

*N. Y. Committee  
Trade Union Action & Democracy  
799 Broadway, Rm. 509, N. Y. C. 10009*



**the rank and file in action**

# Labor Today

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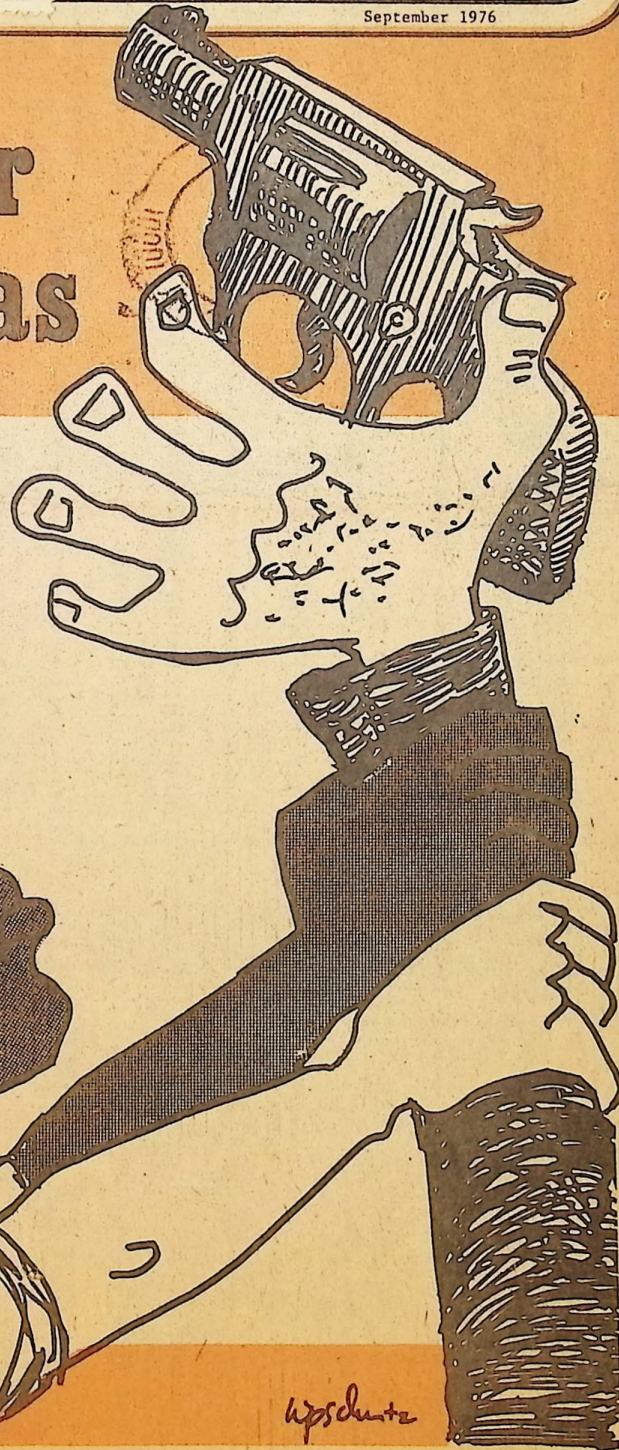
Volume 15, No. 9

September 1976

## Steelworker shot in Texas

**EDITORIAL:**

**Defend lives  
and rights  
of rank & file!**



*Wpschutz*

A "REIGN OF TERROR"

# R & F steelworker shot in Texas

# Labor Today

AN EDITORIAL

by LABOR TODAY Staff

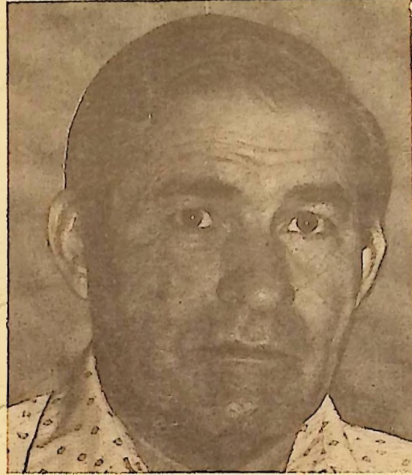
On July 26, Ben Corum, a steelworker from Bonfield, Illinois, was shot in the back of the neck while distributing literature in front of the Hughes Tool Company in Houston, Texas.

Corum, a member of Local 6212, USWA, was in Houston as part of a traveling team from Steelworkers Fight Back, a Chicago-based organization that represents many of the groups and individuals who led the campaign to elect Ed Sadlowski Director of USWA District 31 in 1974.

Corum was there with John Askins and Jack R. Russell, both from the Chicago area. They had been in the Houston area for several days working on a nationwide campaign to win the right of membership ratification of contracts at the upcoming Las Vegas convention of the USWA.

Only four days before, Russell had been savagely beaten at the Armco plant and before that, all three had been threatened by USWA staffmen who warned them to get out of town.

Houston police have refused to undertake a serious investigation of the attempted murder of Brother Corum--even refusing to take statements from eye-witnesses.



Ben Corum

Ed Sadlowski condemned the "reign of terror" in Texas, pointing out that other rank and file steelworkers had been threatened and jailed there last summer.

When LABOR TODAY asked Corum why he had gone to Texas, his response was very simple and forthright: "I'm tired of the way things are done in the Steelworkers Union. You get no backing--you file a grievance and it only goes so far and that's the end of it. It's the same way all over the country and I'm tired of it. I think we can do better. I think that new leadership will do better. That's why I was in Houston. That's why I'll go back if I must!"

## Defend lives and rights of rank and file

by JIM WILLIAMS, Co-Editor  
LABOR TODAY

The shooting of rank and file steelworker, Ben Corum, as he distributed union materials in Houston is a matter of serious and immediate concern for unionists.

There are a lot of ugly parallels to what is happening to rank and filers in the steel union and the suppression of the rank and file in the Mine Workers--including the assassination of "Jock" Yablonski at the direction of then President Boyle.

Yablonski supporters were beaten and harassed, and Yablonski himself was physically attacked on more than one occasion. It took the mass public outrage following the assassination of Yablonski to get the Labor Department off its duff and to finally intervene to guarantee rank and file rights in the UMWA.

If the early attacks on the UMWA rank and file had resulted in a mass protest from the ranks of labor, Yablonski might be alive today.

I.W. Abel was one of Tony Boyle's supporters. He tried to rally AFL-CIO topsiders in the defense of Boyle, when he first came under challenge. Abel, more than anyone else, had reason to fear that a rank and file rebellion in the coal fields would eventually spill over into the steelworkers.

Abel has been moving heaven and earth to sidetrack the movement in steel. He has launched a campaign to remove the constitutional requirement that he retire this year at age 65. He sought to gain the support of Black steelworkers to postpone the elections and extend his term for one more year so that he could make the Experimental Negotiating Agreement irreversible beyond 1980.

Abel threw the entire weight of USWA's "Official Family" into the election for District Director in District 31, backing Sam Evett against Sadlowski. The Labor Department found that Evett had stolen the first election--and ordered a second, which Sadlowski won, despite the Abel invasion.

During the recent local union elections, Abel came into the district and campaigned against Sadlowski supporters. It was a campaign marked by extreme red-baiting hysteria like nothing seen since the McCarthy period of the fifties.

Recently, Abel told a steelworkers meeting in Birmingham that Sadlowski's supporters and the entire Sadlowski movement was

(continued on page 7)



## TUAD statement on shooting

by FRED GABOURY  
National Field Organizer  
TUAD

The National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy joins with rank and file workers everywhere in condemning the attempted assassination of Brother Ben Corum of United Steel Workers of America Local 6212.

This savage act brings to mind the long history of violence, terror and murder that has been directed against the labor movement of our country. From the early 1800's through Homestead, Pullman and Haymarket, murder--legal and otherwise--has been used to thwart the legitimate interests of workers and the lawful activities of labor organizers.

The Molly McGuires, Albert Parsons, Sacco and Vanzetti, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Jock Yablonski, and now Ben Corum--all have been victims of the age-long history of corporate-inspired violence aimed at maintaining profits and power.

Although the bullet struck Brother Corum, it was aimed at the whole rank and file

movement, at each and all who would speak out and fight back in the ranks of labor.

Such acts must be stopped. The rank and file movement does not need more martyrs. Steel workers do not need a Jock Yablonski or a Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.!

TUAD calls upon the Secretary of Labor to use the full power and authority of his office to protect the lawful activity of rank and file members of the USWA.

We call upon I.W. Abel to repudiate violence in the conduct of the affairs of the USWA and to use the full power of his office to remove all USWA officials--elected and appointed--who may have lent themselves to such acts of brutality as the shooting of Brother Corum.

We demand that the FBI take whatever steps are necessary to bring these corporate hitmen to speedy justice. We call upon FBI Director Kelly to personally guarantee the safety of any and all steel workers and steel workers' families who have been threatened with bodily harm should they continue their constitutionally guaranteed right to change the policies of their union.

## THE BROTHERS REUTHER

# A self-serving saga

by ERNIE DEMAIO  
New York

*THE BROTHERS REUTHER*, by Victor Reuther, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1976, \$16.50.

*THE BROTHERS REUTHER* is a self-serving saga of a remarkable family that shaped and influenced the trade union movement for a generation. Walter, the most important of the Reuthers, was driven by overweening ambition. A prude in his personal habits, he resisted all temptations except the lust for power and popularity.

More ruthless than his brothers and more pragmatic, Walter was a social opportunist with no commitment to socialism. He understood the needs of the workers but sought to solve them within the scope of his personal goals. Egocentric to the core, he probably believed that what was good for Walter Reuther was good for the auto workers.

He sought and established a base in the UAW. The drive for total control of the union did not end until he achieved it. He knew that what monopoly capitalism feared more than unionism was and remains



those workers who have a working class outlook. At a time when most workers saw the company and big business as the enemy that impoverished them, Walter Reuther became the UAW's most outspoken red-baiter.

This not only neutralized employer opposition to him, it also assured him the support of the vast network of company agents and informers. Whether or not he welcomed this support, they were to be his most useful allies in the fierce factional struggles to destroy and expel from the union the communists and other militants who built the union and gave it its democratic character.

In the process of "taming" the union, he amended the constitution to bar communists from all elective posts. This prohibition, which remains on the books, effectively restricts the membership's right to elect officers of their choice. What kind of trade union democracy is it that outlaws those least acceptable to the employers?



Ernest DeMaio

While some may consider this class treachery and a restriction of democratic norms, to Reuther it was a contribution to industrial peace. He believed that industry would be better served by "responsible" unionism. With this approach, he obtained several collective bargaining palliatives such as the cost of living formula, supplementary unemployment benefits and private pensions and health plans. These did bring about some relative improvement in the living standards of the auto workers. But there was no change in the basic relationship of forces.

Furthermore, these were only partial gains covering big auto, aircraft, and agricultural implement but excluded much of the union and most of the CIO which he also headed. The result was the fragmentation of collective bargaining in the CIO which continues to plague the trade union movement. Solidarity is more than the unity of the workers in one company or segment of industry. It is the common struggle of all workers and their unions to defend and advance their class interests and welfare.

There was a major flaw in collective bargaining as practiced by Reuther. He accepted the employer notion that collective bargaining was a two-way street. When the companies made concessions, wasn't it reasonable and logical that the workers should also make concessions? The trade-off for the check-off was the scuttling of the shop steward system. The quid pro quo for the COLA and productivity annual raise was the green light on speed-up. SUB and the private pension plan torpedoed the massive campaign for a "cradle to the grave" social security system.

Unwittingly, Walter furnishes the best commentary on his effectiveness. "The profits of the big three (auto companies) from nineteen forty-seven through nineteen sixty-nine...were thirty-five billion dollars or equal to fourteen times the invested worth of those three companies." (Page 305)

On the legislative and political front, Reuther replaced the lusty, turbulent and democratic mass lobbying, demonstrations and struggles characteristic of the early UAW with what he seems to have considered to be a more effective weapon, his rhetorical posturing. Under his leadership, the CIO disintegrated. To ward off a humiliating personal disaster, he retreated into the stultifying arms of George Meany.

Victor protests, far too much, that he and Walter were red-baited. Implicit in the protest is the injured feeling. How could you do this to us, after the great service we have rendered in driving the reds out

of the labor movement? But reaction had its reasons. The occasional snipe from the far right served to confuse some misguided left forces. They went mainstreaming with the Reuthers into oblivion.

The book relates the contributions made by the Reuther brothers in splitting the World Federation of Trade Unions and setting up "free" unions to bolster the "free" world at the time, a major objective of the CIA and the State Department. Without doubt, Victor Reuther passionately believes in freedom. The tragedy is he equates freedom with free enterprise.

The chapter on International Solidarity and Subversion, though hardly more than the tip of the iceberg, is a valuable expose of the machinations of the CIA and the George Meany clique in the service of the multinational corporations. It is a revealing glimpse of the depth of degradation of the top bureaucracy of U.S. labor. A missing chapter on class collaboration as practiced in the states would have been very useful.

Too late, perhaps, in his life and career, yet nevertheless, welcome is Victor's urgent plea for world trade union solidarity and action against the world-wide depre-



Victor Reuther

tions of the multinational corporations. An equally valuable contribution is his strong call to organize the unorganized. Walter could have helped to do this. He had the trained manpower and resources. He could have, but he didn't.

Walter gave advice to five presidents. It may have been very good advice. But it was within the framework of the two-party system of the exploiting class which has kept the workers in thrall. He did not try to change the system. He tried to make it work better without challenging the status quo. He was a labor leader who got peanut for the workers while manipulating them for the greater good of a dying social order which squeezed him like a lemon and cast the pulp aside.

The book makes a very eloquent argument for detente, world peace, disarmament, and trade. It is a worthy and positive contribution to the most important political issue of our time.

The Reuthers were able and dynamic. They were privileged to lead a great union in a period of economic expansion led by the auto industry. Much was expected of them but the hopes of the workers were only minimally realized. The Reuthers opted for glory and the road of least resistance for limited objectives. Although the Reuthers are gone and almost forgotten, the structural changes they made and the illusions they sowed will take years of struggle to overcome. That is the unhappy legacy of the brothers Reuther.

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## EVERY WORKER AN ORGANIZER

# Birmingham R & F center opens

by SCOTT MARSHALL  
LT Southern Representative  
Birmingham, Alabama

There is a new center of rank and file ferment and action in the Birmingham, Alabama area. It is known as the Unity Center for Labor Action and Education. On May 1, 1976 a group of between 35 and 40 rank and filers from eight different shops (mostly steel) got together to see the film *Salt of the Earth* and talk about the beginning of a center for rank and file initiative in Birmingham.

A group of people from caucuses in several of the larger steel shops and from LABOR TODAY-TUAD had gotten together in early April to kick around the idea for such a center. They noted the emergence of sharp rank and file struggles in the area and decided that there was a need to link up the various movements.

One of the larger groups included the Committee for Equal Job Opportunity, a rank and file group of about 500 that has been working for 10 years in the unorganized American Cast Iron Pipe Company. For the last several years, because of the publicity around their struggle, they were being approached by rank and filers from other shops including the giant Fairfield US Steel Works for help in organizing.

"Of course we wanted to help these people," said Henry Booker, Jr., chairperson of CEJO, "and we did where we could, but our main work had to be in our plant. That's what we were set up to do. And that's why we supported the idea of the Unity Center. We know that management in the area gets together to try and figure out how to deal with labor. We need to get labor people

(left to right)  
Henry Booker Jr.  
Harvey Henley Jr.  
Scott Marshall  
Rev. Rbt. McKinnon



together to deal with the companies and our problems in making our unions fight for what's right."

One of the main functions of the Unity Center will be to develop organizing skills among rank and file workers. Every worker should be an organizer and to that end the center offers people a chance to learn basic organizing skills. For example, how to run for union office; how to put out newsletters and leaflets. The center maintains typewriters and mimeograph equipment for rank and filers to work with in their shops.

The Unity Center features regular forums and smaller classes on issues important to all trade unionists--health and safety, fight against speed-up, the fight for strong democratic unions, the fight for leadership that reflects all workers, Black and white, men and women, the important social issues of the day, and labor history.

Since the unofficial inception of the center in late April, it has already built up an impressive start at building movements in Birmingham. At one small steel shop where people got wind of an attempt to ram a company proposed "consent decree" down the throats of the workers, the Unity Cen-

ter was instrumental in getting together a functioning caucus to fight the decree. The decree was supposed to end discrimination in the plant, but in fact, it only offered token back pay with no end to discriminatory hiring and promotion policy. That 60-person strong caucus is now in a position to start dealing with other problems in their plant and local.

The Unity Center was the first group in the area to initiate action in support of the striking rubber workers. With picket lines and leaflets, center activists brought the Firestone Boycott to the consumers and the local unions.

The Unity Center also hopes to be a way of linking up these local groups and movements with national on-going movements on an industry level. This will be particularly important in steel where a rank and file upsurge is changing the face of the United Steel Workers.

The beginning of a Unity Center in Birmingham is doubly important because it is happening in Wallace's backyard. The success of the center will serve to prove to people everywhere that militant rank and file movements, anchored in Black and white unity, are possible under the worst of conditions.

## WASHINGTON POST STRIKE

# 15 pressmen indicted

Pressmen's Local 6 and a newly formed citizens' support committee charged that the indictment returned against 15 striking pressmen is part of the continuing five-year conspiracy to destroy viable unionism at *THE WASHINGTON POST*.

The indictment, which followed a nine-month grand jury investigation into the widely publicized "destruction" of the *POST* presses last October 1 at the beginning of the pressman's strike against the *POST*, charges the 15 defendants with offenses ranging from inciting to riot to grand larceny.

Everett R. Forsman, president of Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union, told reporters that the *POST* "first brought in a union-busting management team and then proceeded to violate our contract time and time again, train scabs to take over our jobs and mount a campaign to strip us of our dignity and our livelihood."

"Having planned for several years to replace us, they began printing a scab newspaper within two days and told the world that we had done two million dollars worth of damage to their presses at the start of the strike when the actual damage was \$13,000," Forsman charged. "The *POST* hired a fancy public relations firm, ordered 60 scabs from a newspaper scab school in Oklahoma, engineered a nationwide blacklist against Local 6 members and began using the legal system and media to finish the job it started."

Forsman charged that U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert "has used the once cherished institution of the grand jury to break our unity and our treasury, subpoena and harass over 80 members of our Local, and paint a pic-

ture of the pressmen as violent animals and criminals."

The grand jury indictment amounts to "ridiculous and extensive charges over a minor incident" and ignores "the vast damage against human beings that the *POST* has done," Forsman said. He cited the suicide of one "lifelong pressman, his job taken away and his name on a blacklist" as a prime example of the human cost of the *POST*'s union-busting policy.

Speaking for the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee, John Hanrahan, a *POST* editor who is honoring the Local 6 picket line, charged that Silbert had tried to create a pressman's conspiracy against the *POST* with his indiscriminate subpoenaing of 88 *POST* strikers.

"Earl Silbert didn't find that conspiracy because it didn't exist," said Hanrahan. "The millions of dollars of pressroom damage which the *POST* trumpeted in the crucial early weeks of the strike was a propaganda strawman designed to hide its anti-union tactics and win public sympathy."

Hanrahan said that the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee has begun a "national campaign to raise funds and spread the truth about *THE WASHINGTON POST* strike."

For more information, either call: (202) 737-2811, or write: Local 6 Legal Defense Committee, 12433 Kimmerton Lane, Bowie, MD 20715.



# UMW's Arnold Miller: 'L'

(Interviewed by FRED GABOURY,  
National Field Organizer, TUAD)

Arnold, there are many who think that you started it all as Miners for Democracy and the coal miners. Have you any comments on the rank and file rebellion in the elections in the Steelworkers and other unions? And how do you feel about being a crusader?

Well, maybe starting it all is not the proper term. I'm not ashamed of the fact that we have to revive the interest in the American labor movement that originated many years ago. I think that in the American labor movement, when conditions get a little better, we become complacent. Those that rose to leadership just don't think sometimes about where they came from. I think, on balance, that when you look at the record of the last few years and a half, I think I have clearly demonstrated that I haven't forgotten where I came from.

The Mineworkers Union was one of the first to respond with money and support to the rubber workers strike. What do you think



Fred Gaboury

it's going to take on the part of the labor movement to really end the declining living standards and get the American labor movement back on the fighting path?

Well, I think that labor's got to get together in presenting a more unified front. There's nothing wrong with having a few different opinions. There's nothing wrong with constructive criticism. But when we lose sight of where the ultimate goal is, and we don't work together--when we become a little bit divisive among our own ranks--this is what the opposition really likes to see. I see a trend now of greater interest, greater participation on the part of the working people of this country, and I think that's essential--to really get together.

## PUT THE LAW INTO THE CONTRACT

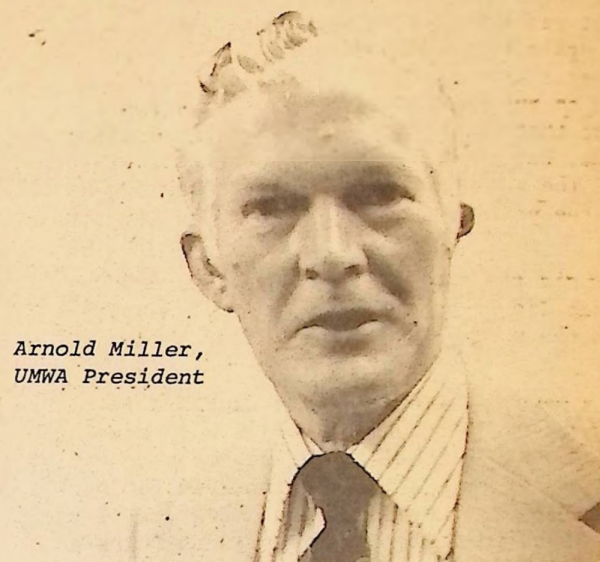
There hasn't been much interest or much effort put forth for far too long now to get some of the unfair labor laws off the books since the Taft-Hartley law. I think it's about time that we get together and stress to the members of Congress and those elected public officials that labor has got to have a chance. I said to the industry people that I had to deal with last year when they began to try to arbitrate everything we've gotten out of our last coal wage agreement that maybe next time around we would incorporate the Norris-LaGuardia Act as it was originally passed, in our contract, as well as the 1969 Mine-Health Safety Law--and we would enforce that also. And one of them said, "Hey, we've got a wild man here." I said, "There's nothing so damn wild about what I believe--and if we can't get it done in a reasonable manner, then we should get together and exercise a little bit more concern among our own membership and give them the message.

That's an interesting concept--this idea of writing the fundamentals of legislation into your contracts--maybe you should elaborate a little more on what that would mean and how you think you might go about it. I've never heard anybody else say that but it sounds interesting.

Well, we need just a little insight on one clause in our current agreement. We have a safety clause that if any one of our members is asked to work in a place which he considers to be unsafe he can withdraw himself, with no fear of intimidations, threat or reprisals. The only thing he might lose is his day's wages--not his life. And the onus is on the industry that our people work for to prove it was safe, and that's a hard damn thing to do, to prove that a coal mine is safe. If they can't prove that it's safe, and they don't offer him alternative employment, then he gets paid. And that's the one damn thing you ought to understand--they really hate to pay a working man for one minute unless they can get something out of him.

## "YOU'VE GOT THREE YEARS..."

I told some high ranking people in Washington early in 1975, "You've got three years now to shape up. When we get back to the bargaining table, if we don't find some significant changes and improvements in mine safety, then we'll take it upon ourselves to enforce the laws that are on the books. If an operator is cited for violation and a fine is set or assessed, we will in-



Arnold Miller,  
UMWA President

sert certain language in the contract that he'll either pay it or no work."

That's an interesting concept. Arnold, you've been quoted as saying that there is in this country only one real political party and that's the money party with a Democratic wing and a Republican wing. How do you view that statement in light of the 1976 elections and how is the labor movement going to get out of that bind?

I think it's we the people. One of our presidents said that this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Well, we've got to make it work. And if we're going to make it work then we ought to have a voice and we've got to be heard. If people get together then I think that politicians should be forced out in the open and stand before the voters to be questioned. That's one thing I feel strongly about in our union: we've brought full democracy to our union, full autonomy to our districts, and I get out into the fields as often as I can. That's the way I deal with criticism: I don't want our membership to just know who I am--I want them to know what I am.

## MINERS IN GOVERNMENT?

Are you still working to run coal miners for office as you did in 1970 and 1972? Do you feel that that's a way to begin perhaps?

Well, we're running and we just narrowly missed nominating a coal miner for the House of Representatives in Washington. We were beat by 6,000 votes and it wasn't because we didn't have a good candidate, it wasn't because we didn't work at it--we didn't have quite enough time. We had a 28-year old coal miner who was beat in a Congressional primary by 6,000 votes.

Could you tell our readers a little more about that campaign?

This individual was a young man named Dan Burlison. I first met him in 1972. He got involved in my campaign in 1972. I recognized that he was a really intelligent young man and had a lot of potential. Then he asked me about the possibility of running for a legislative seat. I said, "Young man, get right in." He won a legislative seat, served very well and was one of the most able members of our legislative body in West Virginia.

Miners fight for safety on the job.



# labor's got to get together'

And then there was a Congressional seat that was somewhat up for grabs and he called me again and said he wanted to get into that race. I told him to jump right in but he was so busy then working in the legislature that there just wasn't quite enough time. But he only got beat by 6,000 votes and the guy who beat him spent \$240,000 on the primary.

How did the union mobilize its members and where did it get the money? How involved was the union as a union in that campaign?

Very much involved. We established a political action committee. We still have growing pains, we're still not up to full strength yet and we're still improving. But we got our guys together and we got them to register to vote--we had found that a high percentage of our membership was not registered to vote--and then we got them active. We got them out there and contributing to the campaigns we thought were necessary. I think that's the real key to whatever you're going to do. People have to participate, they have to be a part of it.

Could you have gotten that same enthusiasm if Brother Burlison hadn't been a coal miner?

I don't think so. We wanted someone who would not just represent the working class people, we wanted someone who was FROM the working class, because we consider that that person is going to represent us more effectively. We believe that we've got a lot of potential among our membership. We have several other members elected in legislative positions.

Arnold, what if the president of every local union in this country with, say, 3,000 members, were to run for the legislature on the legislative program of his international union? Do you think that would change the political climate in this country? And do you think that this might be something that the labor movement might explore?

Yes, I think it would. I think it would certainly bring about change. It would let those public officials who would be elected know that they had to be responsible. That's what I said in our union when we went through the electoral process. We've had elections in every district. There's been a few problems--there've been a few people who were elected who were not responsible. And people in the general public are saying, "Well, it's a mistake." I say that it might be to some extent but

we have a vehicle to correct that mistake. When those guys run again, the first time they didn't have a record, now they're beginning to have a record and they're going to have to run on it.

What do you think about the possibilities of the labor movement really getting serious about a shorter work day or a shorter work week?

Well, I think we have to face reality. And I think there are problems among the working people in this country that must be resolved and that's one of the ways that they can be. If everyone in this country is working, then everyone else is going to profit--perhaps not at the same profit rate that the corporate interests are enjoying right now.

That really isn't any of labor's concern, is it? Whether or not the corporations make big profits?

It's up to them to take care of themselves. They don't need any damn help. We're the ones who need help. That's why we in the labor movement have got to get together. And let them worry about their own damn selves. If they haven't got sense enough to run their own business and keep their noses above water, that's not our worry.

## Top court decisions seek to limit labor

by MARK BIGELOW  
Chicago Attorney

In the past several months, the Supreme Court has come down with several decisions that have a direct impact on the labor movement.

In the area of employment discrimination, the Supreme Court has been backsliding. In Washington v. Davis, the Court said that in discrimination cases not brought under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a showing of discriminatory purpose must be made. This means that, despite the proving that a pre-employment test disqualifies four times as many Blacks as whites, if the employer cannot be proved to have intentionally used the test to discriminate, then the courts will not find discrimination. This is a severe blow to forces fighting against discrimination, since it is almost impossible to show the intent of an employer in his decision to use a particular test. Although this case does not affect the standards in a Title VII case, where the intent of the test is still evidence of discrimination, it limits alternative grounds for gaining relief from the courts.

The Court did approve the granting of back seniority as an appropriate remedy for past discrimination, in Franks v. Bowman Transportation Co. But, while it said back seniority may be appropriate in

some circumstances, it did not imply that the granting of back seniority was, or should be, part of a normal remedy. Unless the trial court finds that back seniority is appropriate, people who have been discriminated against will still feel the effects of layoffs. This decision does not change or alter the court's tacit approval of "last hired-first fired," except in those few instances where back seniority has previously been ordered by the court in a particular case.

In dealing with strike situations, the Court has been better in upholding the rights of workers. In an economic strike situation, the Court has said that the states cannot prohibit the use of limited-strike tactics. In Lodge 76, IAM v. Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission, the state of Wisconsin tried to prevent a union from using a tactic which was less drastic than a strike, the refusal of overtime work. The Court held that states have no power to regulate what tactics can be used in a strike situation, and that a limited-strike, like the refusal of all overtime, is a legitimate tactic for a union. This may be useful in those industries that are especially hard hit with unemployment, yet insist that their employed workers work overtime, rather than recall laid-off workers.

In continuing its policy of limiting access to the courts, the Court, in Buffalo Forge Co. v. USWA, was forced to turn the



tables and limit an employer's access just as it has already done to unions. The Court decided that a sympathy strike, during the course of a contract which includes a no-strike clause and an arbitration provision, must be taken to arbitration to decide if the strike was in violation of the contract, before the courts would consider issuing an injunction against the strike. Thus, employers in this situation could be stuck in their own delay-infested arbitration proceedings, and get a taste of what discharged workers feel all the time.

Finally, in National League of Cities v. Usery, the Court took a step backward by ruling that the 1972 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which extended the minimum wage and the time-and-a-half-for-over-forty-hours provisions to state and local governments, were unconstitutional. This step now returns the day when public employees are again without protections for their paychecks. In a time of high unemployment, when the prospects for more public employment are needed, this decision will allow local governments to implement programs at starvation wages, thus depressing the wage rates throughout the entire community.

'LABOR RADICAL' AUTHOR SAYS:

# 'What's happening to Labor' is must reading for all

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO LABOR, by Gil Green. International Publishers, 1976. 305 pp. Paperback \$4.50.

A Review by LEN DECAUX

(Brother DeCaux is former editor of the CIO NEWS and author of LABOR RADICAL.)

For the active unionist with little time to read, here is one book that covers all major aspects of today's labor movement--concisely, factually and readably.

In doing this, Gil Green also knocks the props from under many silly or "smart" generalities commonly parroted about labor: "Too powerful...all crooks...labor is now middle class...part of the establishment...end of ideology...vanishing working class..." etc., etc.



Few can plough through the hundreds of books and studies on labor questions published in recent years. Many of them contain facts important for the alert unionist to know. Others, coming largely from the academic New Left, advance theories that have influenced labor and public opinion. But these are often misleading, in that they tend to play down or write-off our current labor movement and the role of the working class.

Green, therefore, renders a great service, particularly to union rank and filers, by bringing out the most pertinent facts and the trends they indicate, and by critically examining the various theories.

His approach is eminently reasonable and factual--a refreshing change from the sweeping dogmatism of much labor writing. He has a rare faculty for understanding and taking into account viewpoints other than his own, even while he argues against them.

Green starts by looking into the changing composition of the working class. He concludes that, far from labor becoming middle class, "it is the middle class that is eroding, not the working class. An increasing proportion of white-collar and professional people are now becoming part of an enlarged working class, even though many may think of themselves as middle class."

Though concentrating on today's labor movement, Green casts some backward glances at events that shed light on current conditions. His chapter on the CIO

expulsions examines the reasons for the Left setbacks of that time. Green counters the animus of those on the New Left who have tried to blame the Old Left for everything, by explaining and defending some of the tactics it pursued. At the same time he looks for valid lessons to be drawn from mistakes and errors of a militant Left that "generally can well be proud of the role they played in the historic struggles of the thirties and forties."

In dealing with exploitation and the class struggle, as with other topics, Green does not start with theoretical assertion but rather brings out the basic facts that lead to his Marxist conclusions. His chapter on "Exploitation US Style" shows that relatively higher living standards and other special U.S. labor conditions do not diminish U.S. capitalism's exploitation of its workers.

Green does not minimize the divisions and hostilities between workers due to differences in income and privilege, and notably along ethnic and racial lines. But he also offers evidence that "despite continued competition between workers, they are compelled increasingly to act as a class in defense of their living standards and rights."

Among fundamental influences on labor today, Green deals succinctly with the growth of monopoly, conglomerates and multinationals; the impact of automation and technological change; and the increasing role of government in labor affairs ("the third person at the bargaining table," he calls it).

The latter and greater part of the book deals with the crisis of organized labor, and the forces within it making for change. Here the readers of LABOR TODAY will find themselves on familiar ground, since Green expands on issues this paper is designed to cover. The author summarizes recent labor developments to bring out the process of change under way and democratic advances already made.

STILL CHEAPER BY THE BUNDLE

## LT announces price hike

101 copies or more will be 10¢ each, plus postage and handling.

The ravages of inflation and a depressed economy have taken their toll at LABOR TODAY these past two years. Although our revenues are up, our circulation is up--these still haven't kept pace with increased costs of our printing, mailing and overhead.

Beginning October 1, we are compelled to raise our two-year subscription rate to \$6.50, a savings of \$1.20 over the newsstand price; and our three-year rate to \$8.50, a savings of \$3.05 over the newsstand price. Our one-year price will remain at \$3.50. Two-year and three-year subscribers will still profit over the one-year rate. Foreign subscriptions, however, will go to \$10 for one year.

Bundle rates will remain at 15¢ each for less than 101 copies--and the rate for



FLORENCE CRILEY

Florence Atkinson Criley, an international representative of the United Electrical Workers and former midwest director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, died in Chicago last June at 61.

A long-time friend of LABOR TODAY, Sister Criley began her organizing career in the 1930's, organizing rubber and cannery workers. During the past few years, she had devoted much of her energy to building the Coalition of Labor Union Women, serving as vice-chairperson of its Chicago Chapter.

To list some of the further chapter topics is to indicate the wide range of this compact book: The nature of the labor establishment; The "base of the pyramid" (role of local unions, shop stewards, and other rank and file activities); The two sides of unionism (class partnership and class struggle); Organizing the unorganized; Young and old workers; Class and race; Women who work, and; Global comparisons.

The book concludes by looking into various aspects of class consciousness, as they manifest themselves in the United States; and by tracing evidence of a new labor radicalism.

"New labor winds are blowing," says Green. "Every indication is that events will propel workers toward greater militancy, unity and class consciousness. A new labor radicalism is on the horizon."

We hate to ever raise our rates, but if LABOR TODAY is going to survive, its income has to come closer to matching its out-go.



# Labor Day Greetings

OWEN TAPPER  
LOCAL 189 AFT  
MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

QUEENS, NY SUPPORTERS OF "THE  
RANK AND FILE IN ACTION."

"30 for 40 in '77,  
clear the way--dump ENA!"

UNITED PAPERWORKERS R&F MEMBERS

ROBERTA L. WOOD  
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JOAN PHILLIPS, PRESIDENT  
AFSCME LOCAL 2081  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GEORGE MEYERS  
NEW YORK CITY

"A viable labor press is essential  
to the growth and development of the  
labor movement. The survival of  
LABOR TODAY is an essential ingre-  
dient of this process. The Washington  
Teachers Union joins with millions of  
labor union members in this salute  
to Labor Day."

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189  
AFT, AFL-CIO

"Congratulations for 15 years of  
struggle on behalf of the rank  
and file."

WILLIAM H. SIMONS, PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON TEACHERS UNION

HAROLD SHAPIRO  
AMALGAMATED MEATCUTTERS  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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GREETINGS!

LARRY MC GURTY  
OAKLAWN-HOMETOWN  
FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

ED BONTEMPO  
TAKOMA PARK, MD.

ERNIE DEMAIO  
NEW YORK CITY

"Greetings and thanks to the staff of  
LABOR TODAY for their dedication and  
contributions to the struggles of the  
rank and file in fighting for a mili-  
tant trade union movement."

THE OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE  
BOARD OF UE LOCAL 1114  
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BRAC LOCAL 547  
DOWNERS GROVE, ILLINOIS

"Congratulations on the first  
fifteen years--here's to the  
next fifteen."

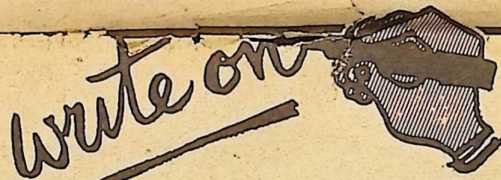
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ART HEITZER, ESQ.  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

IN SOLIDARITY--MILWAUKEE

JOHNATHAN KOTSAKIS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



## GOOD NEWS FROM CINCINNATI

## SAME PROBLEMS

To the Editors:

To the Editors:

Just a few lines to let you know that we  
here at Local 776 are thinking of you.

I would also like to take this opportunity  
to express our view on how important we  
feel TUAD is to the labor movement in  
these particularly trying times.

I guess this could best be explained by  
taking a look at how TUAD helped us here  
at Local 776 in bringing democracy back  
to our union.

Just a few short months ago, union members  
could say nothing at union meetings. They  
weren't allowed to vote on how their money  
was spent and they were attacked by the  
union committee if they dared complain  
over union matters and their concerns.

Thanks to you a rank and file movement  
was started and under your guidance it  
was able to remedy the problems already  
mentioned.

I believe there is a permanent need for  
TUAD and it is up to the rank and filers  
to see to it that TUAD continues.

We here will be looking at ways and means  
in the near future to assist TUAD.

Ron Kidwell  
Local 776

Your article in the February issue of  
LABOR TODAY on seniority and racism was  
excellent. I am with the Sheetworkers  
Union 6301 and can say we have the same  
problems in our plant just like the one  
you mentioned in regards to the Bethlehem  
Steel Corporation's Lackawanna Works.  
Now that my eyes have been opened wider  
on this subject, you can be assured I will  
pursue it further.

William Gfroehrer  
Kearny, NJ

## WARNING APPRECIATED



To the Editors:

Please accept this as my way of congratu-  
lations and thanks to you for the effort  
put forth in getting LABOR TODAY published.  
I especially like articles on safety and  
work conditions.

I work in a plant where polyvinyl chloride  
and asbestos is used. The potential hazards  
concern me very much and I need all the  
information I can get on these lethal  
materials.

Frank Valdez, Jr.  
Houston, TX

## Defend lives

(continued from page 1)

backed by "communists." To prove his point,  
he waved about some documents from a group  
calling itself the "Revolutionary Communist  
Party," which, ironically, attacks Sadlow-  
ski as a "class collaborationist."

There are high stakes involved in the steel  
union. The stakes not only include the top  
offices and their plush salaries--they in-  
clude millions and millions of dollars in  
profits to the steel companies that come  
from a friendly relationship with the  
Abel leadership.

The parallels between the events in the  
Mine Workers and the Steel Workers are too  
obvious to ignore.

The entire labor movement has to mobilize  
to cast a spotlight on what's happening  
in the Steel Workers to prevent any more  
tragic occurrences.

We urge that telegrams be sent to I.W.  
Abel, President, USWA, 5 Gateway Center,  
Pittsburgh, PA 15222; William J. Usery,  
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.;  
Clarence Kelley, Director, Federal Bureau  
of Investigation, Washington, D.C. Copies  
should be sent also to Steelworkers'  
Fightback, 9271 S. South Chicago Avenue,  
Chicago, IL 60617.



AN EFFECTIVE VOICE IN  
THE LABOR MOVEMENT  
**Toward LT's  
15th birthday**

Some time in February, our friends in Chicago are going to throw a party to celebrate the 15th anniversary of LABOR TODAY. We are not planning a party for the hell of it--although there is a time and place for those kinds of parties.

We will pay tribute to the selfless dedication of those who have given above and beyond in what sometimes seems the endless grind of putting out a monthly publication.

We will pay tribute to our readers and friends who have made it possible for LABOR TODAY to weather 15 years of constant financial crisis.

Jim Williams' speech will summarize a 6-month LABOR TODAY fund-raising and circulation campaign, just as his Labor Day speech in Oakland on Labor Day will kick it off.

As far as independent labor journals go, 15 is a ripe old age. Most die of financial starvation--or programmatic bankruptcy--long before then.

Many LABOR TODAY readers were not yet in the labor movement in 1962 when the first issue of LT was published in Detroit. Others



have become readers since we moved to Chicago in '68 and, just last week, another half-dozen rank and filers became first-time subscribers.

We will celebrate all of this in February as we wind up 15 years of rank and file struggles--15 years of slugging it out--15 years with their hard-won rank and file victories and agonizing set-backs.

The past 15 years have seen important changes come to the labor movement. They have laid the basis for even greater changes in the next 15 years. You can bet on it--LABOR TODAY will be there then, too!



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