that involves grass roots groups, peace groups, led by the labor movement. "If you're rebuffed," Winpisinger told Raskin, "you should not close the last resort of forming a labor party, with whatever allies you can find."

Raskin notes the existence of two trends within the labor movement at present, one which is a "nonideological upholder of establishment values within the capitalist system -- a role in which American labor stands alone among the union



movements of the Western industrial democracies." The other trend, Raskin says is that of "social-reformer crusading against the moneyed interests for a better life for the downtrodden."

The traditional role of the labor movement is being challenged by the course of events, Raskin states. "In the 1950s and '60s, an expanding economy provided the underpinning of abundance that permitted labor and industry to count on higher wages and profits without making American goods unsalable in world markets." However, in the current period, "the economic pie is shrinking, productivity is falling and many employers have embarked on sophisticated union-busting campaigns."

Along with newly-developed militancy, Raskin notes another tendency in Kirkland, one more

familiar to our readers -- that of collaborator with the big corporations. Kirkland has organized the Labor-Management Group, "the most ambitious mechanism ever created in this country to harmonize the ideas of big business and big labor on approaches to just the kind of public policy questions that are at the heart of the current political debate."

Business members of this new group include executives from Exxon, General Motors, Citicorp, Bechtel, Union Pacific, TRW and Carter-Hawley. Kirkland's co-chair is Clifton C. Garvin, chairman of Exxon. The behind-the-scenes organizer of the group which "meets behind closed doors" is John Dunlop, former Secretary of Labor under Gerald Ford. One of the problems Kirkland has encountered, Raskin notes, is getting the business participants to agree to a statement that labor has a right to exist.

IAM President Winpisinger disagrees with working with these groups. "They don't want to live with us -- they want us gone," he told Raskin, saying it could mean suicide for unions. "We are always being told, 'you can't bite the hand that feeds you,'" Winpisinger stated, "Are we going to be blackmailed every day of our life by threats that our people will have no jobs if we don't line up with the companies that stab us in the back every time they get a chance, as they did on labor-law reform?"

Raskin's article ranges far, but these excerpts give a sense of the wealth of material therein. Raskin senses not only that a growth of the rank and file movement is having an impact on thinking among labor's topiders, but that the offensive of the Reagan Administration has forced a number of these leaders to abandon a do-nothing approach.

Raskin further notes that "the resultant worsening of both inflation and joblessness may bring within a year or two a sharp turn toward resistance tactics of the kind that labor now forbears to use."

"Already, at unionism's grassroots," Raskin says, "there is much grumbling about too much 'statesmanship' by union leaders." Raskin further notes that "docility is unlikely to be the permanent attitude of other unionists if they find that taking less fails to bring either job stability or a halt in the erosion of their living standards."

Raskin's article delves into other matters, including the attempts of the Reagan administration to win support of the building and maritime trades, the possible clashes between labor and anti-nuclear and environmentalist groups. It's an article worth reading -- and it's available at your local public library.

AROUSING ACTIVISM

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's strategy for the Reagan years is to oppose adamantly any social spending cuts, to solve the problems of his member unions through a newly formed labor-management group, and to unify the faltering labor movement around economic issues. This approach to policy issues complements the AFL-CIO's political game plan to gain control of the Democratic Party at the national and grass roots level. Kirkland's initiatives, reflected in a Solidarity Day march of 250,000 demonstrators in Washington on Sept. 19, are unusual by federation standards and are turning him into the foremost organizer and spokesman for the liberal community. But at least until the 1982 congressional elections, it will be unclear if his strategy is working.

Business Week 10/5

IT'S US!

Even the people of Washington were impressed. ...

It was not the size of the crowd that impressed them. It was who was in that crowd. ...

It was Middle America. It was the people that built this country and want to keep on doing it. It was the meat-and-potatoes people, the ones who put in eight hours and have no company expense account. The ones who fight our wars. The ones who pay our taxes and have no loopholes.

It was the working class. And they came to Washington because they want to stay that way.

Chicago Tribune 9/24/81

WE MUST BE HEARD

Behold your numbers, as far as the eye can see.
Attend their spirit, vital, strong and free.

Look at your brothers and sisters, by the
thousands, still marching -- in solidarity -- down
the historic ways of their capital city.

You are working men and women who have come
here with your friends and allies because you
care deeply about the course of your country.

You have given up your family days of rest and
spent long and tiring hours in buses, trains and
cars, from every part of this land, as an act of
devotion and testimony.

Your testimony must be heard. The future
course of this nation hangs upon it.

*Lane Kirkland's address on
Solidarity Day, from
AFL-CIO News 9/26*

IN THE MIDDLE OF SOMETHING

Never before has the popular army been so
diverse, so mature and so dominated by
middle-class working people. ...

This was the first protest of Mr. Reagan's
policies to stir wide public interest. ... At a time
when liberals are still in disarray, still looking
for an agenda, labor is showing some muscle.

The new winds to which Mr. Kirkland referred in
his Solidarity Day speech remain barely breezes
by comparison with the conservative gales
blowing across the country. But the coalitions
evident on the streets during Solidarity Day may
well have put organized labor back in the middle
of something.

*Robert Curvin
in the New York Times 9/22*

IT'S THERAPEUTIC

The most significant consequence of last
weekend's massive Solidarity Day rally may well
turn out to be its therapeutic value to the labor
movement.

The long string of defeats that organized labor
has suffered under the Reagan administration
and the administration's assertions that labor's
leaders are out of step with their members has
been chipping away at the morale of union
officials. But labor leaders were clearly elated
at their ability to attract more than 260,000
people to the Washington Monument Saturday
and lead them in an orderly march to the Capitol
to protest the administration's policies.

Wall Street Journal 9/21

WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

Solidarity Day was a spectacular success and
some of the credit has to go to President
Reagan. He is bringing America together again
by threatening to destroy the role of the federal
government in promoting the common good.

AFL-CIO News 9/26

HANGING OUT THE WINDOW

Today's rally will draw the attention of many in
Congress who already sympathize with its goals,
but there won't be anyone hanging out of the
White House windows to watch. ...

It is important as a first test -- in the era of
scarcity -- of the strength of the ties that bound
these groups together in happier days when
free-flowing federal money made compromise
easy. ...

One of the curiosities of the Reagan presidency
is that while the things Mr. Reagan does raise a
lot of individual emotions, so far there has been
nothing like an organized opposition to his
program. What will be significant in today's
rally is not the number of participants, but the
extent to which their coming together produces
a coherent sense of purpose.

Washington Post 9/19

AN ENIGMATIC ORGANIZER

Mr. Kirkland explained that he had called the
rally for two reasons: He was insulted in
February when President Reagan remarked that
union leaders were no longer close to the rank
and file; and in regional meetings around the
country in March and April, the one demand was
for some kind of mass protest against
Administration policies.

*William Serrin
in the New York Times 9/19*

Solidarity Day - What now?

(continued from page 1)

In a sense, those who credit Ronald Reagan with
"bringing us together" are right. Solidarity Day
was a protest against. It was a demand for an
end to. Participants came -- as they should have
-- from the ranks of the millions of victims and
intended victims of Corporate America's
onslaught. They were mobilized and brought to
Washington by a coalition of organizations -- in
the first place the labor movement -- who
represent them.

While it is rather easy for diverse constituencies
to participate in protest, it is more difficult to
weld them together into ongoing campaigns for
something. Problems are bound to arise when it
comes to working out a program or establishing
priorities. Differences are inevitable in working
out strategies for achieving both. But union
activists should not become disoriented when
differences arise. Instead, we should begin now
to anticipate them.

The general path that began with Solidarity Day
is clear. What was done in the halls of Congress
must be corrected in the halls of Congress. This
means, in its simplest terms, that the Solidarity
Day Coalition must spearhead -- must itself
become -- the muscle and sinew of an
electoral-political action apparatus that can
select members of Congress who are committed
to re-instituting the programs that have been
axed in the past several months. The Jack
Nemps of this world should be targeted for early
retirement and the Phil Grams and the other
gutless wonders who surrendered the gains of a
half century on the altar of Reaganomics must
be given the opportunity to join them.

Again the question, "How?" And another, "Can
the Solidarity Day Coalition be held together
solely on the basis of long-ranged hopes of
eventual legislative success?"

After answering "We doubt it," we hasten to add
that we, too, are searching for answers to these

A STARTING POINT

But the pressure must be kept up, or Congress
will tend to relegate Solidarity Day to the status
of a one-day wonder with no permanent impact.
This must not happen.

The answer lies partly in the shaping of effective
working coalitions in the cities and states by the
groups that marched together on Sept. 19. There
are some such coalitions, but not nearly enough.
"We Are One" is not just a slogan for a single day.

AFL-CIO News 9/26/81

questions. But we think we can draw some
conclusions from Solidarity Day that can serve
as guidelines for activity in the period ahead.

- 1) The economy is not going to improve and the
offensive against the living conditions of
working people is going to continue. Both
will fuel the fires of fightback that gave
birth to Solidarity Day and will present new
opportunities for united fightback.
- 2) Important shifts have taken place in the
ranks of the labor movement in the process
of building Solidarity Day. This offers new
opportunities for union activists to push the
campaign for political independence, to put
more muscle into the fight against
take-aways and to beat back all other forms
of collaboration that have served to
hamstring the labor movement in recent
years.
- 3) Just as Solidarity Day could not have been
without the initiative and leadership of the
labor movement, the Solidarity Day Coalition
will not flourish without the active leadership
and participation of the labor movement.

Nor can it grow if the labor movement
returns to the old ways of doing things.

- 4) The basic building block of a Solidarity Day
Coalition is unity. Unity within the ranks of
the labor movement. Unity between the
varied and various constituencies that made
Solidarity Day possible. And finally, albeit of
decisive importance, unity between the labor
movement and the organizations representing
Black and Latin workers.
- 5) The Solidarity Day Coalition can not be
sustained without a program that addresses
itself to the most pressing problems facing
the entire movement. The Solidarity Day
Coalition, if it is to grow and prosper, must
have both short-ranged and long-ranged goals
-- it must project basic solutions to basic
questions. Aside from re-instating the
programs cut by the Reagan Administration
and the Congress, the demand for jobs must
be at the center of that program.

- 6) Coalitions are strengthened -- answers to
questions are more easily found -- when
discussion becomes concrete in programs of
action. To work out activities and to involve
others in them is the best way to keep the
Solidarity ball rolling.

This means, among other things, that every
member of Congress, every member of state
legislatures, city councils and county boards
should find themselves confronted with
delegations demanding an end to budget cuts,
reductions in the military budget,
government operation of plants threatened
with shut down. And, as the full impact of
the cutbacks take effect, they should be
forced to provide immediate aid for the
homeless, the cold, and the hungry. It is not
too early to dust off some of the old tactics:
Sit-ins in welfare offices, returning the
evicted to their apartments, mass action to
prevent foreclosures, repossessions, and the
shut-off of utilities.

SOLIDARITY ON THE SHOP FLOOR

The mystery of the missing parts

by Arlene Tyner, Delegate
Local 1199C
Nat'l Union of Hospital Workers
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Working class solidarity! As trade unionists, political activists and makers of labor history, sometimes we think we've seen it all. But then, along comes another magnificent example of collective discipline, courage and ingenuity to widen our eyes with awe and inspire us with renewed confidence.

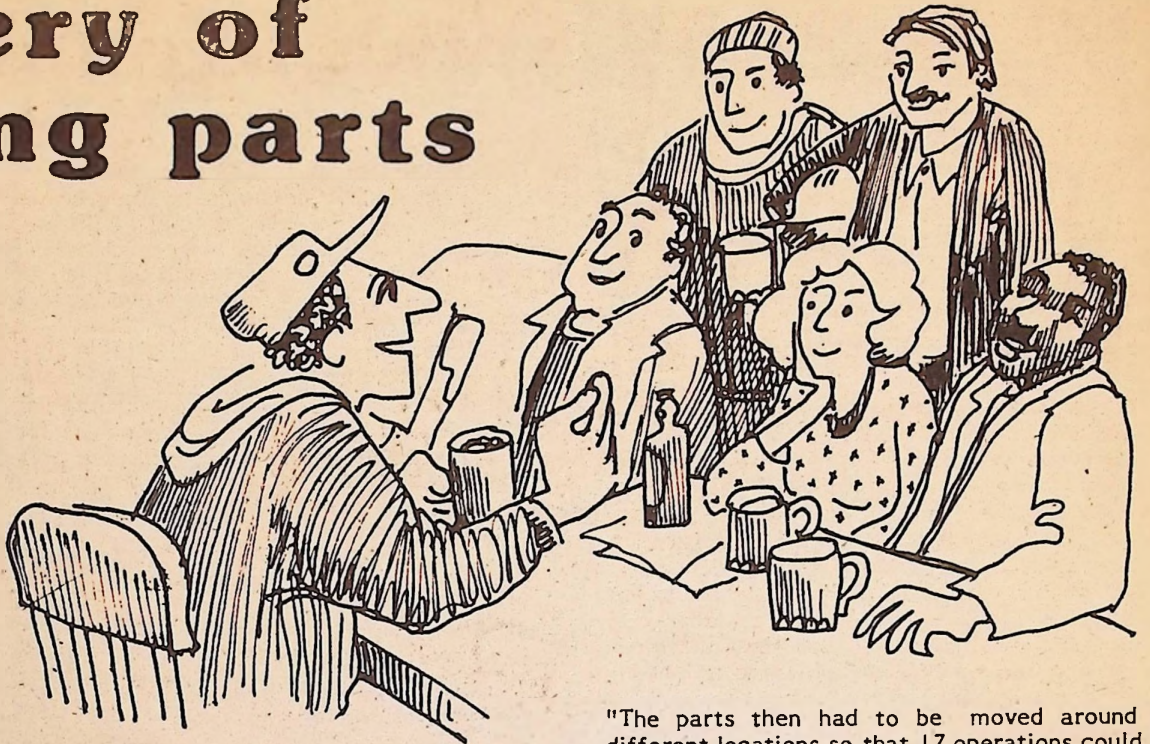
Such was my experience recently. We had taken refuge in a local pub, to relieve the tension created by hours of testimony from victims of Reagan's cruel budget cuts. Sitting across from me was one of the leaders of the fightback movement, a much-too-modest trade unionist with 25 years' experience as a rank and file leader in different shops across our land.

With each mug of beer, this practitioner of class struggle trade unionism told a different anecdote of battles he had either initiated or participated in. As soon as he finished the following story, however, I knew I had to add this magnificent act of shop solidarity to the written history of the labor movement.

Here it is, as told to me, with some changes to protect those involved:

"I was steward many years ago on the night shift in an electrical parts plant employing 3,000 workers. One evening the president of our local approached me and another shop steward about how to save the job of a guy with 25 years' seniority, who was fired three weeks previously for stealing. According to the boss, this incentive worker had turned in a count of the day's work that didn't exist — a count that would entitle him to bonus wages.

"Our president told us the only conceivable way he could win this grievance was for the missing parts to show up. We said this would be impossible, since the parts embodied several weeks' work; about 100 hours of work — a number of operations involving 15 workers — were required before the parts even reached the man in question. But our president stressed to us that this guy, a day shift worker, had been a dedicated union member all those years and was the sole support of a wife and 6 kids.



"We went back to the shop floor and explained the situation to a whole range of machine operators (screw machine, lathe, drill press, milling) whose labor was essential to producing the parts. These guys, also incentive workers, would have to agree to use up their own time and, in effect, would lose wages in bonus time.

"At first their responses were, 'We don't even know the guy.' 'What he did was stupid.' 'Why should we protect him?' 'Next week, he might do it again.' 'If we get caught, we'll get fired.' 'I can't afford to lose wages.'

"But we persisted. The company was constantly on our backs. We hated the foremen and we had a history of aggressively fighting back. We won most of our grievances right on the shop floor and the guys respected our judgment.

"We argued: 'Why should the guy lose his livelihood for one day's padding of production, while for 25 years the boss has gotten rich off the man's labor? The next time it could be one of us out on the street with our kids going hungry. If we're really committed to 'one for all and all for one,' now is the time to practice 'all for one.' Gradually, the men agreed to help.

"For the next 6 nights, our 'government job' proceeded right under the noses of the bosses. To start off, bars of steel had to be liberated from the stock department. Then two days' work was necessary to set up the machinery for the rough piece, while the foreman was diverted from discovering these alterations. Workers also had to get ahead on their own work in order to have time to devote to 'government work.'

"The parts then had to be moved around to different locations so that 17 operations could be performed by different machines. Some were moved in steel buckets. Large accumulations were moved in skids by forklift drivers. Timekeepers, who controlled wages by figuring each man's bonus, and inspectors, who checked the parts produced by each machine, did their part. Even spray painters got the chance to help.

"Each night, the parts had to be hidden among other stock in another part of the plant. This was the job of the forklift driver. And only he knew where the skids were hidden.

"As each guy did his part, a camaraderie developed among us. This was our own project, in defense of a union brother, and we felt good about it. The longer it went on, the better the feeling was among us. The minimum input of each worker was four hours' labor. But many sacrificed as much as \$40-50 of their bonus wages.

"In the final phase, for the parts to be discovered, they had to be placed in a distant department and appear on the day shift where the discharged worker worked. This we accomplished with much cooperation and pride.

"After the union president insisted on a recount of the missing parts, in the top step of the grievance procedure, a 20-minute search turned them up. Our brother, whom most of us didn't even know, was reinstated with full back pay and benefits.

"To this day the bosses believe somebody stole 20 bars of steel, sent them to an outside shop, paid to have the parts made and then somehow sneaked them back into the plant. Would they ever believe otherwise?

"Our brother is still on the job. He has never been able to learn the name of anybody who produced those missing parts. The entire affair remains anonymous."



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YOU CAN STILL GET THEM ORDER BLANK

Solidarity Day souvenirs



We were there!

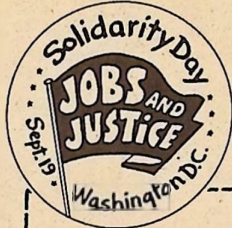
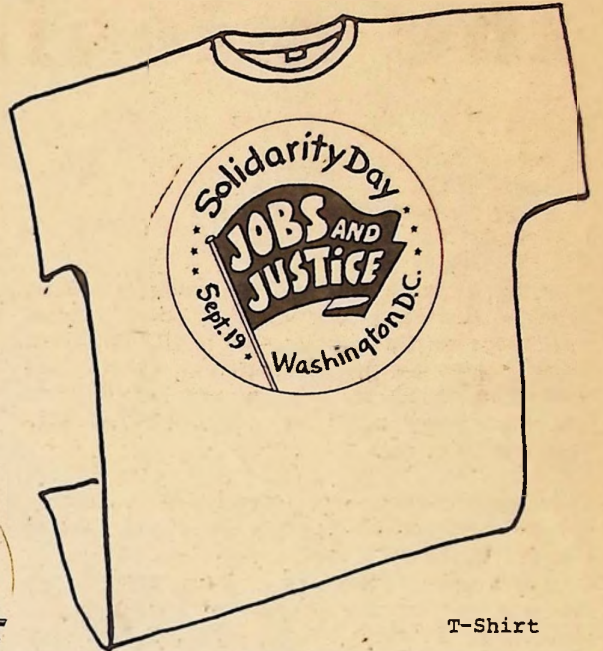
Except for those isolated on the west coast by the PATCO strike, the entire TUAD General Council was counted among the throngs marching down Constitution Avenue. They marched as they had come -- as active participants in their local unions' contingents. And some, like Brother Canzoneri, came as leaders of city-wide coalitions that had been among the first to advocate a labor-led demonstration in Washington. (Brother Canzoneri was interviewed by PBS while filming a 2-hour program that was aired on September 19.

LABOR TODAY was there, too, 85,000 copies strong. This sets a new record, topping the 82,000 copies we printed in January 1977, and it would not have been possible without the help of many: those of our readers who responded most generously to our appeal for funds, our "\$100 for 100 Club" who made special contributions of \$100.00 each in our campaign to publish 100,000 copies of our Solidarity Day issue, and from local unions and other organizations that, between them, bought 17,000 of our "Jobs and Justice" button. And of course, a special thanks to Walter, to Norm, George, Peggy, Jim, George (there were two), whose day-long stint in Washington guaranteed the final results of our work.

Be part of Solidarity Day even if you couldn't be

there! We have about 300 of the special T-shirts that were available only in Washington. Each has our "Jobs and Justice" emblem, done in two colors. The shirts come in S, M, L and EL sizes, with most available in blue, beige and yellow. The price is \$5.00 each. Orders will be filled on a first come, first served basis and we reserve the right to substitute if necessary.

We also have two different emblems that can be applied to your own T-shirt, sweatshirt or jacket. Price for emblems is \$1.50 each, 5 for \$5.00. These emblems can be applied only at a T-shirt specialty shop -- they can not be applied with a home iron.



Emblem



T-Shirt

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Please send me _____ T-shirts.

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Med			
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Total enclosed \$ _____

_____ Emblems @ \$1.50 ea.

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CONGRESSMAN CONYERS ASKS SUPPORT

Parker-Coltrane PAC

September 25, 1981

Mr. Fred Gaboury, Editor
LABOR TODAY

Dear Fred:

I am writing to ask the support of your readers and friends for the newly formed Parker-Coltrane Political Action Committee. The name has a special significance for me. It identifies the Committee with two musical visionaries who contributed so much to American culture.



John Conyers, Jr.

As a nationwide PAC, Parker-Coltrane will recruit and support Black and progressive candidates for statewide and congressional office. Its early efforts will focus on the southern states. The Committee will create a network of local political leaders and campaign experts in several southern states and sponsor a

candidate-training conference as its initial project.

The South is fertile ground for an expansion of Black and progressive politics. It is the only region experiencing a rising level of Black voter registration and turnout, and with the Voting Rights Act, the largest expansion in the numbers of Black elected officials has taken place in the South. Yet all this promising political talent has not been able to run for higher office because of racial gerrymandering, at-large elections, the lack of technical campaign help, and, of course, a shortage of funds. Under reapportionment, the South, the home of so many conservative Democrats and Republicans with powerful positions in Congress, will acquire 6 new seats in the House of Representatives in 1982.

The New Right and its conservative political action committees have raised tens of millions of dollars in the last few years. They have succeeded in defeating many decent, progressive members of Congress. They have also done untold damage in imprinting their symbols and ideas on the American consciousness and shifting the political agenda to their side.

I feel very strongly that, while there are a great many projects that concern liberals and progressives, the need to recruit more leaders, better organize our people, and win important victories at the ballot box should be at the top of their lists.

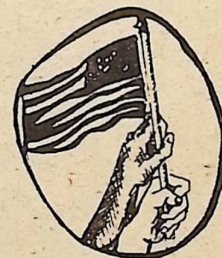
Parker-Coltrane needs your support. Any contribution you and your readers can give will be greatly appreciated. We also need your ideas on how to create the most effective PAC possible.

We are in the process of gathering names of potential supporters. Please spread the word!

Sincerely,

John Conyers, Jr.
M.C.

John Conyers, Jr.
Parker-Coltrane Political Action Committee
P.O. Box 50523
Washington DC 20004



PARKER-COLTRANE

Political Action
Committee

Recruiting, Training
and Funding
Black and Progressive
Candidates

Yes, I want to support
and participate in the Committee.

Make check payable to:
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Please call us at (202) 783-6645

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We are required to ask for this information by the Federal Election Commission. A copy of our report is on file at the Commission.

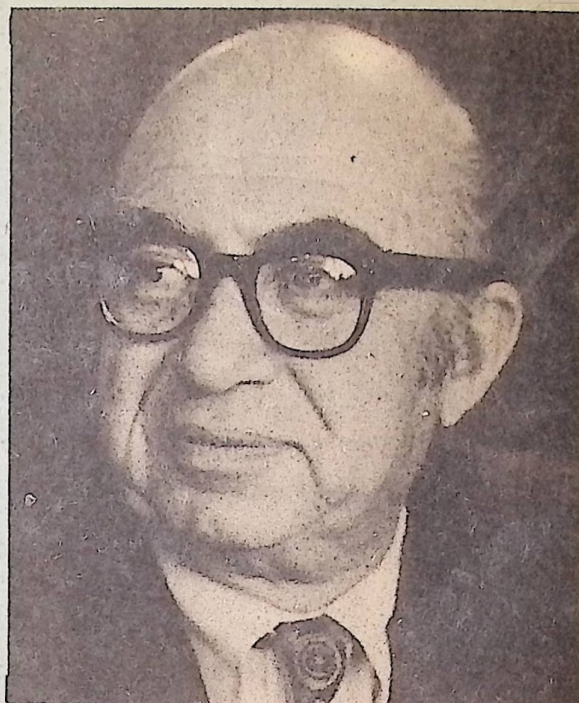
IN MEMORIAM

Abe Feinglass

Abe Feinglass, recently retired Vice President of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, AFL-CIO is dead. A frequent contributor to LABOR TODAY and a friend of TUAD, Abe's career as a labor leader began in Chicago more than 50 years ago.


Abe's interests extended beyond the labor movement, reaching far into the civil rights and peace movements in the United States and the world. In his later years, he was a vice-president of the World Peace Council and attended its sessions throughout the world, while hosting international peace leaders when they visited the United Nations.

Henry Foner, President of the FLM Joint Board of the UFCW, speaking at a memorial service for Brother Feinglass, spoke for all of us at TUAD-LABOR TODAY when he said: "Let me put it clearly and bluntly: There has not been one single, solitary battlefield where the stakes were human dignity and human survival in which Abe was not a soldier in the front-lines of struggle. ... Abe wasn't indestructible but his ideas, his dreams of a better tomorrow, and his willingness to place every sinew of mind and



body at the service of those dreams are and will ever remain indestructible."

We extend our condolences to Bessie Feinglass, Abe's long-time helpmate and to their children, Ruth, Bob, and Joe.



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