

# Labor to demand job security in '77 talks

By Dan Marshall  
Staff Writer

"Security is the issue this time," William Winpisinger, general vice president of the International Association of Machinists, recently told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Now is the time to launch the drive for a shorter work week. It will take a decade to bring to fruition."

In the wake of plant closings and continued high unemployment, major labor unions are placing job security at the top of their bargaining agendas for the coming year. Contracts covering some 5 million workers will expire in 1977, many in

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such pivotal industries as steel, coal mining, construction, communication and longshore.

Unions are expected to downplay large wage increases as most of these contracts already include cost of living clauses. In the year's first major settlement, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) settled for only a moderate wage boost—18 percent over two years—from the Gulf Oil Co.

The 1976 contract between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Ford Motor Co. provides inspiration for job security demands. It provided for eight additional days off and has been interpreted by labor leaders and their corporate counterparts as a step towards a four-day work week, thereby opening up new job opportunities. But few union leaders in other industries so far have described the specifics of what they will demand by way of "job saving" contract provisions.

► **Steelworkers seeking lifetime job security.** The steel negotiations that begin in February may flesh out labor's approach to this issue. The United Steel Workers, which represents about 365,000 workers in basic steel, has named lifetime job security with a guaranteed annual wage as a prime bargaining demand. The union's wage and policy committee also hopes to increase job opportunities "by negotiating a shorter workweek without reduction in pay, accompanied by programs such as extended vacation plans that result in a shorter work year."

The steel negotiations will be influenced by the bitter battle for USW president now being waged between Ed Sadlowski, dissident director of the union's Chicago district, and Lloyd McBride, favorite son of the union's "official family."

If Sadlowski wins the February election, retiring USW president I.W. Abel has threatened to resign immediately and dump the negotiating burden onto Sadlowski's shoulders. The steel companies fear that a Sadlowski victory will strengthen rank and file initiative in the union—the largest in the AFL-CIO with 1.4 million members—and generate local strikes around the country.

A nationwide steel strike is legally impossible, however, since negotiations will be conducted, as in 1973, under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. While the contract runs until Aug. 1, any unresolved issues will be submitted to binding arbitration in mid-April.

► **Security an issue in construction, communication.** Job security will also be raised by unions that have been struck hard by layoffs, automation and foreign imports. Unemployment remains so high in the construction industry—30 percent in some cities—that building trades workers have accepted hefty pay cuts during the recession. Observers speculate that the industry may be revived by Carter's public works program and by passage of the Common Site Picketing bill—vetoed by Ford a year ago and expected to pass in the next Congress. Common Site picketing would greatly increase the unions' power over non-union contractors. This spring, 2,500 contracts covering 700,000 construction workers will expire.

In the communication industry, increasing automation has wiped out many jobs and pushed unions to integrate job security into their economic demands in upcoming contract talks. "There's a very strong feeling among our members about job security. The frustration out there is incredible," says Glenn Watts, president of the Communication Workers of America (CWA). The CWA is the principle bargaining agent for 700,000 telephone workers whose contracts run out in August.

► **Leadership fight in Mineworkers.**

The United Mine Workers, representing 180,000 coal miners whose contracts expire in December, will also seek a measure of job security through more paid days off. As in the steel industry, contract negotiations in coal will be affected by a divisive election contest in the union.

In the last year, former supporters of UMW reform president Arnold Miller have accused him of financial mismanagement, harassment of staff members, ineffective political lobbying, and "absolute, incredible paranoia." Intense competition has developed between Miller and his chief lieutenants, Harry Patrick and Mike Trbovich, to the point where they may run against him in a special June election.

Dissension in the Miller administration may result in the conservative remnants of Tony Boyle regaining their hold on union policies. Lee Roy Patterson, an old Boyle supporter from Kentucky, stands a good chance of becoming the next UMW president. If the outcome is close, the losers may appeal to the Labor Department and delay a final decision on who will represent miners at the bargaining table.

The coal outlook is further clouded by the rank and file's demand for a local right to strike clause in the 1977 contract. Company violations of the last contract ignited several major wildcat strikes in 1975-76. At its September convention, the local right to strike was adopted as part of the union's bargaining package. UMW leaders—whoever assumes power—will be under pressure to make good on this crucial issue.

All sides expect a bitter coal strike next winter, an action that could quickly crimp an "expanding" economy and severely strain Carter's "pro-labor" sentiments. The UMW has recently been advising its members to take various legal actions to stop stockpiling by the coal companies in anticipation of a strike.

► **Business optimistic.**

While the unions shuffle in the direction of job security, business representatives predict a sunny negotiating climate. Numerous factors may disrupt this optimistic projection. A year ago *Business Week* confidently heralded 1976 as "Labor's Year of Compromise." Instead, corporate interests witnessed a four-month rubber strike, wildcats in the coal fields, and a tentative step towards a short work week. Corporations will surely keep their crystal balls working overtime in 1977, even if their employees refuse to do the same.



Photo by Cindy Hart/LNS

Cincinatti steelworker.

## Sadlowski and McBride trade money charges

Campaign money has become one of the hot issues in the contest for Steelworkers president between Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent candidate, and Lloyd McBride, the choice of the outgoing Abel administration. Last week both men disclosed who has given them money, temporarily settling part of the controversy but stirring up other parts.

McBride had accused Sadlowski of receiving outside money from "limousine liberals" and, in alleged violation of the union constitution, from employers.

In turn, Sadlowski portrayed McBride as depending entirely on contributions "dunned" from the staff.

Both George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and A. Philip Randolph former vice-president of the AFL-CIO and prominent black union leader, joined the chorus of attack against Sadlowski by the conservative labor establishment. Meany said fund-raising by Sadlowski, who was not named, was "illegal" and "unethical." He criticized three Sadlowski supporters, economist John Kenneth Gailbraith, lawyer Joseph Rauh and former UAW official Victor Reuther as outsiders who "have also engaged in unrestrained attacks on the present officers of the union and on the AFL-CIO."

McBride's disclosure of financial support, which was part of the requirements of a lawsuit he brought against Sadlowski in December, showed that 447 of the 577 contributors to his campaign were Steelworkers staff. Most field representatives contributed \$500 and department heads gave \$1,000.

Outsiders also contributed substantially to his campaign. Top officials of the AFL-CIO, the Clothing and Textile union and the Ladies Garment union contributed sizeable amounts. Also, people very much like the "employers" named in the suit against Sadlowski have contributed to McBride, including \$1,000 drawn from the "business account" of a law firm that does substantial legal work for the union in McBride's home district.

McBride has raised \$182,304 so far. Sadlowski said earlier in the week that he has raised \$150,000 and spent \$207,000

in addition to contributions of time by steelworkers valued at \$426,000.

Sadlowski contended that only \$31,000 had come from outside sources, all but \$5,000 of that from contributions over \$500. The largest contribution was \$5,000. Several others were over \$1,000, some apparently from prominent liberal Democrats. McBride's charge of contributions from employers was a "total distortion and a lie," Sadlowski said. "We've never taken one penny of corporate money during this campaign."

Although the accusations of employer contributions could establish the basis for a legal challenge by McBride under the Landrum-Griffin Act if Sadlowski wins, the issue is clearly a political weapon at this time a few weeks before the Feb. 8 election. However, Sadlowski supporters claim that steelworkers do not take it seriously and suggest that the contretemps may backfire on McBride.

Revelation of the contributors to both sides and the increasing attacks by AFL-CIO leaders lend support to the notion that an important issue for contributors to both men is the influence of the Steelworkers and the AFL-CIO within the Democratic party. AFL-CIO leaders appear anxious to stop Sadlowski from pushing the "house of labor" to the left side of the Democrats.

Another controversy has flared up around McBride's circulation of a quotation taken from a rambling Sadlowski interview in the January *Penthouse*. In the quotation, Sadlowski appears to favor technological improvements that would bring a reduction of the steel labor force. At times Sadlowski has suggested that in the long run technology will displace labor. However, he has consistently argued against any cut in the workforce in the short run. "It is high time that workers become the beneficiaries of technological change" through a shorter work week, earlier retirement and preservation of steelworker jobs, Sadlowski said in response to McBride's use of the *Penthouse* quotation.

—David Moberg



# IN SHORT

## Seven days begins publication

On Jan. 10, there will be a new alternative to the likes of *Time* and *Newsweek*. *Seven Days*, billed as America's "first mass distribution, alternative magazine" will begin biweekly publication on that date, with plans for weekly publication in the future. *Seven Days*' editors say that, while designed on the *Time/Newsweek* magazine format, they are publishing in the antiestablishment tradition. They pledge to publish news unencumbered by constraints from corporate advertisers—*Seven Days* accepts no commercial advertising—and will report major news events from an "opposition" perspective.

Founding member Dave Dellinger says, "We do not believe that a news magazine can be really free if, like *Time* and *Newsweek*, it is owned by a huge corporation that is dedicated to profit and dependent upon advertising revenues from other large corporations. The arrival in New York of publisher Rupert Murdoch with his pot of gold is only the latest indication of the connection between the news Americans read and the financial interests through which it is filtered."

*Seven Days* will be sold by subscription and on newsstands.

## Co-op City gets extension

The residents of the Co-Op City housing development in the Bronx section of New York City apparently has received at least a four-month extension of the experimental attempt at self-management they won after a 13-month rent strike. (See *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1976).

The *New York Times* reports that the 15,000 unit complex still owes the state \$10 million, is \$4 to \$6 million behind in city real estate taxes, and has some 500 units still vacant.

At the same time, leaders of the project's tenant-management group say they have completed or are developing plans—including new arrangements for running project services, the conversion of unused space to commercial purposes, and an upgrading of the project's heating and air-conditioning plant into energy producing plant—that would cut costs and increase revenues sufficiently to get the project out of the red. They also say that they have caught up with more than a year's worth of maintenance and upgrading necessary in the wake of the tenant strike.

## Freedom means amnesty

When President Ford handed out Medals of Freedom in one of his last televised appearances in the Oval Room, one of the recipients was missing.

Ladybird Johnson was there to get hers; General Omar Bradley was there (in wheel chair). So was retiring Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller. But there was no one to collect the medal awarded posthumously to sculptor Alexander Calder who died this past November (*ITT*, Nov. 22).

Louise Calder, the artist's widow, was quoted as saying that the family could not "exactly refuse the honor," but she sent the president a telegram saying that "Freedom should be for everyone, and freedom means total amnesty."

Both Louis and Alexander Calder were consistent supporters of organizations protesting the Vietnam war while it was going on, and of all efforts to win amnesty in its aftermath.

Errata: In last week's issue several bylines were omitted or in error, and photo credits were missing.

•On page 21, the article entitled "Do union workers gain at others' expense?" was written by Martin J. Sklar.

•On page 19, the review entitled "ABC airs *Roots* in eight-part series" was incorrectly attributed to Alice Allgaier.

•On page 9, the photo of Marin de Burca was by Marc PoKempner.



San Francisco artists, some of whom are funded under the CETA program, take theater and music to the streets.

Photo by Allen Nomura

# Public artists under fire in S.F.

By Linda Siskind

San Francisco. City-hired artists here are reeling from charges that they are organized along Communist lines, may be responsible for planting bombs at city supervisors' homes and are not accounted for by their employers at City Hall.

The charges were made by a city supervisor, based partially on an article published Dec. 15 in the Hearst chain's *San Francisco Examiner*. The artists involved are 127 writers, painters, gardeners, dancers, actors and theater technicians employed by the city with federal CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) funds in one of the first and largest neighborhood arts programs of its kind in the country.

The *Examiner* article quotes the San Francisco Arts Commission president as saying that some of the artists under his jurisdiction last year tried to organize along "socialist or leftist" lines and used the words "commissar," "politburo," and "workers' cells." He also said he doesn't know what the artists are doing besides picking up their paychecks.

The day after that was published, the *Examiner* printed a partial retraction when a reporter was reassured by the mayor's office that all CETA workers are well accounted for and the only words mentioned on their organizational chart were "cultural workers" and "cell representatives." "But the words commissar and politburo were not used," on the chart the second article said, "and it would be difficult to construe the diagram as leftist in design."

Nevertheless, two weeks later Supervisor John Barbagelata attempted to hold up the city's use of CETA funds (in effect firing all 2,100 of the city's CETA employees), referring to the CETA artists' alleged organization as "an organization like others involved in terrorist activities. And I got a bomb and two other supervisors got bombs." Barbagelata went on to suggest that the names of all CETA artists be handed over to the police and the FBI. In addition to the 127 city artists, another 210 CETA employees do arts work in San Francisco directly for non-profit corporations.

## ►CETA workers go to commissioners.

CETA artists went to their supervisors at the Arts Commission Jan. 3 with a prepared statement asking the commission to "vociferously support CETA arts,"

by making statements to the media refuting all the charges, to "investigate the roots of the current crisis in order to insure that it never happen again" and to create a liaison group of commissioners, their staff and some CETA artists.

The commissioners heard a report from a staff member on the "incredible meeting" of the Finance Committee of the Board of Supervisors at which Barbagelata made his charges and repeated those of the original *Examiner* article, listened as the commission president expressed his surprise at the "non sequituous com-

**"You are artists...you know that artists have always been social gadflies, and have always been scapegoated by reactionary politicians."**

ments of a certain supervisor," and agreed to set up the liaison committee but refused to issue a statement refuting the charges against the artists on the grounds that this would only give the charges more publicity. Instead, they agreed to tell the media they supported the CETA arts program, emphasizing the work that the artists have done in the city.

"We've been called Communists and bomb throwers," one CETA artist cried out from the audience of the Jan. 3 commission meeting, asking once again for the commissioners to defend them more specifically. Again, the commissioners refused.

Without your advocacy, another artist told the commissioners, "we're sitting ducks."

That's what went on in public. In private, CETA artists speculated on the political motivations of their adversaries. Barbagelata, who last year lost a bid to be mayor, is partly just keeping his name in the papers in preparation for the next mayoral election. But possibly more significant is the fact that the supervisors could feel threatened by the artists for the first time because some of them were active against the supervisors in support for Proposition T—the measure approved by San Francisco voters in November that provides for election of the city's supervisors (city council) by district rather than by the city at large. All of the supervisors strongly opposed the proposition and

are now calling for a counter-measure to nullify it, saying the voters didn't know what they were really voting for.

## ►Possible effort to shift jobs.

Some supervisors have also recently expressed interest in shifting the CETA jobs now allotted to the Arts Commission over to the police department. That would mean jobs for clerical workers, not artists. the CETA program was designed to "provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons." San Francisco was one of the first cities to apply this to the arts.

It now looks as though the CETA artists are going to have to fight for their jobs. After the bitter session with Barbagelata, CETA funds were appropriated only through the end of January. It will take another one or two sessions to secure the funding through the end of the current fiscal year this fall. So the artists are concerned that not enough people really know what services they are providing, including the art commissioners. They point with pride to their murals, theater, circuses, etc. in hospitals, prisons, health care and child care centers, public schools, community gardens, churches, radio stations, museums and neighborhood galleries, community cultural centers and to the festivals, workshops and art-related conferences they have organized. And to the fact that CETA artists were the subject of a federally funded and distributed videotape and have been on the cover of the national *Manpower* magazine.

They're also pointing back to the past, when artists bore the brunt of political opportunists—beginning in 1938 with congressional hearings on the Federal Theater Project and Writers' Project.

"Many of you are artists yourselves or have a long association with the arts," CETA artists told the art commissioners. "You know that artists have always been social gadflies, and have always been scapegoated by reactionary politicians. We do not need to remind you of the fate of the WPA (which administered the theater and writing projects) or of the horrors of the McCarthy era. Please help us turn aside Supervisor Barbagelata's attempt to bring a similar ignominy upon San Francisco in 1977."

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