

Labor Law reform . . .

Battle in the Class War

by RUTH JORDAN

Labor law reform legislation is either dead or dying depending on how one views the compromise being hammered out between labor and its supporters in the Senate. But interestingly enough the dying patient has ignited some fiery talk that sounds like class warfare in the United States, and pointed the way for future battle strategies.

Weakening amendments to the bill that labor considered the single most important item on its legislative agenda were offered before the bill could even come to a vote on the Senate floor. The failure to achieve cloture and cut off a right-wing filibuster signaled, at least to Senate Majority Leader Byrd, a need to tone down the measure. The amendments were grudgingly accepted by the AFL-CIO, although specifically not endorsed. Even those weakening amendments didn't win the numbers needed. Vote after vote, for a total of six, Senators staggered into the fold—but not enough of them. The Majority Leader couldn't get his own party to come along. At the last moment word came that Senator Russell Long (D-La.) would vote for cloture. By then it was too late. The Long vote had been held out tantalizingly in return for support from labor and the Administration on the natural gas deregulation bill. Labor wouldn't buy the deal.

The bill (as we go to press) is still in the Senate Labor Committee where its strongest proponents, Senators Javits (R-N.Y.) and Williams (D-N.J.), are trying to get a version that Byrd has characterized as "lean and hard," which for labor can only mean stripped of its significance in all but the most technical provisions.

The setback, coming at the end of what had been la-



The Advocate

Labor law reform would have helped these workers in New Mexico. When Winn-Dixie bought out the Foodway chain, it refused to sign a multi-employer contract, precipitating a strike. The National Labor Relations Board has filed a complaint against Winn-Dixie, citing 26 unfair labor practices and violations of national labor law. Winn-Dixie is appealing in the federal courts. Labor law reform sought to combat such delaying tactics.

bor's most militant struggle in recent years to involve its membership in a legislative confrontation with conservatives, ignited an angry round of anti-corporate statements by the leadership.

Even before the bill had reached the point of defeat, Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, spoke before a top level meeting of corporate and union officials on "improving the quality of work life in America." He must have knocked the Arden House thinkers on their respective tails when he likened the anti-labor law reform campaign of big business to "class warfare."

It wasn't only the Neanderthals like J.P. Stevens that were out to thwart the drive, he said. Virtually every business and corporate leader was involved. One business magazine has stated that corporations and their organizations spent over \$5 million in activities to fight labor law reform.

"I confess," he added, "that I am not all that comfortable to be here engaged in earnest reminiscences

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BATTLE LINES

Throwing down the gauntlet, two labor leaders recently referred to open "class warfare" in the United States. Speaking to a group of business leaders at an Arden House conference in May, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland said, "I know that so close beneath that veneer of civility which your firms find expedient, lies the bedrock primitive honing for the master-servant relationship."

In a statement announcing his resignation from the Labor-Management Group, a presidential advisory organization of top business and labor executives concerned with economic and social policy, Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, said, "I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society."

Fraser called for a meeting of labor and reform groups to be held in September to discuss political action. "We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat-down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's," he said.

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about the future of industrial society with the convivial Dr. Jekylls of corporate enterprise while their Mister Hydes are busy at work in Washington preserving the power of certain companies to add to their profits by breaking the law."

Kirkland's anger, early expressed, was more than matched by Auto Workers President Doug Fraser, who after the defeat of cloture resigned from the President's Labor-Management Group and issued a strongly worded statement charging leaders of the business community with waging a "one-sided class war."

Fraser went on to say that all labor-management cooperation was threatened by the action. Past cooperation had succeeded because both business and labor had a general "loyalty to an allegedly benign capitalism . . ." But that system, said Fraser, "has worked best of course for the haves in our society rather than the have-nots." He called the anti-labor-law drive dishonest, "vicious and unfair."

Filibuster-proof

Ironically, the bill which provoked all this strong reaction was one that no one thought very much of at the start. It was a compromise measure between labor leaders and the White House written after labor had suffered a serious setback with the defeat of situs picketing. The final measure had the President's support and was considered "OK." It was aimed essentially at protecting workers' rights to organize while not doing very much to help workers already in unions.

When the final package was presented to union officers, lawyers and lobbyists, some of them snorted with disgust at the mild-mannered measure it had become. But in the end all agreed that what was needed was something that was filibuster-proof. They wanted a labor law reform bill that would not stir up Republican and Dixiecrat union-busters.

To understand the intent of the bill, one must appreciate the bitter history from which it derived. The proposed reforms were meant to "fulfill the promise" made to workers when the National Labor Relations Act was passed more than forty years ago. The thrust of that original piece of legislation was to order corporations to stop their violent efforts to block unionization by their employees. It made the victory of the CIO possible against the power and money of corporate America. Until that point efforts to organize were met with vigilantes, goons and guns.

In the intervening years, the goons had put on fancy suits and used the courtrooms instead of alleys to beat up the workers. They were assisted in their dangerous mischief by various Congresses that had consistently amended the act to limit to power of unions. Taft-Hartley was clearly such a series of amendments and paved the way for state Right to Work laws. And although many union reformers welcomed the Landrum-Griffin amendments that included a bill of rights for union members, it, too, was meant as an attack on unions.

Both drives to amend the Act were accompanied by hearings that tarred the labor movement with charges of corruption and abuses. Both gave clear messages to corporate America. The message was that unions were on the defensive and business would have a free hand in fighting organization efforts.

The labor movement, therefore, saw this legislation as a new message that would reflect the new political attitudes of a Democratic administration. The message would tell corporate hooligans that their days of law breaking were over. In the case of consistent violators like J.P. Stevens it could even mean the loss of government contracts—something the labor movement had been trying to get the government to do since Lyndon Johnson's administration. It would also reaffirm the rights of individual workers to openly support union organization no matter how remote their community or how dominated by local industry.

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The signal was read by the Right all too clearly and in the struggle that ensued, business and New Right Senators such as Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn showed their loyalty to their class.

Coalition-building

The battle was not all one-sided, however. A legislative struggle so momentous, one that involved so many rank and file members, that stimulated unions to spend over \$2 million in an educational and organizational effort is, like a strike, never completely lost. The struggle for labor law reform increased the awareness of the membership and revived, at least temporarily, the jaded spirits of those labor lobbyists who have climbed the Hill one time too many. It forged new links between the national leadership and the field in a way that increased the appreciation each has for the other.

Unlike the fight for situs picketing, it cannot be said that labor held back. True, there were shortcomings within the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and in its field operations that made it slow to respond to crisis. The AFL-CIO's Labor Law Reform Task Force was an effort to get around some of the shields thrown up to protect various departments' jurisdictional turf. Vic Kamber, who directed the Task Force, and Doris Hardesty, who directed field activities, were determined to cut through the Federation's protocol and red tape. But they didn't always have the kind of support they should have had from the staff. Ultimately, however, the staff and the leadership were unified on the goal even though differences over tactics continued to crop up.

From the beginning, Kamber committed the Federation to two things that set this effort apart from others of recent years. Labor Law Reform built a national coalition with virtually everyone on the democratic Left or in liberal circles. It involved thousands of rank-and-file and local union leaders, including hundreds of individuals who had been victimized by the shortcomings of the NLRA. Many of these victims, of course, had not even become union members. Locating them drew in unionists in states and cities as well as international union staff. The Labor Law Reform Memo was issued every week to more than 60,000 people across the nation. The leadership of the Federation agreed to rallies and demonstrations—certainly not the usual AFL-CIO style in dealing with Congress.

The effort was unified, pulling together affiliates from industrial unions, the white collar unions, the building trades. An ad from AFSCME in the Washington newspapers was particularly effective. Support was welcomed from feminists and environmentalists and the payoffs for the hard work these groups did is still coming in. Legislative Director Andy Biemiller, hardly a flaming feminist, delivered George Meany's testimony on behalf of ERA extension in person. Meany's close friend in the labor movement, J.C. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers, delivered Meany's message to the ERA rally and march.

The environmentalists won a fair hearing from the labor movement, particularly Environmentalists for Full Employment. But even such an old-time environmental group as the Sierra Club, which has locked horns

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DSOC Board Actions

The DSOC national board met in New York City June 10-11. Some of the actions taken at the meeting were:

- Changed the number of members needed to charter a local to 15. All chartered locals will have representation on the board;
- Created a liaison committee to convene an informal meeting of democratic Left groups to discuss joint activities;
- Voted to hold a 200-delegate national convention in Houston, Texas in February, 1979;
- Voted to incorporate local dues into national dues, thereby raising total dues (see accompanying story);
- Hired a new managing editor for NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT.
- Urged DSOC to explore possibility of holding a major democratic socialist event at the Democratic Mid-term Convention in Memphis;
- Made women's issues a priority;
- Reaffirmed commitment to affirmative action within DSOC;
- Adopted a series of constitutional changes having to do with voting at national conventions, representation and number of national board meetings.

Copies of the complete minutes have been sent to all locals. If you wish to read them, contact your chapter secretary. The next meeting of the board is scheduled for November 18-19 in Philadelphia. □

Dues Hike To Aid Locals

A new dues system adopted by the national board at its June meeting will incorporate local dues into a one-time payment, giving local chapters greater financial resources than they now have. Present DSOC dues are: \$50 sustaining; \$15 regular; \$8 limited income. Each local sets its own dues and national members may or may not pay local dues. The new system raises the regular dues to \$20 and the limited income to \$10. From these, \$4 of the regular dues and \$1 of the limited income dues will go back to the locals for their use. The balance of the increase will go to support international activities, including dues to the Socialist International of which DSOC is a member.

In addition to providing a solid financial base for locals, the new system will eliminate the confusion that often arose from separate billings for local and national dues. This action marks the first time that DSOC dues have been increased since its founding in 1973. During board discussion, some members opposed the increase on the grounds that it might bar membership from people in poor communities. Michael Harrington, national chair, and Jack Clark, national secretary, stressed that no one would be kept out of DSOC because of an inability to pay dues. Others noted that the increase does not provide the national office with more money. It should, however, lead to an increase in local activity in 1979. □

(Continued from page 2)

with individual unions over specific job versus conservation issues, came out for labor law reform and was hailed for its effort. Relations were forged with religious leftists, radical feminists and re-forged with civil rights groups and consumer organizations. The emphasis of the coalition effort was on separating "them" from "us"; the political Left from the political Right.

The losers in the struggle had to be the sectarian leftists who work for the AFL-CIO and who would have required a political litmus test for organizations and individuals before welcoming their support. They were looked on as downright "silly" particularly when they attempted to drop DSOC Chair Michael Harrington's name from a pamphlet listing supporters.

One might well ask, "If the victories were all that swell, how come I feel so lousy?" And the answer is clear—the labor movement and its allies lost. And it is a serious omen that this effort, the best by the labor movement and the least sectarian by the Left, should have fallen so short of its goal.

Strategic principles may differ between those who would have handled the individual battles one way or the other, but essentially no strictly legislative tactic would have changed the relationships on Capitol Hill or the lackluster nature of President Carter's leadership. Even if cloture had not fallen two votes short of victory, there still would have been the treacherous task of defeating some 300 amendments that had been introduced by the filibusterers as a fall-back maneuver.

The issue for socialists who are trade unionists and for their allies is more complex than tactics on the Hill. The class war talk of leaders like Kirkland and Fraser has been heady conversation for the Left. But it is still basically just talk.

Reservoir of Anger

After the cloture vote failed, there was an enormous well-spring of anger among rank-and-file members and local leadership and staff. A strong and serious suggestion was made to the AFL-CIO leadership that there be demonstrations or selected work stoppages, even a massive march on Washington. The recommendation called for a political protest that would match the intensity of the anger. Those tactics were quickly rejected. Instead, a petition drive was initiated aimed at bringing a stronger bill out of committee. Over a million signatures have been collected so far, but one can wonder why the same energy was not expended for a more powerful protest. The question becomes even more poignant in the face of the successful national ERA march that garnered both excellent press and Congressional attention.

Ordinary union members have been writing letters to Meany, their union presidents, and the Task Force questioning the appropriateness of labor's response to the Senate's action.

One Communications Workers of America local president wrote to Meany that "while petitions and post-cards are fine" a more appropriate response would be to have all workers form informational picket lines during lunchtime at their places of work. He even sug-

gested a picket sign motto: "Freedom Now to Join a Union." Let's tell the Senate, said this union president, "American workers will be mad as hell if the Senate continues to block this legislation." He concludes his impassioned plea by saying, "It's better to fight for what you believe than let this happen to the workers. Anyone that doesn't vote with us should be defeated."

The American labor movement is committed to social justice. Is it a labor movement that can commit itself to social change? It is one thing to be right on almost every issue, to instinctively identify with the have-nots, to correctly block efforts to bring favor and privilege to those already favored and privileged. It is quite another thing to organize members to take political action that will shake up the Democratic party and the politicians in the House and Senate.

The labor law reform battle should help the labor movement realize that even the most sophisticated knowledge of the way things are done on Capitol Hill won't help in winning laws to change basic relationships in our society.

It took massive dislocation of society and almost complete unity on the Left to win civil rights legislation and an end to legal segregation and discrimination. Doug Fraser sounded the call in his statement when he said, "I would rather sit with the rural poor, the desperate children of urban blight, the victims of racism, and working people seeking a better life than with those whose religion is the status quo, whose goal is profit and whose hearts are cold."

What is needed to achieve labor law reform or planning for full employment or national health insurance is a more powerful alignment between the labor movement, blacks and minorities and the democratic Left. It would mean forgetting the divisions of the Viet Nam war years, taking to the streets when necessary, shunning Congress when they deserve it and organizing union members to take political power they deserve on behalf of *both* social justice and social change. □

Ruth Jordan is a labor journalist and Vice Chair of DSOC.

Write To Us

If you're a typical reader of NDJ, you just finished reading one or more of the articles in this issue and said to yourself: 1) He/she is absolutely right. I wish he/she had also said . . . ; or, 2) How could she/he have written that? The correct analysis would show that. . . .

Now, not only your study group, cat, parakeet, lover, grocery clerk, etc. can know your opinion. You can share it with our readers through our Reader Response Round-up. In each issue we'll run a summary of reader responses to articles. We can't promise word-for-word reprinting of your letters, but we'll certainly convey the gist and tone (within the limits of recent Supreme Court decisions). Send all correspondence to: Editor, NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT, 853 Broadway, Room 617, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

Economy: Front Line in Class War

by MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In recent months, two American labor leaders, UAW President Douglas Fraser and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, have talked of "class struggle."

In a nation in which most people usually deny the very existence of social classes, that is frank and tough talk. And for good reason.

The American economy today is bedeviled by deep structural contradictions that have made much of the liberal optimism—and program—of the 1960's obsolete.

The American corporate class has a plan to deal with the problem. Working people—the poor, women, youth, and minorities—should pay for the painful adjustments and even accept lowered real incomes. The wealthy should be given bonuses to persuade them to pitch in and help the society.

The worst aspect of this soak-the-common-people line is that the common people are, in disturbing numbers, buying the idea that we will solve our ills through huge handouts for the fat cats.

Equality, GM-Style

One case illustrates this best. Some months ago General Motors proposed that everyone in the corporation, from the executive suite to the assembly line, should hold down their compensation to a five percent increase. What could be fairer than treating the top brass and the least-skilled worker in the same impartial manner?

Doug Fraser gave the profound and simple answer. Under that formula, the chief executive officer would qualify for a \$45,000 raise! Fraser clearly saw that when you treat people equally in a system that is outrageously unequal, you reinforce injustice, not fairness.

To combat this pernicious notion of "equality," it is necessary to review briefly the structural character of the crisis.

Stagflation—simultaneous recession and inflation—is subverting the received liberal wisdom of the 1960's and its theory that high unemployment would bring lower

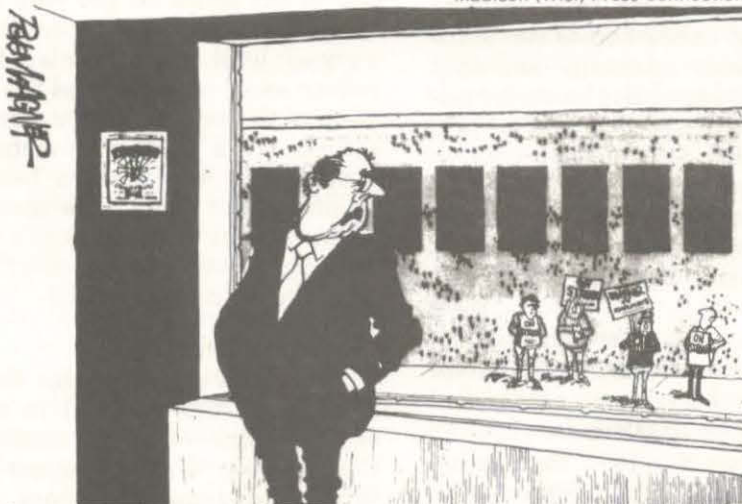
prices. It is, in considerable measure, the result of the monopoly power of gigantic corporations that raise prices when demand contracts in order to maintain high target profits with lower volume.

This situation is aggravated by a medical system as inefficient as it is cruel, bidding up health costs by providing third-party insurance for fee-for-service care, thus removing all incentives for cost control.

centage that Jack Kennedy found so intolerable in 1960.

To pretty up this situation, the Council of Economic Advisors and the mainstream economists explain that we must accept a permanent increase of about two million in the number of those necessarily out of work. Women are blamed for this, for, we are told, it is their massive entry into the labor market that is causing all the trouble.

Madison (Wis.) Press Connection



'JUST BECAUSE ONE PERCENT OF THE ADULT POPULATION IN THE U.S. OWNS 40% OF THE WEALTH DOESN'T MEAN THE OTHER 99% HAVE TO BE SUCH SOREHEADS ABOUT IT.'

Meanwhile, a policy of federally subsidized farm scarcity primarily benefits agribusiness and raises food prices at the supermarket.

And a deliberately wasteful energy complex, having created a crisis by making the nation unnecessarily dependent on Middle Eastern oil, now proposes to solve the mess it made if the government will provide enough subsidies and allow industry to despoil the environment.

Finally, an "anti-inflationary" tight-money policy contributes to inflation by pricing ordinary people out of the housing market.

These structural features of the economy increase inflation even in recession. Then the fear of inflation becomes a reason for adopting policies that lead to a recession which can not solve inflation.

So Carter Administration officials talk of "pockets of unemployment" when the jobless rate is higher than the Eisenhower per-

Snake Oil

And now, on Labor Day 1978, economists tell us that we may be headed for another down-turn, but not lower prices. To American workers, whose standard of living has been on a roller coaster since 1968, this is a bewildering, frustrating experience.

The Carter Administration has provided neither analyses nor alternatives to these trends. It is as understandable as it is unacceptable that people who could, and should, be supporting the response of the democratic Left are buying snake oil from the sophisticated Right.

Social Benefits of Private Profit

The key thesis of the new corporate ideology is that private profit is so socially beneficial that it should be treated in privileged fashion as compared to wages and public spending.

This is a fraud wrapped up in a half-truth.

In a society dominated by private corporations, new investment comes primarily from profits. Therefore, growth, and the jobs growth brings, are, if one concedes all basic economic decisions to business, dependent on profits.

Even that proposition must be qualified at once. First, we don't have to give corporations the right to make all investment decisions. In Sweden, for instance, a social security system puts pension money into a largely cooperative housing industry.

In the Tennessee Valley, the TVA (which is far from perfect) shows that public bodies can accumulate funds internally and that this process need not be under private corporate control and its profit-maximizing calculus.

There are ways, existing ways, of taking away the sovereign power of private profits and asserting democratic control over the investment process.

Secondly, and more immediately, there is evidence that the corporate ideologists have so oversimplified their point as to falsify it.

For instance, in 1975, then Treasury Secretary William Simon testified before the Senate Finance Committee. He predicted a shortfall of \$2.5 trillion in capital in the coming period and on the basis of that estimate argued for lavish treatment of unearned income.

Martin Feldstein of Harvard, who is anything but a radical in such matters, later pointed out that Simon had used a statistical trick which magnified his figures ten times! The actual projection, Feldstein said, should have been \$250 billion, not \$2.5 trillion.

There was a similar phenomenon with the notion of "crowding out."

Several years ago the business press said that federal spending would "crowd" private investors out of the market and thus make a capital shortage. Not only did the shortage fail to materialize—to the embarrassment of the *Wall Street Journal*—but the *London Economist*, a very sophisticated corporate periodical, said that the theory itself "has not proved generally valid. . . ."

Reality may not correspond to the corporate image, but millions of Americans are convinced that it does.

This is why two tax proposals, one to cut levies on the very rich, the other to hold down spending to a pre-set limit, are so popular. They reduce social spending and the taxation of the wealthy in the name of setting off a private investment boom which will create a healthy economy. But there is no shred of evidence that these soak-the-people schemes will have the effect that is supposed to justify them.

Capital Gains

The first variant on this theme is found in the proposal to slash capital gains taxation made by Congressmen William Steiger (R-Wis.) and James A. Jones (D-Okla.). These schemes (Steiger's is the more reactionary of the two) will provide 80 percent of the benefits for people with incomes of more than \$100,000 a year.

Both of them abolish the "minimum tax" feature of the capital gains law. This could mean, Treasury Secretary Blumenthal said in July, that some individuals could have millions in income and get a tax refund from Washington! The outrageous rationale is that tax handouts for the rich will motivate them to invest, thus generating jobs that will benefit everyone. Two

brief points explode this notion.

Most investment funds are not raised because rich individuals put new money into the market. In 1976, non-financial corporations raised \$213.5 billion in capital. Of that, \$125.8 billion came from within the companies and only \$48.6 billion from credit markets.

The bulk of that last figure came from pension funds and insurance companies.

The *New York Times* reported that manufacturing corporations raised only \$800 million through the public sale of stock in 1977.

Most of the stock transactions that will be favored under Steiger-Jones have *nothing* to do with raising new money to pay for jobs and *everything* to do with increasing the wealth of the rich. Billions in government money would be handed over to people playing poker with old stocks, a game that does not put a single person to work.

Secondly, capital is already the beneficiary of tremendous privileges: capital gains exclusions; tax credits; special depreciation rules, etc. Government policy, Robert Eisner of Northwestern University says, is artificially cheapening capital, not making it too expensive.

Why then the reluctance to invest? It is because the wobbly, uncertain economy, with its structural problems of stagflation, is not an enticing prospect to business. Genuine full employment would do a thousands times more for corporate investment than tax giveaways. The truth is on the side of the Left, not the Right—but few see it.

Right-wing Laffer

The other tax proposal on the American agenda, the Roth-Kemp, has dropped out of sight for a while, but it will be heard of in the 1978

Average earnings of production and non-supervisory workers 1967-77

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Hourly earnings*											
Current dollars	\$ 2.68	\$ 2.85	\$ 3.04	\$ 3.22	\$ 3.44	\$ 3.67	\$ 3.92	\$ 4.22	\$ 4.54	\$ 4.87	\$ 5.25
1967 dollars	2.68	2.74	2.77	2.77	2.84	2.93	2.95	2.86	2.82	2.86	2.89
Average weekly earnings*											
Current dollars	101.84	107.73	114.61	119.64	127.28	136.16	145.43	154.45	163.89	176.29	189.53
1967 dollars	101.84	103.39	104.38	102.72	104.93	108.67	109.26	104.57	101.67	103.40	104.42
Spendable average weekly earnings* (worker and 3 dependents):											
Current dollars	90.86	95.28	99.99	104.61	112.41	121.09	127.41	134.37	145.93	156.50	170.34
1967 dollars	90.86	91.44	91.07	89.95	92.67	96.64	95.73	90.97	90.53	91.79	93.85

*Private nonfarm sector

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

elections, and possibly in the 1980 Presidential campaign. This nostrum puts a limit on taxes of 19 percent of GNP in 1983. Here again, the argument (which is based on something called the "Laffer Curve") holds that the tax cut will generate such a boom that the government will gain in aggregate what it loses from lower tax rates.

But Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Nixon, agrees with Walter Heller that this is an "extremely improbable" outcome.

That does not stop the class strugglers in the board room. They are pushing for these tax cuts even though they will not have the social effect they are supposed to achieve.

They have mounted brutal campaigns against both labor law reform and the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment act.

The unions, and the democratic Left in general, are on the defensive. How do we respond?

Business Confidence

Part of the problem derives from the Carter Administration. Carter himself accepts the broad outlines of the corporate ideology, albeit a more humane version in theory and practice, than Gerald Ford's.

He has been standing on his head to get business "confidence," and ignoring the people who elected him. He has been pushing the notion of a magic governmental percentage of GNP which plays into the hands of Roth-Kemp. He is currently retreating on capital gains.

People's Confidence

He is, in short, better than Ford and not good enough. He should be put on notice that, after the 1978 congressional elections, the unions and the democratic Left will explore the possibility of alternatives to him in 1980. He should be reminded that he needs the confidence of the people, not just of business.

But what program should labor counterpose to Carter? The case for labor law reform and Humphrey-Hawkins has been stated often enough in these pages and hardly needs repeating. I would only comment that, if, as is at least possible, a downturn does come, Humphrey-



Steel Labor

Hawkins will take on an urgency it seems to have lost even among its supporters.

Three Programs

But clearly, labor law reform and Humphrey-Hawkins do not add up to a response to the reality—and the fears—that have created the current mood. And they do not, by themselves, expose the fraud of corporate ideology.

How do we do that?

I think that initiatives by three leading unionists point in the right—which is to say, the Left—direction.

First, the campaign to educate the American people on tax policy announced by Jerry Wurf at the AFSCME Convention in June is critical for all of the democratic Left. Public employees are being savaged because of the current reactionary drift, for they are the most obvious scapegoats for the tax resisters.

It is therefore critical to AFSCME that the public be educated to see through corporate trickery. That is easier said than done, since it is no simple matter to translate complicated statistics and analyses into a form accessible to the people and able to counter the tax-cutting simplicities.

The key, however, is obvious: what we want is tax justice. If the rich are made to pay their fair share, the tax burden on the rest of us can be reduced at the same time as critical social investments are made.

Secondly, there is the new energy coalition under the leadership of Bill Winpisinger of the Machinists. It is a model of the way in which

unions and the democratic Left can get together. It is focusing on social alternatives to the corporate plan to get paid for dealing with the mess that the energy corporations made.

It is critical, as the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives has emphasized, that there be a progressive response to the inflationary problems of our energy economy. Winpisinger and his coalition are trying to do precisely that.

And, finally, there is the unrelenting pressure from Doug Fraser of the UAW—supported by George Meany—in favor of national health. The argument will be made that we can't afford medical justice, that its cost is inflationary.

The truth, as Fraser has said, is the opposite: our current system is the most wasteful in the Western world—and it brings Americans care at high cost and low quality.

Therefore, if the analysis of this article is correct, democratic socialists have an extremely important role to play within these various coalitions, and inside the democratic Left in general.

The battle in 1978 is joined between the political economy of capital and the policy economy of labor. The Left, alas, did not define the issues in that way. The Right has. Now we must accept the challenge.

We socialists are more than familiar with it—and that is why we can make a special contribution to the common effort.

For the point must be a class struggle from *our* side to place the burdens of structural change where they belong, on the corporate rich.

□

Int'l Metal Fed Urges Worker Participation

Following is a resolution on industrial democracy which was passed unanimously by the October 1977 Congress of the International Metal Workers Federation (IMF). Among the North American unions affiliated with the IMF are: the UAW, the Steel Workers, the Machinists, the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine workers (IUE), and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW).

The Task Force on Industrial Democracy, a subcommittee of the DSOC National Board, recommended the publishing of this resolution in the NEWSLETTER.

The Congress declares that:

- the trade unions, which are pledged to defend and promote the interests of the workers everywhere and under all conditions, have a justified stake in extending the workers' and the union influence in the industrial decision-making process;

- complete trade union freedom, recognition of the right to organization, collective bargaining autonomy and the right to strike constitute the basis for any democratization in the shop, the company and the economy as a whole;

- a constant process of negotiation, in which the trade unions act as combative and independent organizations, is the main effective influence on all aspects of company policy;

- a prime prerequisite of industrial democracy is full protection for representatives of the workers and their unions in the plants (members of works councils and shop stewards) against reprisals by the employer, such as dismissal or downgrading, and the granting of all rights enabling them effectively to carry out their tasks;

- management decisions daily affect the livelihood

(Continued on page 11)



Swedish Information Service

Workers, supervisors and production engineers in a Swedish auto plant meet to arrange work station layouts. Worker involvement in such discussions has resulted in increased worker safety on the job.

Hispanic Organizing Poses Challenge to Labor

by JOSE LALUZ

Hispanics have played a significant role in the development of many of the major unions in this country, particularly those that were organized as part of the efforts of the CIO in the '30s and '40s. The Steelworkers, Garment, Clothing and Textile, Electrical and Packinghouse unions have all had large Hispanic membership. As the service sector of the economy has expanded, Hispanics have found employment in the fields of sanitation and health care, education and social services, the hotel and restaurant industry and have been included in the organizing drives in these areas.

Special Efforts Needed

Successful as many organizing efforts have been, far too many Hispanics remain unorganized and those who are remain outside the mainstream of trade union activity. They are conspicuously absent from top union leadership.

Unions have failed to recognize the real differences Hispanics present to the labor movement, preferring to take the line that "We are all workers." While this is true, such a slogan does not go far enough. It does not take into account the fact that most Hispanics come from countries (Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico) whose histories have been scarred by the influence of United States expansionism and imperialism. In large part because of this and the constant exchange (except in the case of Cuba) between their countries and the U.S., Hispanics have not been forced to outwardly assimilate as rapidly as other immigrant groups and have maintained a fierce independence that seems at times baffling to non-Hispanics. Many Hispanics live outside the majority culture.

If unions are to reach them, they must make special efforts, not only to go after the unorganized in the fields and clothing mills, or among the undocumented, or "illegal aliens," but among the ranks of the already organized. There is only a handful of Hispanics in leadership positions at any level of union activity. This lack of leadership precludes the possibility of meaningful broad-based action on behalf of Hispanics in the labor movement. The newly formed Labor Council for Latin American Advancement is a first step in developing that leadership, but much is still to be done.

Hispanic trade unionists have much to learn from the struggles of blacks to build a greater presence in the American labor movement. They can say, as did Martin Luther King in Memphis, "the key to battling poverty is winning jobs for workers with decent pay through unionism." □

Jose LaLuz is a member of the Hispanic Commission of DSOC and is on the National Executive Board of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

Union-busting: New Tricks for Old Dogs

by DICK WILSON

"... if the union is unable to maintain support . . . it is because workers change their minds after thoughtfully evaluating the pros and cons of unionization in the light of information submitted by the company for their consideration."

Statement of James W. Shields of the Printing Industries of America (PIA) before the Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations, 95th Congress.

Thoughtful evaluation. Certainly it is an important part of democratic decision-making. And if this is behind the defeats of union organizing programs in the printing industry, there can be little cause for complaint. Unions should, according to this logic, prepare effective arguments and be able to better demonstrate their case if they want to win more elections.

What Shields did not tell Congress in his testimony last year was that PIA's affiliate, Master Printers, the "open shop association of non-union commercial printers," was then planning a seminar on decertification of unions for employers.

It was the first seminar of its kind held by the Master Printers section of PIA. In fact, MPA executive vice president Donald E. Sommer bragged that his group was the first trade association in the country to run a class on decertification, even though several private training and consulting groups pioneered this effort.

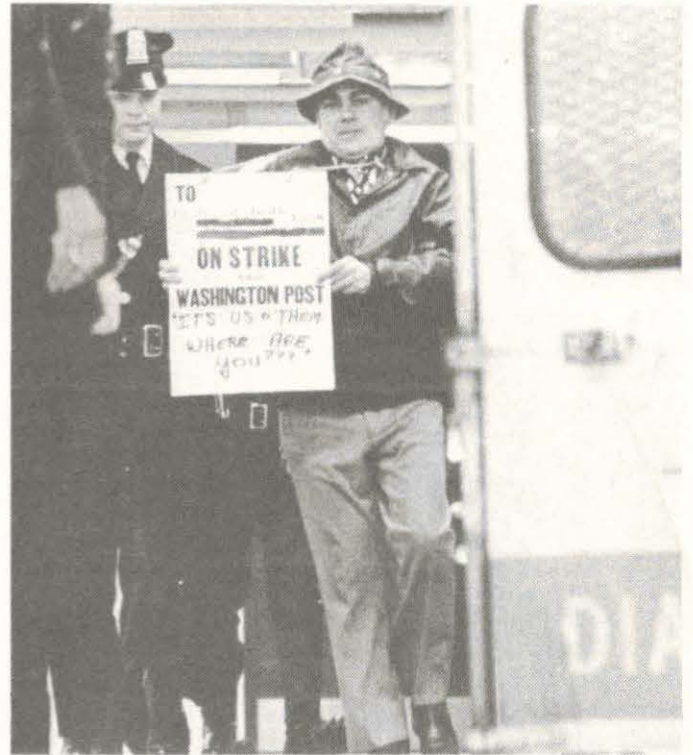
Fighting unions is nothing new for the Master Printers. That's why it's in business. But this seminar was special. It was *not* for regular members. The class was aimed instead at a new group—the unionized employers. The MPA was after companies that had union contracts and, in many cases, a long-standing relationship with unions. These potential members were to get a chance to join by getting rid of their collective bargaining agreements with MPA's help. There were over 60 "students" in the first class, representing employers from around the country.

The meeting itself had an aura of secrecy and conspiracy about it. Not only were the names of the participants kept secret, but each person was given a special card that had to be shown each time he or she entered the room.

Security was tight, for a good reason: decertification is a process that cannot *legally* be instigated in any way by the employer. Nevertheless, here were classes, for employers only, on how to *plan* the decertification of unions in the printing trades—a planning process that should, as one article passed out at the seminar suggested, have a lead time of at least a year.

Bargaining to Impasse

It's not easy to get workers to vote out a union once they have one—and have enjoyed the benefits of a union contract. To get a worker to vote against his self-interest takes some doing.



Wide World

When Washington Post pressmen went on strike in 1976 they were criticized for allegedly destroying Post property. Dick Wilson tells of some of the "dirty tricks" employers in the printing trades are learning about in order to break more unions as the Post did.

In the words of John H. Doesburg, Jr., General Counsel for the MPA, "It's difficult to motivate employees who have been in a union for a long time." But it can be done, he insisted. Careful preparation is needed.

The central strategy in bringing about a decertification is bargaining to impasse, i.e. the employer decides not to come to terms with the union at the expiration of the contract and forces the union to either collapse or go out on strike.

Doesburg explained that a bargaining impasse is the perfect situation for the employer to trigger decertification of the union. The frustration, the hopelessness, the failure of the union to win a new contract, can lead the workers to vote against their own organization.

The ideal situation would be for the union to walk away without a contract and leave the employer alone. But that is not likely to happen. Doesburg warned that the employer must be prepared for a strike. It is then that he can create a situation where workers, faced with many weeks of strike, will finally be "motivated" to vote against the union.

Doesburg advised that, in his experience, economic hardship sets in after two to three weeks, and the strike can be expected to collapse in 30 to 60 days. He speaks with long experience, having been in the union-busting business for Master Printers since 1949 and, before that, with the anti-union firm of R.R. Donnelly & Sons of Chicago.

(Continued on page 13)

Building Trades Face Affirmative Action

by BARBARA MOORE FITE

"Organize the unorganized."

Historically, this slogan has been one of the most basic precepts of the labor movement. Its importance in the 1970s applies particularly to women, who are becoming one of the most significant segments of the unorganized labor force. The challenge to labor unions of meeting that goal is illustrated by recent federal regulations mandating affirmative action in the building trades.

The number of women in the work force has risen steadily for the past 55 years. In 1920, only 20 percent of the work force was female. Today the percentage is 41 percent. Two of every five workers in the United States are women; nine of every ten women will work outside the home at some time during their lives.

Unfortunately, this large labor force, as of 1976, made up only 20 percent of all unionized labor, down from 21.3 percent in 1974. Yet women need union representation more than men. Despite some gains and a great deal of publicity about the effect of the women's movement, the economic status of women workers in general continues to lag behind that of men. Among fulltime workers employed throughout 1975, women's median earnings were less than three-fifths of men's—\$7,598 and \$12,680 respectively. Unemployment rates are consistently higher for women than for men. In 1977 female unemployment was 8.2 percent while male unemployment was 6.2 percent. This month's figures (May, 1978) show 7.5 percent for women as opposed to 5.1 percent for men.

The occupational distribution of women is very different from that of men. Women usually hold less skilled, lower paying jobs. While they made up 42.6 percent of the professional and technical workers in 1977, they were concentrated in such fields as teaching, nursing, library and health work. Only 22.3 percent were classified as managers and administrators. On the other hand, women made up 78.9 percent of all clerical workers in 1977. In the craft classification they registered 5 percent. Only 17.7 percent of women are employed in blue collar jobs.

Affirmative Action Suit

Now, results of a recent suit brought against the Department of Labor by several women's organizations highlight the position of women in the building trades unions. As part of the settlement, the Department issued regulations that require contractors holding federal or federally assisted contracts worth \$10,000 or more to employ 3.1 percent women by 1979 and 6.9 percent by 1981. In addition, the regulations spell out specific steps contractors must take to promote hiring and promotion of female and minority workers. In a related action, the Department for the first time included women in regulations governing apprenticeship and training programs in federally assisted programs.

Hoping to gain support for this affirmative action, National Organization for Women President Eleanor

Smeal bravely addressed the national convention of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in April. She appealed for cooperation between the unions and the women's movement, pointing out that their goals were the same—social and economic justice. It would be fair to say that she was not well received. Neither was I when I raised the issue with several of the leading members of my own local union. As far as I can tell, the building trades unions will do everything in their power to get these rulings reversed. I believe, however, that they will not succeed.

Two Options

When the unions realize this, they will have two choices. First, they can refuse to comply. This, I am certain, would be the beginning of the end. Building trades unions are under severe pressure now. Unemployment in construction in 1977 was 12.7 percent. Union workers are losing more and more jobs to non-union labor. If the unions refuse to take in and train women for jobs in construction, the government surely will. Non-union contractors are already planning recruitment campaigns. The result would be a non-union work force. The unions would lose more work and be further weakened. We have no reason to think that our present government would be saddened by this decline in union activity. The potential for such a blow is there, as is the potential for deepening the splits between working class men and women and whites and minorities. In a non-full employment economy, these issues have a power to divide us that we must resist. As socialists in the trade union movement, it is our responsibility to see



Swedish Information Service

This Swedish construction worker has more than a job in common with her U.S. sisters. They're both working in a man's world. In 1976 women made up less than two percent of the membership of the construction trades union, similar to American figures for women in construction trades.

that we don't miss the boat again, as we did with situs picketing and repeal of Section 14-b of Taft-Hartley.

But the building trades unions have another option. They can comply. Bringing women into unions has historically strengthened them, cutting away at a potentially threatening non-union work force. Unions are in a good position to recruit and train women in their apprenticeship programs. If they meet the standards set by the Department of Labor, union contractors could begin to win back much of the federally funded work that was theirs traditionally, but has been more and more lost to non-union contractors. With a greater amount of work available to the union membership, the building trades would be in a better position to organize men.

Our mandate as socialists is clear. We must fight for affirmative action in the building trades, for labor law reform, and for all trade union needs. The union movement is under attack. If we don't see to its survival, if there be no union movement, and that would be a great setback to the struggle for socialism. □

Barbara Moore Fite of the DSOC Baltimore local is a member of the International Union of Bricklayers, Local #1 of Maryland. She is one of five female bricklayers union members in the United States. This article is the text of a speech she gave at the Mid-Atlantic DSOC Retreat held in Maryland in May.

DEMOCRATIC AGENDA Update

Against the visible mobilization on the Right, the DEMOCRATIC AGENDA continues its uphill battle with some impressive results. Happening now:

Democratic Party Mid-term Conference: The Democratic Party will meet in Memphis this December to hold its first mid-term issues conference while a Democrat holds the White House. Although the media haven't paid much attention to it, local activists look to it as an opportunity to focus attention on the priorities of the liberal-Left. The DEMOCRATIC AGENDA has been contacting these potential delegates, many of whom got their start in the McCarthy, Kennedy or McGovern campaigns. Two delegates from each Congressional district will be elected. Most will be chosen in September, but in the states that have already picked delegates, there has been a positive response to DEMOCRATIC AGENDA material. In New York, Michael Harrington and Project Coordinator Marjorie Phye are running for election. In California, DEMOCRATIC AGENDA organizer Fritjof Thygesen is working with the California Democratic Council, ADA and the unions, among others, to mobilize liberal-Left activists for the September 17 selection caucuses there.

Full employment: The fight for Humphrey-Hawkins continues. This time the battle is against further weakening amendments, such as one that would set a goal of zero percent inflation by 1983.

YOU CAN HELP. If you can volunteer to help Marjorie Phye and Libby Moroff contact Memphis delegates, or wish to help lobby on Humphrey-Hawkins, contact the NEWSLETTER office.

Industrial democracy . . .

(Continued from page 8)

of working people and their families. Any ill effects of faulty judgment in economic and production planning as well as marketing are borne chiefly by the workers who in many cases lose their jobs. When the financial status of a company is hurt, the workers are the first to suffer and bear greater hardship than the management echelons and shareholders;

- promotion of industrial democracy is more important than ever, in view of the fact that in some notable instances, assistance to companies with large workforces has been given by national governments from public funds contributed to substantially by the workers themselves;

- the form of industrial democratization or workers' participation in industrial decision-making can vary in different countries as a result of historical, social and cultural development in industrial relations, and no standard usage can be applied universally to all;

- nevertheless, it is a fact that in the metal industries, probably more than elsewhere, common technology and common experience—global in this field and dominated in many cases by multinationals—enable us to set down certain guidelines;

- however, no matter what precise form industrial democratization may take on a national, company or plant level, any machinery established for this purpose is not in any way a substitute for the normal democratic bargaining procedure. Nor must it interfere in the negotiation of the union contract.

In view of recent developments, the IMF, reaffirming the 1974 resolution of the Congress in Stockholm, declares, therefore, its support of the following goals:

- any machinery established to promote worker participation must provide for the right to:

- prompt access to all information of an economic or technical nature relating to personnel, production and investment policy planning of the company;
- active participation in decision-making on these policies, and not be limited to consultation only;
- regular meetings with management to discuss subjects on agenda proposed by workers as well as management;
- full payment by the firm of costs for trade union activity;

- where no formal machinery exists for dealing, in company policy, with the workers, the trade unions should press for the establishment of procedures for this purpose;

- action to set up facilities within the union for training and assisting members to function satisfactorily;

- and finally any and all further steps to promote democratization both at the work place and in the higher levels of management, and on a national basis, through greater participation by the workers and their representatives in industrial decision-making. □

ERA Rally Shows Feminist Support

by CAROLYN CRAVEN

More than 150 DSOC members drove, rode buses (some all night) and flew from New York, New Jersey, Boston, Springfield, Mass., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago and Virginia to join their D.C. area comrades at "the largest feminist demonstration in American history." Newspaper and police estimates of the July 9 march in support of ERA passage in three more states and extension of the ratification deadline placed the crowd size at between 40,000 and 90,000.

According to the National Organization for Women march headquarters, DSOC was one of the larger delegations, and one of two socialist organizations marching.

The ERA demonstration was remarkable for its sense of unity. The participating groups varied enormously in character and purpose, ranging from nuns to high school athletes. But, for a time on this Sunday afternoon, each identity was subordinated to the drive for women's rights. All were there for one reason: to demonstrate massive support for the ERA.

DSOCer Bob Gaw, a union organizer and shop chair at a D.C. restaurant, commented, "I was elated. It was one of the most high-spirited marches I've been on. . . . It's extremely exciting to see so many people in a mass activity. People can see their strength marching side by side."



Elizabeth Goldstein

DSOCers seek relief from the 93° heat at the July 9 ERA rally. More than 150 DSOC members participated in the march. Trade unions were well represented in the largest feminist rally ever held in the United States.

To our readers:

This year's Labor Day issue marks a turning point for *The Newsletter of the Democratic Left* and for me.

Besides being the largest issue we have ever published (and, in my opinion, one of the best), it is the last issue for which I will have responsibility as managing editor. Indeed, even for this issue, I collaborated with my successor, Maxine Phillips, who was appointed at the DSOC National Board meeting in June.

I gave up my editorial responsibilities so that I could spend more time on other parts of my job as DSOC national secretary. Travelling to our many locals and organizing areas more frequently will be one of my top priorities.

Of course, the *Newsletter* remains an important part of the life of our organization, and I will continue to work with Maxine on planning and production whenever possible. With her appointment, though, the *Newsletter* for the first time in more than five years has a managing editor who can devote sufficient time to the publication. She will extend the work begun last spring to improve the quality and appearance of the *Newsletter*.

I have enjoyed and learned from my work of the last five years. I am proud to have played a role in establishing this publication, and I want to thank all those who gave generously of time, effort and money to keep the *Newsletter* going. The response to this year's Labor Day appeal was particularly heartening.

Naturally, we need your help still. Over the last few months, the *Newsletter* has grown and improved. Under the direction of our new managing editor, the publication will improve still more. To pay the bills and justify all this effort politically, we need to reach more readers. Spread the word! Sign up two or three new subscribers before our next issue.

Jack Clark

The *Newsletter of the Democratic Left* is published ten times a year by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. It is available by subscription or by membership in the DSOC. If you liked what you read, don't miss our next issue.

I want to subscribe. Enclosed find my check or money order. (\$10 for a sustaining subscription; \$5 for a regular subscription; \$2.50 for a limited income subscription).

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Send to: Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 617, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 260-3270.

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A Bostonian who works with a women's labor group explained why she was marching with DSOC. "Feminism and socialism go together. They both stand for equality and justice, and you can't have one without the other. Without socialism, the ERA will only benefit women with advantages, and the women's movement will become an upper class movement."

The days after the march were devoted to an intensive lobbying campaign on Capitol Hill. Women urging the extension of the ERA deadline poured through Congress. This unprecedented grass roots lobbying impressed legislators. A compromise three-and-a-half year extension bill was approved in the House Judiciary Committee, surprising many political observers who had dim hopes for the bill.

The next step for ERA supporters is letter writing to representatives in each state—letters of appreciation to those who have declared support of the extension, and letters urging a change of heart to those who are opposed. Letters should stress passage of an extension without a rescission clause that would allow states that have already ratified the ERA to back out. ERA back-

ers believe the letters can be crucial. □
Carolyn Craven is a summer intern working in the DSOC Washington office.

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Michael Harrington's 50th Birthday

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Union busting . . .

(Continued from page 9)

Union-busting strikes, however, require careful planning.

Guard Dogs and Strike Insurance

The employer can't force a strike overnight. Advance preparation is necessary. "Decertification requires planning, both in dealing with the employees and on the economic front," Doesburg said again and again. "Working out in advance the subtle means of communication with the employees is not something done at the last minute," he warned. And "the better prepared, the more chance of success." If the employer is tough enough and has done his planning, Doesburg claimed, "we can guarantee the result."

Preparations, our instructors pointed out, include: knowing production problems well in advance; making arrangements for key personnel; in the case of multi-plant operations, starting to secretly move equipment six to nine months in advance; having a clear idea of the types and numbers of people who would cross the picket lines and come into the plant to work; maintaining good communications with the leaders of the decertification movement; and similarly, keeping supervisors well informed and prepared.

Doesburg stressed the importance of plant security. He recommended guard dogs in strike situations. "One guard dog," as he put it, "is worth the police force of an entire city."

But strikes can be expensive, so our teacher warned that he "never recommends that employers go into the situation without strike insurance coverage." This insurance covers not only property loss, but lost profits. Information on strike insurance was made available when employers registered for the seminar and was placed conveniently on tables during coffee breaks.

Help, another teacher told us, is available from other non-union shops under Master Printers' Mutual Assistance Plan, where there are "hundreds of shops to help

your customers get their work done." Profits, property, and customers are all carefully protected, while strikers are left in the cold.

There are two ways to get an election to decertify the union. One involves the employees taking a petition to the National Labor Relations Board. The other method, recommended by MPA lawyer Tom Coleman, is to have the employees give you a letter with their names signed so that the employer can file the petition. That way, the company lawyers can make sure the job is done right.

Remember, the decertification comes during the strike. As morale wears down, employees are urged to return to work through the picket lines. "Be ready to hire permanent replacements for strikers," Doesburg suggested. The MPA would obviously try to be helpful in this regard. Notify striking employees immediately that "if they are not back to work by a certain date, there will be permanent replacements."

And once the contract has expired and the petition is in, says Tom Coleman, "it's open season." Not only do the employees who cross the picket line, but the scabs who were brought in as permanent replacements for the workers still on the picket lines vote in the decertification election.

The printing trades are not alone as targets of union-busting. The National Association of Manufacturers has set up a nation-wide union-busting organization called the Council on Union-Free Environment. Arthur Prine, Jr., vice-president of R.R. Donnelly & Sons and a leader in the Master Printers Association and PIA, is co-chairman of the new NAM council. We can expect a long, bitter struggle as the tactics and "education" advocated by PIA continue to spread. □

Dick Wilson is a member of the DSOC National Board and a long-time labor organizer and trade union educator. He attended the seminar described in this article.

Greetings from

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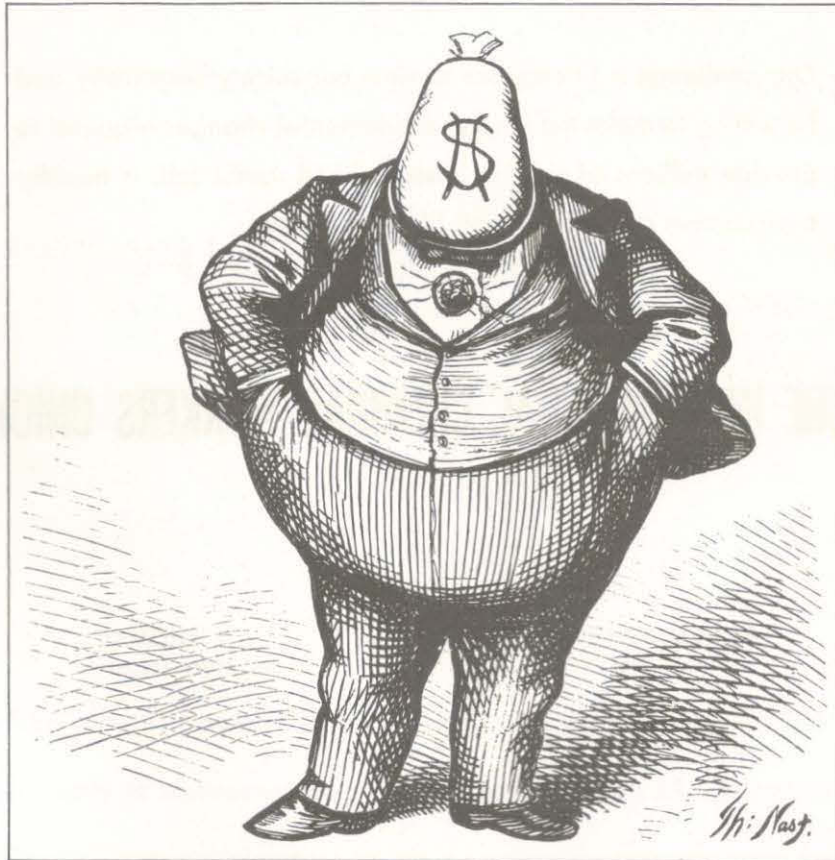
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**"In Boss Tweed's day, they called it graft.
Today, it's called contracting out."**

"Some state and local politicians look at contracting out of public services to profit-making companies as progress.

They better look again.

The nation's largest private trash-hauling firm admitted dumping \$100,000 worth of dubious payoffs into 7 major cities to get lucrative public contracts. (*Wall Street Journal*)

The City of Philadelphia was losing \$1 million a year in 1975 from a private contractor the FBI had linked to organized crime. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*)

And cash payments from a private contractor doing business for the State of Maryland forced Vice President Spiro Agnew to resign after pleading 'no contest' to corruption charges.

The list of political scandals involving contracting out to private business goes on and on. Nevertheless, some politicians zealously support this kind of patronage.

Our union represents the public workers who provide public services. We've heard contracting out called 'progress' many times.

Unfortunately, it's usually more lucrative than old-fashioned patronage. And often just as corrupt."

"The business of government is people."

— Jerry Wurf, President



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Our challenge is to continue to view our society skeptically and be willing to make the kind of fundamental changes required to provide millions of people a secure and useful job, a healthy environment and, in general, life with dignity.

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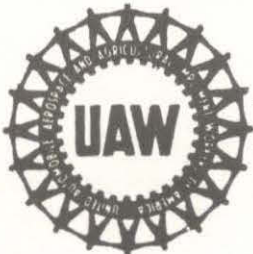
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Where all men and women who want a job
can work productively and harmoniously
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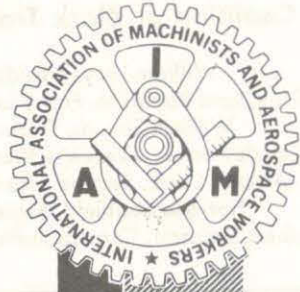
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all working men and women

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Labor Day Greetings

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Labor Day Greetings

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PHILADELPHIA DSOC

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Fraternal Greetings

**NEW ENGLAND JOINT BOARD
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union**

Rise like lions after slumber. . . .
Shake your chains to earth like dew.
We are many — they are few. —Shelley

Socialist Greetings
New Bedford, Mass. DSOC

Warm Greetings From Your

HOUSTON AND AUSTIN LOCALS

Fraternal Greetings

FROM

UAW-CAP Councils

of

Regions 9 & 9A

EDWARD F. GRAY
Director Region 9, UAW

DONALD F. EPHLIN
Director Region 9A, UAW

Fraternal Greetings
Marcia Burchby
George Wood

Carl & Marion Shier

Hang In There
Sam & Ruth Class

Gilbert A. Cornfield

Greetings
Oregon DSOC

From the Androscoggin
to the Salmon Falls River
Maine DSOC

Bruce N. Haskin
Atlanta, Georgia

With Hope for Better Days
From Two Friends

Philip H. Van Gelder

Greetings from
Madison, WI. DSOC

Ray & Jean Rieder

Gordon Haskell

Most Footprints in the
Sands of Time Were Made
by Workshoes
Sacramento Valley DSOC

Let's End Our Dependence
on Nuclear Weapons
and Nuclear Power Now
Al & Cele Meyer

Edward W. Clark, Jr.
Gloria Joy Clark
James Connolly Clark
Rosa Luxemburg Clark

Richard Mounts

Solidarity!
Cedar Falls, Iowa DSOC

Ruth & Nat Weinberg

John R. Johnson

Joseph Buttinger

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Albert Fried

Fay Bennett
Rowland Watts

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Champaign/Urbana DSOC

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Port Charlotte, Florida

Jacob Cohen

Heather Booth
Midwest Academy

Continue the Fight
for Socialism
Ernest Evans

Concerned Dubuquers
Mark Thomsen
Peter & Solveig Kjeseth
Eva Leo

Greetings from
the Susan McGrath Campaign
DSOC Candidate
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Urbana, Illinois
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Frances Adams
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Bernard & Henrietta Backer

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Norman Thomas
Founder

Rowland Watts
President

"... Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors,
helpless old people a hated burden by their sons, the whole world
of loneliness, poverty and pain make a mockery of what life
should be. I long to alleviate the evils but I cannot, and I too suffer."

—From Bertrand Russell's "Autobiography."

Perhaps in a state of Democratic Left we may yet achieve a better
world, sans social and political evils.

—JESSIE FUCHS

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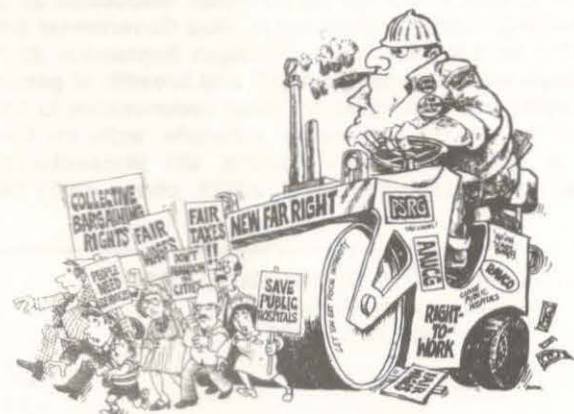
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Greetings from

Members and Friends

of Local Boston

We are pleased to report the opening of a
DSOC New England Regional Office
at 120 Tremont St., Room 305
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FEELING RUNDOWN?

**JOIN THE FIGHT AGAINST
THE RADICAL RIGHT**

SAVE JOBS. SAVE
PUBLIC SERVICES
SUPPORT YOUR
POLITICAL ACTION
COMMITTEE



Jimmy Higgins reports . . .

STRIKES ARE MORE COMMON, more violent and longer lasting in the U.S. than in Western Europe. Yet most West European trade unionists are committed Communists or Socialists who believe in replacing existing class relations. And U.S. unions have, since the time of Gompers, proclaimed publicly that their goal is merely "more," not a change, of the system. An in-depth, readable and extremely informative explanation of this anomaly appeared recently in John Herling's *Labor Letter* (\$40 per year from Suite 1234, 1411 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). Citing a study by Everett B. Kasalow, Herling traces some of the reasons for the industrial militance of American labor relative to its European counterparts. *One of the most important factors is the different emphasis on the arena of conflict.* American labor places a great deal of importance on collective bargaining. In Europe, battles by workers for better health care, longer vacations and a variety of fringe benefits are carried on in the political sphere. This does not mean that the struggle is less intense, just that it does not translate into strikes and violent conflict. *Another major factor in U.S. industrial strife is the intransigence of U.S. employers.* Because bargaining in Western Europe is done on an industry-wide or regional basis, employers accept unions as a fact of life. The anti-union bias so common here is nearly unknown in Europe and, where it does occur, is usually practiced by European branches of American multinationals.

SNOOPING, SURVEILLANCE AND SPYING by Uncle Sam and how to stop it are the topics under discussion at the National Organizing Conference to Stop Government Spying, being held in Ann Arbor, Michigan September 22-24. Workshops will focus on the depth and breadth of government spying and strategies for local communities to fight it. For a copy of the conference schedule, write to: Campaign to Stop Government Spying, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, phone (202) 547-4705.

31 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION supports a national health service; how long will it be before we have one? We'd rather not speculate on that, but we're pleased to note the activities of Health Service Action, a group that campaigns for a National Health Service as proposed by Representative Ron Dellums' (D-Calif.) Health Services Act. HSA published its first newsletter this summer and has issued reports on medical inflation, lessons from the British health service system and urban health service plans. It has a speakers bureau and works with local health action groups. For a sample of the newsletter and an order form for reports, send a large, self-addressed, stamped envelope to Health Service Action, P.O. Box 6585, T Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009.

DO THE GRAY PANTHERS STAND FOR "SUBVERSION and socialism"? That's what some California members asked a recent National Steering Committee meeting of the organization. They questioned Goal #5 of the Gray Panthers' "Purposes and Goals," which states "To act independently and in coalition with other movements to build a new power base to achieve short-term social change and ultimately a new and just economic system which will transcend the profit motive, eliminate the concentration of corporate power, and serve human needs through democratic means." Several members wanted to know what transcending the profit motive meant. The Steering Committee responded that ". . . The Fifth goal has to do with economic and political matters because we are acutely aware of the fact that ageism is built into the economic and political system which largely shapes our lives . . . we Gray Panthers want a system which will rise above or surpass the dominant motivation of profit as opposed to the motive of concern for human needs . . ."

5th & 50th

See
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