LEADERSHIP CHANGES
Thomas M. Conway was sworn in as the USW’s eighth International President on July 15. He succeeded Leo W. Gerard, now president emeritus.

EXCELLENCE
USW members at Interior Crafts are proud of making fine furniture at one of the last large-scale furniture shops in Chicago.

REFINERY FIRE
Quick work by Local 10-1 members helped to save Philadelphia residents from a life-threatening catastrophe at an oil refinery. Now, they have to fight to keep their jobs.

FEATURES

SPEAKING OUT
USW active, retired members and their families are invited to “speak out.” Letters should be short and to the point. We reserve the right to edit for length.

TRADE WATCH
The Alliance for American Manufacturing warns that China is trying to take over the market for transit cars and buses.

NEWS BRIEFS
Kevin Johnsen to lead Rubber/Plastic Industry Council. A federal court overturns efforts to relax an Obama-era safety inspection rule for miners. Some 235 members of Local 12-1 are back on the job at Dow Chemical in Texas. USW members ratified new contract with Appalachian Regional Healthcare.
Champion for Workers

Leo Gerard is a champion for workers. I knew it the first time I heard him speak. I lost my job in a factory 20 years ago because of NAFTA and unfair trade. President Becker and then Secretary-Treasurer Gerard asked me to stand with them in Seattle against the WTO and NAFTA. So, I went to Seattle and protested in the streets with my fellow union brothers and sisters. It was one of the greatest experiences of my life, and it was an honor to stand up against something that has been so wrong for American workers.

When I returned home, my life was changed. When something I believe was wrong, I spoke out and said why. I understand the power of politics and how it impacts workers’ lives. So, I ran for Ohio State Senate. If one is going to talk the talk then walk the walk, right?

Thank you, Leo Gerard, for all you have done, your long hours of dedication, your passion for workers and your loyalty to what is right. You have helped workers in so many ways you will never know about because of your commitment to educate workers of their rights in the workplace. You have always been a champion and you will always continue to be a champion.

Mary Fleure
Attica, Ohio

Thanks for the Good Life

I got married when I was 17 and worked two jobs to make ends meet. My wife worked full time too. Then she suggested I find a job that paid well enough so she could stay home with our children.

I unexpectedly got hired at the Kelly Springfield tire plant, which had a United Rubber Workers union. After 90 days, I was at full pay. Unimaginable! Not that I didn’t work as hard as possible to deserve it.

Through the many years working there our local union, as well as our International, fought long and hard to deliver good contracts. Over the years, the URW merged with the United Steelworkers and our plant changed hands to Goodyear and then to Titan. I am thankful to have had union representation.

Now that I am retired, I am so grateful for your vision for our pensions. I never gave it a thought while working. I can now sit back, relax, and truly enjoy life. May God bless all of you fine union workers as you have blessed so many others with your tireless efforts to obtain good contracts.

Michael Saxby, Local 745
Freeport, Ill.

Our Country Needs Unions

As an active member of the Pennsylvania Interfaith Program and a retired pastor, I believe that the time has come for workers to organize much like what happened in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

I believe unions are the real hope to restore the soul of our nation. Without workers, this nation would fall apart. Without the civil rights that unions have fought for, our nation would die on the garbage heap of corporate greed.

The fight for the future of this country is a moral fight. Unions are our best hope, and I believe God is calling us as people of faith to support and help organize unions.

The Rev. Dr. Ron Wanless
Ligonier, Pa.

Flag Folding

The picture on page 25 of the spring edition of USW@Work showing how to fold a flag is wrong. No folded flag should show any red. I was told that red would signify blood.

David Taylor
East Chicago, Ind.

Editor’s note: The written instructions with the photo correctly say only a triangular blue field of stars should be visible on a folded flag. We regret choosing a stock photo that showed some red.

Making Tires in Akron

I am a member of GMP Local 419, now USW, at the Homer Laughlin China Co., in Newell, W.Va., working almost 30 years.

In my mail box a few days ago, I received my union magazine. I read it and was fascinated with the article on the Firestone Tire Co., in Akron, Ohio. I was born in Barberton, Ohio, and raised as a youngster in Akron. My late grandfather, Homer W. Carpenter, worked at Firestone for many years.

It was so good to see Firestone is strong and building a new factory, guaranteeing jobs in Akron and boosting the economy indeed!

William Haywood
Wellsville, Ohio

Love the Cover

I’m a first-time union member – just began working as a welder at a factory in Pittsburgh – and I was proud to see on the cover of my first USW@Work magazine a story about immigrants!

I’m a direct descendent of immigrants who came to this country to work in mines and factories. It’s a history that we shouldn’t forget and that is still a critical part of our work force.

I’m proud to be a part of this union after reading that article, and I’m really excited to see the positive things you are doing and continue to do in the future.

Kiersten Schilinski, Local 5032
Pittsburgh
Thomas M. Conway was sworn in as the USW’s eighth International President on July 15 by his predecessor Leo W. Gerard in an installation ceremony that marked the largest uncontested transition of union leadership in at least 50 years.

In his farewell address, Gerard praised Conway and the team of leaders who joined the new president on a reconstituted International Executive Board (IEB), saying the union is financially strong and in good hands.

“This is the smoothest transition of leadership that has ever occurred,” Gerard told a large crowd of members, friends, international guests, family and staff who witnessed the installation.

“The people who are moving up are more than capable of doing a good job, more than capable of being the people we rely on for the future.”

With the historic leadership changes, Conway said the union will remain true to its core values of fighting on behalf of working people for jobs, good labor agreements and overall social and economic justice.

“We’re going to grow. We’re going to be political. We’re going to be active,” Conway said. “We’re going to stand up for a country that we know can be so much better than what we have right now.”

Gerard passed along to Conway a gavel that was used during the union’s 50th anniversary commemoration. Conway then conducted the swearing in of four new International Officers.

“This is a team that is going to move the union forward without a hitch,” Conway said.

Former District 1 Director David McCall, who joined the IEB in 1998, replaced Conway as International Vice President (Administration). Donnie Blatt, an assistant to McCall, became Director of District 1, which encompasses Ohio.

Secretary-Treasurer Stan Johnson and International Vice Presidents Carol Landry and Jon Geenen also retired. Johnson was succeeded as secretary-treasurer by former District 4 Director John Shinn, who was replaced as director by his assistant, Del Vitale. Landry, an International Vice President at Large, was the first woman to join the IEB when she was appointed in 2008. She was succeeded on the IEB by Roxanne Brown, the USW’s legislative director in Washington, D.C.

Geenen, who came to the USW with the 2005 merger with PACE and led paper sector bargaining, was succeeded as International Vice President by Leann Foster, formerly an assistant to the International President and an associate general counsel. Geenen and Foster worked together in revamping bargaining in the paper industry.

The USW’s leadership changes, first announced on May 29, were approved by the IEB to ensure that a capable and experienced group of trade union leaders hit the ground running with a seamless transition.

At the ceremony, Ken Georgetti, a Steelworker and former president of the Canadian Labour Congress,
described Gerard’s early life in the movement and told him, “You have made a difference.”

AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka praised Conway as one of the most successful contract negotiators in the labor movement, and said he will make “a fantastic president.”

Trumka called Gerard the salt of the earth. “He never forgot where he came from and who he is,” he said. “All of us are better off for having crossed your path.”

Len McCluskey, General Secretary of Unite the Union in the United Kingdom and Ireland, thanked Gerard for his work in globalizing the labor movement and forming Workers Uniting, the transcontinental union founded by the USW and Unite.

The good relationship between the two unions will continue, McCluskey said, adding that workers around the world need to unite because they have more in common with each other than with their international bosses. “They can never defeat us when we are united,” he said.

Conway pledged to move the USW forward and said his priorities include bringing more people into the union and developing young talent to assume leadership roles. He said the union will continue its legendary activism around contract campaigns and issue-related politics, and prepare the union membership for coming technological changes at work.

Conway warned that emerging digital technologies, including updates in steelmaking and 3-D printing in tires, could one day dramatically reduce needed manpower in steel, rubber and other manufacturing operations. “That technology is coming, and it’s unavoidable,” Conway said. “We have to make sure our folks are taken care of … We have to insist that our people get the residual work, that the work that remains is our work, and that our people are prepared and know what to do.”

Noting his grandchildren in the audience, Conway called the administration in Washington disgraceful for its treatment of immigrant workers, families and children.

He decried immigration raids with authorities kicking open doors, dragging parents out of their homes and workplaces, and caging their children. “How can we allow that, how can we stand by?” Conway asked. “You can say that’s not a labor issue. That is very much a labor issue.”

The country is at a turning point, Conway said. “Young people want to do something. They know they’ve been handed problems in climate, problems in debt, and no good jobs to go to. The country is ripe for organizing, and we’re going to do it,” he said.

Conway said he was honored to follow in the steps of Gerard and the other presidents before him. “I will do everything I possibly can do to make sure that we continue to be a good union,” he said. “I will not let you down. The team that is coming in will not let you down. We will move forward. We’re going to fight. We’re going to continue to win.”
One of the biggest challenges new International President Thomas M. Conway sees for the USW is to ensure there are enough talented young leaders to carry the union and its mission of fighting for working people far into the future.

“When we look at what we do, how we operate nationally, our influence globally and the partnerships we have built, the biggest change that I see for the union over the next five, six or seven years is that we need to strengthen our bench,” he told USW@Work.

“We need to build a successor plan and make a path for young talented people to bring themselves forward and shine within the union and to see what opportunities are there for them,” he said.

Conway worked his way up from a maintenance gang at Bethlehem Steel to be the eighth president of the USW, North America’s largest industrial union. Over the years he became a skilled contract negotiator often called upon to settle contentious or difficult contract disputes.

Elected by the International Executive Board to succeed retiring International President Leo W. Gerard, Conway was sworn into office on July 15. He had been an International Vice President (Administration) since 2005.

Gerard praised Conway as a leader who has experience and vision.

“I think it’s important that Tom put his own stamp on the job,” Gerard said. “He has a very broad base of experience and is able to speak not only to workers, but to management in direct ways that they will understand.”

Gerard said Conway has his complete support.

“I’ve known Tom for 25 years. He’s earned my admiration, demonstrating a special toughness and a willingness to take on the most difficult jobs and negotiations,” Gerard said.

During his 14-year tenure as International Vice President, Conway became the union’s most experienced contract negotiator in steel, aluminum, oil and other major industries where USW members work.

“Bargaining is the heartbeat of the union. Everything else we do is in furtherance of getting a collective bargaining agreement for our members, and that is our core work,” Conway said.

“People join the union because of the contracts. They think they can get a couple bucks more an hour and health care. They can get some training. They can get a pension and decent treatment at work,” Conway said. “They do it because they want to better their lives and their families.”

All the other things a union does, from lobbying Congress for work safety regulations to training members for leadership, ultimately support the goal of improving workers’ lives.

“A trade unionist should grow outside the two covers of their contract book to understand the importance of things around them. PAC (the USW Political Action Committee), Next Generation, Women of Steel and other programs all come together to make sure we can get decent labor agreements.”

Conway said he would not make changes for the sake of change. “If something’s not broke, I’m not going to try and fix it,” Conway said. “And there’s a lot about the union that’s not broke.”

**UNION FAMILY**

Conway grew up in a union family in New Jersey. His father was an active member of the International Union of Operating Engineers. His mother worked in a brush factory, where she organized a union and negotiated labor contracts.

After serving four years in the U.S. Air Force and attending a trade school for airplane mechanics, Conway was recruited by Bethlehem Steel in 1978 to work at a coke plant in its Burns Harbor Works in Northwest Indiana.

With a young family at home in New Jersey, Conway took a chance on the steel industry that October. A probationary employee, he brought along camping equipment and spent his first three months living in a tent at a state park. He joined Local 6787 and quickly became a union activist.

In 1979, Conway was working as a millwright in the coke plant and acting as a griever for maintenance workers when Bethlehem, pummeled by imports in an economic downturn, announced its first plant-wide layoffs at Burns Harbor.

Having noticed work crews were heavily stacked with non-union contract employees, Conway devised a plan to reorganize work to avoid layoffs of union maintenance workers in the coke operations.
“The use of contractors in the mills was excessive. I was stunned by it. I couldn’t figure out who worked for Bethlehem Steel and who were contractors. We were all mingled together. Finally, I got down to a core group of guys,” he recalled.

“The industry was turning, and we were all talking about this layoff. I remember saying the company has two work forces, us and them. And when the time comes to go, it’s not going to be them that go. It will be us – unless we do something about it.”

The company agreed to implement Conway’s plan to preserve union jobs. Conway also sought help from the International and former General Counsel Bernie Kleiman, who put together a longer-range strategy to use grievances to recover jobs lost to outside contractors.

When the layoff came, no union members in the coke operations got pink slips. The story that Conway saved jobs roared through the rest of the mill like wildfire.

“That to me was a real turning point,” Conway said.

Conway served on the safety committee and chaired the contracting-out committee. He worked closely with International Vice President Dave McCall, then vice president of the local and chair of its grievance committee.

Conway joined the International staff in 1987 and again in 1989 after a brief return to the local. As a staff representative, he serviced Burns Harbor and other steel facilities and got involved wherever he could at national bargaining tables, notably with National Steel, Bethlehem and U.S. Steel.

In 1995, International President George Becker appointed Conway to serve as Secretary of the Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC). In that position, he was responsible for developing bargaining strategy and directing trade and legislative efforts at the state and local levels. He was the union’s lead voice in collective bargaining during turbulent contract cycles for more than two decades.

Beginning in 1997, an Asian economic crisis led to massive dumping of unfairly and illegally traded foreign steel products into the U.S. market, which forced nearly 50 steel companies to seek bankruptcy court protection. Conway played an important role in the humane consolidation and restructuring of the industry, including the merger of National Steel into U.S. Steel in 2003. His efforts saved jobs and pensions.

For nearly a quarter century, Conway has demanded that the government enforce U.S. trade laws to prevent unfairly traded, subsidized and dumped products from damaging American industries and destroying good jobs.

**LOBBIES, TESTIFIES**

Conway has lobbied leaders in Washington, D.C., and testified numerous times before Congress and the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) in pursuit of stiffer penalties for trade violators and infrastructure investment that would create jobs by requiring contractors to use American-made products. He frequently testifies in trade cases on behalf of union workers and their employers.

Conway has worked with industry to achieve tariffs that have rescued many employers from bankruptcy and liquidation. He has pushed for anti-dumping and countervailing duties that protect American jobs in steel, aluminum, rubber, mining, paper and other sectors. He has fought against trade agreements that serve the interests of corporations and millionaires and ignore workers and families.

Conway also directed “Stand Up for Steel” lobbying campaigns in cooperation with the industry that evolved into the Alliance for American Manufacturing (AAM). Founded in 2007 with the mission of strengthening U.S. industry, AAM collaborates with employers and lawmakers to fight unfair trade.

In 2015, Conway chaired negotiations with ATI, a specialty steel company that locked out 2,200 Steelworkers at 12 mills in six states. Under his leadership, the USW ran a successful fight-back campaign and reached agreement to end the labor dispute seven months later, after the NLRB issued a complaint declaring the lockout illegal for its duration.

Conway also has directed USW negotiations with AK Steel and Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. since 2006. He played a central role in achieving the Trade Act Section 421 tariff relief in the tire industry against unfairly traded tires from Asia.

He led talks with U.S. Steel in 2008, 2012 and 2015, when the industry was on the verge of crisis, again because of illegally traded steel. In 2018, with the industry improving, USW members under Conway’s leadership successfully fought off concessionary demands and ratified a new four-year agreement covering 16,000 workers that significantly increased pay and included a signing bonus.

Conway turned to negotiations in 2015 and 2019 with the oil industry. With his guidance, USW oil workers reached a three-year contract this January that advances wages, health and safety, and fatigue management. Quality health care was maintained, and there was no backward movement on contract items the union had gained over the years.

Conway was instrumental in developing the Institute for Career Development (ICD), a negotiated benefit for eligible members and participating employers. Established in 1989, the ICD is a joint labor-management training program in which members can participate in self-directed learning opportunities. The ICD offers a wide range of courses at 65 locations in the steel, tire and rubber, glass, container and utility sectors. Currently 16 companies participate.
John SHINN

John Shinn was appointed by the International Executive Board to succeed Secretary-Treasurer Stan Johnson as the union’s chief financial officer effective July 15, 2019. Johnson held the position since 2009.

Prior to his appointment, Shinn was Director of District 4, which includes Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont and Puerto Rico.

Shinn was elected to a four-year term as District 4 Director in 2013 after having been appointed to the position on Jan. 1, 2012, to replace retired Director William Pienta. He was re-elected again in 2017.

David McCALL

David McCall was installed as the USW International Vice President (Administration) on July 15, 2019. He was Director of District 1 from 1998 until 2019, and USW members in Ohio elected him five times: 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013 and 2017. He served as Sub-District Director in Gary, Ind., from 1989 until 1997, when he became Assistant Director of District 7.

McCall is secretary of the USW Constitution Committee and chairs master contract negotiations with ArcelorMittal, Republic Steel, Timken, Graphics Packaging and others. He graduated from the Labor Studies Program at Indiana University-Northwest in 1973 and the Harvard University Trade Union Program in 1990.

Roxanne BROWN

Roxanne Brown is the USW’s new International Vice President at Large. For 20 years, she has served USW members from the union’s Legislative Office in Washington, D.C., most recently as Legislative Director.

Brown will continue to oversee the union’s public policy and legislative agenda as well as its political work. She has spent her career working with members and allies to advance policies on Capitol Hill and with regulatory agencies to help workers. She has extensive experience in defense procurement policy, environmental regulation, energy, cement, specialty metals and biomass carbon neutrality.

Born in Jamaica, Brown was raised in White Plains, New York.

Jon GEENEN

“I have known Jon for many years, first meeting him at the paper conference in Pittsburgh. Jon made us all feel welcome, and his knowledge and passion for the sector is second to none. He epitomizes everything about the success of Workers Uniting. He has helped build long-lasting and successful links between workers across our countries. Jon is a true internationalist, and we all wish him all the best in his retirement.”

Tommy Murphy, Member, Unite Executive Council and Workers Uniting Steering Committee

Carol LANDRY

“At least 75% of the union mills still pay double overtime time and a half for holidays, 40-week days, holidays, Brehm, Thilmont, competitors, and 16 employees. We need those women, such as Carol, to stand up and say no.”

Women’s Rights are Human Rights.
Del Vitale, the USW’s new Director of District 4, has served as Assistant to the District Director since 2015, representing Steelworkers across Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont and Puerto Rico.

Vitale has been a proud union member since being hired at the age of 18 as a slitter operator at Oneida Packaging, later Pacquet-Oneida, in Clifton, N.J. In 2012, Vitale became the District 4 Sub-Director of the Edison, N.J., office and served in that position until he was named Assistant to then-Director John Shinn in 2015.

Donnie Blatt is the newly installed Director of USW District 1, which encompasses the state of Ohio.

Blatt joined the USW in 1979 as a member of Local 5724 at Ormet Aluminum in Ohio. He joined the International staff in 2001 as the District 1 Rapid Response Coordinator, a position he held for 16 years.

He served as the Sub-District 3 Director from January until April 2017, when he was appointed Assistant to the Director. Blatt was also District 1 Political Director. He helped to establish the USW District 1 Free College Benefit.

Leeann Foster, a new USW International Vice President, has served the union for more than 22 years as Assistant to the International President and Associate General Counsel.

Foster came to the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) as an attorney in 1997. In 1998, she became the Executive Assistant to UPIU President Boyd Young. UPIU later merged into PACE, which became part of the USW.

She helped form the National Paper Bargaining Program, and is confronting health and safety issues in the paper sector. She was instrumental in completing the 2005 merger of PACE with the USWA.

Carol Landry was an important voice for women in trade unions and fought for equal treatment all her life. She fought for women’s presence and voice in union structures and she certainly contributed to greater visibility of women and their issues.

JOHNSON
SECRETARY-TREASURER, RETIRED

From his very first days at Armstrong’s passenger car and light truck tire plant in Madison, Tenn., Stan understood first-hand how a high-paying, high-skilled union job can help working people buy homes, send their kids to college and save for retirement. He never forgot his own experiences and worked every single day at the USW to ensure members could have that same opportunity. Our movement is better off because of his leadership and vision. Congratulations on a well-deserved retirement!

For Liz Shuler, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer
Leo W. Gerard
President Emeritus

Steelworkers’ International President Leo W. Gerard has announced his retirement after dedicating 50 years to fighting for working families and labor rights around the world. His legacy will be his accomplishments on behalf of workers and communities across the globe.

NANCY PELOSI
Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

When Leo W. Gerard assumed office in 2001 as the seventh International President of the United Steelworkers, he felt like a front-runner in a relay race who dared not drop the baton he had just been handed.

In his 18 years of leadership since then, Gerard did much more than cradle the baton. A brash fighter and a thoughtful pragmatist, he was a careful steward of the USW’s legacy and passed to his successor, Thomas M. Conway, a union that is financially strong, politically active and more diverse than ever.

Along the way, Gerard earned a place in history for opposing predatory imports while demanding fair trade, domestic manufacturing and good family-sustaining jobs. He expanded the union through mergers and global alliances, and forged an unlikely bond between labor and environmentalists, arguing that good jobs go together with clean air and water.

As Conway prepared for his administration, he described Gerard as a great personal friend and mentor. “We’ve enjoyed so many laughs together over the years while at the same time working through some of the most daunting of problems. His instinct, knowledge and depth of understanding is second to none and his willingness to share that knowledge, to ensure a better union going forward, is an act of selflessness,” Conway said.

“For all that he has accomplished during his lifetime and through all the many halls of power he has walked on the union’s behalf, Leo remains and has always been a worker and his heart is a worker’s heart. When I think of Leo, I’m reminded of the Bob Seger song Like a Rock. The USW owes him a tremendous debt of gratitude.”

With the solidarity of its members, the union under Gerard weathered difficult negotiations and lockouts, took on big multinational corporations, beat back unfair trade
The first, Lynn Williams, led the union through tumultuous times of steel downsizing in the 1980s, and was Gerard’s mentor. He was also mentored by his predecessor, George Becker.

As union president, Gerard crossed paths with rank-and-file USW members and union leaders around the world, with bankers and corporate titans, and with presidents and prime ministers in Washington and Ottawa. He often told USW members that the only reason he was welcomed into the halls of power was that he had the privilege of representing them and their families.

“This union is made up of human beings with all kinds of needs and wants and dreams, and they have the right to demand the best we can give them,” Gerard said in an interview with USW@Work.

Growing up in a mining town in northern Ontario, Gerard learned about unions from his father, Wilfred Gerard, an organizer for the International Mine and Smelter Workers’ Union, a one-time USW rival.

“I remember my dad telling me that a union was an instrument of economic and social justice, not just a bargaining agency, and I think that’s accepted in our union,” Gerard said. “We’re an activist union. We don’t go looking for fights, but we don’t get pushed around very easily.”

Gerard learned compassion from his neighbors. He retains a clear memory of running an errand in the 1950s for his mom to the company-run community medical center, while he sat in the waiting room with six nickel miners. One of the miners, sickly and with a persistent hacking cough, seemed to be dying.

Gerard watched the receptionist hand the coughing miner a small brown envelope and a bottle. Years later, he realized the miner had lung disease, and the envelope and the bottle likely contained only aspirin and cough medicine.

“If I ever get up too happy in the morning and think the world is too rosy,” he later said, “all I have to do is think about my day at the medical center.”

As a secondary student in suburban Sudbury, Gerard’s open defiance to hallway rules he thought were ridiculous led to frequent after-class detentions. Years later, he was honored with the first spot on his school’s wall of fame.

Gerard joined the union at 18 when he began working for Inco, the former Canadian mining giant later sold to Vale. He started out as a copper puncher, wielding a bar and sledge hammer to clear tuyeres, nozzles through which air is forced into a furnace. It is a hot and dirty job.

“It helped prepare him for a place in the history books as someone who’s not afraid to get dirty and play with fire,” said AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka, a former coal miner.

“He used that spirit of toughness, grit and fortitude to eventually rise to the highest ranks of his union and the labor movement and oversee some of the largest and toughest mergers in
union history,” Trumka added. “He also made his mark on improving and expanding global unionism and fighting tooth-and-nail against some of the worst trade agendas ever written.”

While working, Gerard squeezed in courses at Laurentian University, hoping to eventually teach economics. He quit Laurentian a few credits short of graduation when he went to work for the union in 1977. Laurentian awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1994.

Gerard credited his loud voice with getting him elected a union shop steward at age 22. From Local 6500, he joined the union staff and ultimately became director of District 6 in Canada in 1985, the National Director of Canada in 1991, International Secretary-Treasurer in 1993 and International President in 2001.

As a director, in the early 1990s, he pushed a plan to save Algoma Steel, then a subsidiary of Dofasco, from bankruptcy through employee ownership. The successful plan, a deal made with the government, bankers and creditors, gave workers more than 60 percent of the company in exchange for their contributions.

In Canada, Gerard is known for facilitating mergers with the Industrial, Wood and Allied Workers of Canada, previously an affiliate of the International Woodworkers of America, and the Telecommunications Workers Union of Canada, now USW Local 1944.

He supported Canada’s Westray law, legislation that made corporate owners and managers criminally liable for failing to protect the lives of their employees.

That campaign followed a 1992 disaster that killed 26 miners working underground at the Westray coal mine in Nova Scotia. The USW had been working with miners there on organizing when the explosion occurred.

In addition to building the union through mergers, alliances and organizing, Gerard raised the level of activism and engagement among members and continued the relentless fight for fair international trade and a fair shake for American and Canadian workers.

“Some of my proudest moments...
Leo has been a fantastic comrade and dear friend to me, Unite the Union and the Worker’s Uniting project. His record as a leader of the USW is an inspiration to us all, and we have all benefited from his enthusiasm and determination to make a better world for working people and their families. Leo made history when he established Workers Uniting with Unite and in our founding constitution pledged to challenge exploitation anywhere in the global economy. This vision for Workers Uniting has delivered a great deal for workers not only in North America, the UK and Ireland but also on the international stage. We will, of course, miss Leo personally and professionally, but rest assured we continue to honour his legacy.

LEN MCCLUSKEY, UNITE THE UNION GENERAL SECRETARY AND MEMBER OF THE WORKERS UNITING BOARD

are when we’ve accomplished things in Washington when no one gave us a chance,” he said. “It was a huge victory to get tariffs from President George W. Bush in 2002. That literally saved the industry.”

The USW under Gerard co-founded the BlueGreen Alliance (BGA) in the United States and helped to launch the Centre for Research and Occupational Health and Safety (CROSH) at Laurentian University in Canada.

The BGA unites America’s largest labor unions and its most influential environmental organizations to solve pollution problems in ways that create and maintain good jobs and build a stronger, fairer economy.

After retirement, Gerard plans to continue his work with CROSH, the sole health and safety research center in Northern Ontario. CROSH aims to solve critical workplace challenges by including workers, workplaces, communities, government and safe work associations in field research.

Gerard is proud of the network of activism the union built, including the Leadership Scholarship Program, which has provided educational and leadership training for thousands of local union activists.

Gerard cited Rapid Response, a nonpartisan grassroots education, communication and action program that informs members about pending labor legislation and work-related issues and Women of Steel, an activist program created to empower and develop new opportunities for female members.

In addition, he praised the union’s member-centric political activism, the Strategic Campaigns Department, which coordinates membership mobilization programs to support collective bargaining and organizing; and the International Affairs Department, which works with the USW’s international allies to support bargaining and help build a global movement for democracy and equality.

“We have built a strong activist base,” Gerard said. “This is the work of a lifetime, not just my lifetime, but the union’s lifetime.”
I was raised in a company house in a company town where the miners had to buy their own oilers – that is, rubber coveralls – drill bits and other tools at the company store.

That company, Inco Limited, the world’s leading producer of nickel for most of the 20th century, controlled the town of Sudbury, Ontario, but never succeeded in owning the souls of the men and women who lived and worked there.

That’s because these were union men and women, self-possessed, a little rowdy and well aware that puny pleas from individual workers fall on deaf corporate ears.

Now that I am retired, 54 years after starting work as a copper puncher at the Inco smelter, the relationship between massive, multi-national corporations and workers is different.

Unions represent a much smaller percentage of workers now, so few that some don’t even know what a labor organization is – or what organized labor can accomplish. That is the result of deliberate, decades-long attacks on unions by corporations and the rich. They intend to own not only workers’ time and production but their very souls.

I’d like to tell you the story of Inco because it illustrates the arc of labor union ascendance and attenuation over the past 72 years since I was born in Sudbury.

When I was a boy, the Inco workers, about 19,000 of them, were represented by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The union was gathering strength. My dad, Wilfred Gerard, was among the rabble rousers. We lived just a few miles from the mine, and workers would gather at the house. Someone would bring a case of beer, and my mom would make egg salad or baloney sandwiches.

Conditions in the mine were terrible, and these workers were organizing to achieve change. I recall them talking about a work stoppage over safety glasses. I was amazed that they would have to take action like that to get essential work equipment. The company, I thought, should voluntarily take this simple step to ensure workers were not unnecessarily injured on the job.

I learned two important lessons from sitting on the steps and listening to those meetings. One was that the company would do nothing for the workers unless forced by collective action. The other was that labor unions were instruments of both economic and social justice.

I started work in the smelter at age 18 after graduating high school. My mother told my girlfriend, Susan, my future wife, not to let me get involved in the union because if I did, I would be gone all of the time. For a few years, I resisted union activism. Still, I carried a copy of the labor contract in my pocket, pulled out just high enough so the boss could see it. I knew what it said, and I wanted him to know I knew.

In 1967, when I was 20, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers merged with the United Steelworkers (USW), and I became a USW member.

It didn’t take long for the guys at the smelter to see that I had a big mouth. And in 1969, they petitioned for me to become a shop steward. That was the beginning. My mom was right. It did mean I was gone much of the time.

I got myself demoted so I could work day shift and attend college at night. On day shift, I noticed the company was using a bunch of contractors. Many were performing work that was supposed to be done by union members. Other contractors sat in their trucks parked behind the warehouse doing nothing. So, I got about six guys to help me track and record the violations every day.

Then we would file grievances against the company. We could not win because the contract language was weak at that point, but we took it through all the stages of grieving, and it cost Inco money. That made the bosses furious.

So they took it out on me. You have to be prepared for that if you are going to be an activist. They made me rake rocks that had fallen off the mine trucks...
onto the road. They made me pick up trash in the parking lot. They tried to humiliate me. But I always found a way to comply without bowing to them.

The advantage we had in those days was that they thought they were smarter than us. They didn’t understand that we were a team and we stuck together, so there was no way they were going to own us.

That was the 1960s, a different time. Union membership in the United States rose through 1965, when nearly one in three workers belonged. In Canada, the rise continued through 1985, when the rate was 38 percent. The drop off in the United States was fairly slow until 1980, when it plummeted to 23.2 percent. It has now fallen to 10.5 percent. In Canada, the decline was steady, but much slower. The rate there remains 30.1 percent, close to the all-time high in the United States.

The difference is that in the United States, corporations and conservatives engaged in a successful campaign, beginning in 1971, to seize power from workers and propagandize for what they euphemistically called free enterprise. Really, it’s cut-throat capitalism. The upshot is that U.S. workers have more difficulty forming unions than Canadians, and U.S. corporations can more easily lock workers out of their jobs and hire strikebreakers. The intent is to enable corporations to own their workers, lock, stock and soul.

Lewis F. Powell Jr., the late U.S. Supreme Court justice, launched this drive to crush labor, the left and environmentalists in the United States with a memo he wrote in 1971 for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and distributed to corporate leaders.

Powell told the Chamber that it had to organize businesses into a political force because, he claimed, corporations and the free market system were “under broad attack,” and in “deep trouble.”

Powell inveighed against regulations sought by car safety activist Ralph Nader, by environmentalists petitioning for clean air and water, and by unions demanding less deadly mines and manufacturing. He castigated those on the left pursuing a fairer, safer and more humane society.

Businesses must cultivate political power, and wield it, Powell said, to secure “free market” advantages, such as tax breaks and loopholes specifically for corporations and the rich.

Powell also told the Chamber: “Strength lies in organization, in careful long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action over an indefinite period of years, in the scale of financing available only through joint effort, and in the political power available only through united action and national organizations.”

That is exactly what the Chamber achieved. It catalyzed a business movement, funded by wealthy conservative family and corporate foundations, including those of Coors, Olin, Scaife and Koch, to name a few. The foundations sponsored conservative professors at universities and right-wing non-profits such as the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, Americans for Prosperity and the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which provides junkets for right-wing lawmakers at which it encourages them to champion anti-union and anti-worker legislation. These groups bankrolled conservative candidates and secured appointment of conservative judges.

Between the end of World War II and 1970, during the rise of unions, workers’ incomes rose with productivity. Income inequality declined, and North America became home to the largest middle class in history. After 1970 and the Chamber effort to implement the Powell manifesto, unions declined and workers’ wages stagnated. Virtually all new income and profits went to CEOs, stockholders and the already rich. The middle class dwindled as income inequality rose to Gilded Age levels.

This occurred at the same time that corporations expanded, becoming massive multinationals, with facilities sprawled across the world and without allegiance to any country. This happened to Inco. Vale, a Brazilian corporation, bought it in 2006, and now Vale is a true multinational with facilities worldwide.

Multinationals spurned their obligation to serve workers, consumers, communities and shareholders. Instead, they focused only on shareholders, the rest be damned. They closed factories in the United States and Canada and moved them to places like Mexico and China, with low wages and lax environmental laws. They exploited foreign workers and destroyed North American workers’ lives and communities.

As far back as the 1970s, the USW, the AFL-CIO, as well as the textile, shoe, steel and other industry leaders, warned Congress about what this trend, combined with increasing imports, meant for American workers and their
neighborhoods. In 1973, after the United States experienced its first two years of trade deficits in a century, I.W. Abel, then president of the USW, urged Congress “to slow the massive flood of imports that are sweeping away jobs and industries in wholesale lots.”

Congress’ failure to heed this alarm resulted in the collapse of the U.S. textile and shoe industries and many others. It very nearly killed the steel industry, which has suffered tsunami after tsunami of bankruptcies, gunpoint mergers and mill closures. Tens of thousands of family-supporting jobs were lost and communities across both the United States and Canada hollowed out. In 1971 and 1972, the trade deficit totaled $8.4 billion. Last year it was $621 billion. Every imported toy, shoe, bolt of cloth and ingot of steel means fewer U.S. factories and jobs and more struggling towns.

The USW presidents who followed Abel – Lloyd McBride and Lynn R. Williams – escalated the battle against offshored factories and unfairly traded imports. The USW even filed suit to try to stop the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) because Williams, like independent Presidential candidate Ross Perot, saw that it would suck Canadian and U.S. factories and jobs south of the Mexican border.

The late USW President George Becker and I agitated for change, confronting and cajoling presidents and prime ministers and members of Congress and Parliament. The USW mar- tialed all of its forces, including activists in its Women of Steel and NextGen programs, the Steelworkers Organization of Active Retirees (SOAR), and its Rapid Response coordinators. Tens of thousands of workers rallied, camped out in Washington, D.C., harangued lawmakers and sent postcards.

Working with allies in the community, such as environmental and human rights groups, faith and food safety organizations, together we have won some short-term relief measures. These include the tariffs on imported steel and aluminum imposed last year and the de- feat of the proposed new trade deal, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, that would have extended NAFTA problems across Pacific Rim countries.

In the decades that the USW battled bad trade, I moved through the ranks, from staff representative, to District Director to Canadian National Director to USW Secretary-Treasurer. Among my goals was to forge international workers’ alliances to combat the corporate cabals that always got seats at the table to write the trade deals that worked against workers. When I was elected USW president in 2001, one of my top priorities was expanding the union’s coalitions.

Now the USW participates in three global unions, which together represent more than 82 million workers in more than 150 countries worldwide. The USW and partner unions also created more than two dozen global councils of workers, including those for workers at ArcelorMittal, BASF, Bridgestone, DowDuPont and Gerdau. These employers quickly learned that taking on workers at one factory meant taking on workers at all of their workplaces internationally.

In 2005, the USW and the Mexican miners’ union known as Los Miner-
os formed a strategic alliance. And the USW gave Los Mineros General Secretary Napoleon Gomez sanctuary in Canada when he was unjustly accused of wrongdoing by a Mexican government intent on shutting him up after a mine disaster.

In 2008, the USW joined with Unite the Union, the second largest union in the U.K. and Ireland, forming Workers Uniting to fight exploitation and injustice globally. And the USW formed alliances with union federations in Australia and Brazil, where the organization is known by the acronym CUT.

This international brotherhood and sisterhood stood with Canadian mine and smelter workers for a year beginning in July 2009.

During its first negotiations with the USW, Vale, the Brazilian corporation that bought Inco, demanded harsh concessions from its thousands of Canadian workers. Though Vale was highly profitable, it said it wouldn’t even bargain with the USW unless the workers first accepted the cuts. That forced them out on strike.

I started talking regularly with the head of the CUT in Brazil to strategize and plan joint actions. Brazilian workers and community groups wholeheartedly supported their Canadian brothers and sisters. They demonstrated in front of the Vale headquarters and threw red paint – symbolizing blood – on the building. They shut down traffic with all sorts of street actions. They protested at the Vale shareholders meeting, inside and out.

They also traveled to Canada, in force with flags, for a rally in Sudbury in March of 2010, when the strike was eight months old and banks were repossessing some workers’ cars and foreclosing on homes. By then, Vale had 100,000 workers in mines and smelters across the world. Supporters from many of those communities – in Asia, Africa, Europe and Australia – joined thousands of Canadians who marched through the streets that cold day.

Vale could see that its Canadian workers, in Sudbury, Port Colborne and Voisey’s Bay, were not alone. They had allies from around the world willing to stand up to the giant multinational.

The strike ended 12 long months after it started. We didn’t get everything we wanted, but we certainly didn’t accept Vale’s concessionary demands. Vale failed to accomplish its mission, which was to spread to all of its operations worldwide the authoritarian, top-down, nasty management practices that it had honed in Brazil. The proof of that is the next round of negotiations with Vale went fairly well, and we got an honorable settlement.

Now, for labor to secure gains, in the United States or Canada or anywhere, workers must mobilize. We have to bring everyone together, women, men, poor people, people of color, gay people – all working people. None of us is big enough or developed enough to win this fight alone.

If we fight together, I can’t guarantee we will win. But if we don’t fight for justice, I can guarantee we will lose.

Since none of us is willing to owe our souls to the company store, we’re going to have to find ways to continue building coalitions robust enough to confront capital and win the battle for economic and social justice.

...BUT IF WE DON’T FIGHT FOR JUSTICE, I CAN GUARANTEE WE WILL LOSE.

LEO W. GERARD
PRESIDENT EMERITUS
Dustin Dyer, a 33-year-old cement quarry worker, came to the USW’s first organizing conference with the goal of helping others realize the opportunity that can come with a union job.

“I’m fifth-generation union, and I have to carry on that legacy,” Dyer said on the closing day of the conference, held from June 22 to June 25 at the International Headquarters in Pittsburgh. “It means the American dream for me.”

Dyer, who lives and works near Hagerstown, Md., was impressed with the passion showed by union leadership and staff and said the four-day program exceeded his expectations.

“The heart and spirit of some of the leaders here is very contagious. It’s definitely inside me now,” he said. “It’s time for change, and they taught me a lot about the tools and resources I need to get on board.”

The conference attracted a noticeable number of younger members who were chosen by their locals, district directors and the union’s organizing department to recruit new members in existing, traditional and emerging industries and sectors.

“You’re the future of our union,” retired International President Leo W. Gerard told the 115 participants, who represented nearly every USW district. “Your union has the best and the brightest, the people most willing to stand up, the people most willing to learn.”

The conference also heard from incoming International President Tom Conway, who succeeded Gerard on July 15; International Vice President Fred Redmond; incoming Secretary-Treasurer John Shinn and District Directors Mike Millsap and Emil Ramirez.

We can do better

The officers thanked the participants for giving their time and energy to growing the union.

“This is our calling. We can do better if we do it together,” Redmond said. “Collective bargaining is all of us standing together side by side, trying to make a better life for our families and a better country for all of us.”

The union has committed to continue organizing in its historical core industries to improve membership density and bargaining power, and to build organizing capacity in other areas including the public, education and non-profit sectors.

Organizing Director Maria Somma called the conference historic and said it set the stage for a return to the union’s organizing roots with the goal of uniting all working people.

“The labor movement is under attack and the time is ripe for a new army of organizers,” Somma said. “And this was our first step in creating an enthusiastic group of...
unionists to go out and increase the movement.”

While dedicated organizers are key to any campaign, it was clear to those attending the conference that building and maintaining the USW is ultimately every member’s job.

“There are many steps that have to be done before workers win their first contract and all of those steps are hard. They take time. They take commitment, and they take ingenuity,” Somma added.

**Building up the union**

Sonia Bracey, a licensed practical nurse and full-time representative for Local 7600 at Kaiser Permanente, the healthcare giant in Fontana, Calif., said she learned that organizing is more than an election campaign.

“My number one passion is organizing, and the conference gave me more of a foundation on what organizing is all about,” she said. “It’s not just getting cards signed. It’s about building a platform and building up the union.”

There were learning opportunities in external, internal and advanced organizing. External campaigns typically target employers or job sites where there is no union. Internal organizing seeks to build support for the union in represented workplaces where not all workers are members.

Kenneth Lewis, 62, organizing director for Local 8888 at the Newport News Shipyard in Virginia, brought seven young members with him to the conference in hopes they will step up into leadership as older members retire.

“We have a lot of younger people coming in now and a lot of them don’t know about unions. We have to go about showing them exactly why they need a union,” Lewis said.

“That’s why I’m bringing in new people, young people. That’s what we need. They’re here to learn, to understand how to keep it going. We have to keep it going or we’re going to be in a world of trouble.”

Local 8888, the largest U.S. local in the union with some 9,000 members, has to constantly work to keep membership up and united because Virginia is a right-to-work (for less) state. Paid membership fluctuates, rising in years when contracts are up.

**Internal organizing**

Jerry McGowan, one of Local 8888’s young members, said he learned some organizing techniques that should help his local raise its visibility in the shipyard and maintain membership.

“You’ve got to keep the membership up because you could lose your strength, not just bargaining strength, but strength inside your facility,” he said.

Internally, there are thousands of people who work alongside union members in right-to-work states and benefit from the union but do not pay dues to the local or International union.

“I learned a lot about internal organizing, how to motivate people who are already part of the union, and how to sign up people who aren’t,” said Shea Fallert, a refinery worker in Denver who belongs to Local 12-477.

Gerard challenged participants to use their new skills to pull in 20,000 to 25,000 new members by combining internal and external organizing efforts.

“I can say with some confidence there is no industry that we don’t want to organize,” Gerard said, noting the union’s mixed success in working to organize adjunct faculty and graduate students in Pittsburgh.

Never quit, Gerard said. “The secret to everything we do in the union is to never give up,” he added. “You may not win the first time, but that doesn’t mean you should stop. We’ve got to build by organizing, by winning.”

The conference offered hands-on training for those willing to learn and practice organizing skills, including how to speak to someone who is initially not interested in being active in their union and how to map or analyze a workplace for support.

Alex Ochoa, an 11-year member of Local 1010 at ArcelorMittal in Chicago, said he picked up tips on how to relate to other workers on the mill floor and spread his enthusiasm.

“I’m proud to be part of the union,” he said. “It’s about being able to connect with every member. You want to have that conversation to bring them in, to keep up the solidarity between everybody.”
Rachel Masilamani has worked at the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh for nearly 10 years as a part-time librarian. For her, the career is more than a paycheck. “I have my dream job,” she said. “I get to help everyday people achieve their goals and help build communities of learning.”

Last year, when several workers left her location, it became harder for her to do this work she loves. Short staffing forced her to take on extra responsibilities, but she received no extra benefits or security to go along with them. A mother of one, Masilamani was also struggling with health issues at the time. With no health insurance, paid sick time, or vacation days, she had to push through in order to support her family. “I shouldn’t have to suffer in order to do my best work for the public,” she said. “And we shouldn’t have to risk getting the people we serve sick, either.”

After talking to her co-workers, Masilamani discovered she isn’t alone in the struggle. They realized there are many common issues that need to be addressed and that they have the best chance of success if they work together.

Late last summer, they took the first step toward worker power by forming an organizing committee, and in June of this year, they officially launched a unionization drive with the United Steelworkers.

Built by steel

For the committee members, who call themselves the United Library Workers, choosing to join the Pittsburgh-based USW was a natural choice. “Carnegie Library is the library that steel built,” said Masilamani. “It’s the library that Steelworkers built.”

Pittsburgh industrialist and union buster Andrew Carnegie, who led the expansion of the American steel industry in the late 19th century and became one of the richest Americans in history, funded the construction of 2,509 libraries across the United States between 1883 and 1929, including those in Pittsburgh.

The Teamsters and SEIU currently represent the Carnegie Library’s drivers and environmental service workers. This new organizing effort includes all 350 remaining eligible unrepresented staff across 19 public branches and the library support center.

One of the issues the workers plan to address is their lack of a voice when it comes to making decisions that affect the library, the people they serve, and their own working conditions.

“We are the workers who make the libraries run, the people who do the jobs every day,” said Julia Mente, a reader advisor at the Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped. “But the people making the decisions about what our work looks like are too often detached from the day-to-day functions of the libraries.”

There are many things Masilamani admires about the Carnegie Library and its rich history, including establishing one of the first-ever library schools in 1901.

“But they never set a structure in place to ensure that staff would have a seat at the table for making decisions,” she said. “They never set a system in place for us to amplify the voices of the public and help make responsible decisions about the services and collections we provide.”

Many of Masilamani’s fellow employees are part-time and work multiple jobs to stay afloat. They are also excluded from promotions, and a growing number are drowning in student loan debt from the degrees required for their jobs.

But through solidarity and strong organizing, Mente is optimistic that many of these wrongs will be righted. “This is just the beginning of a long struggle, and I am confident that we will win,” she said. “And I believe this union will bring progress to Carnegie Library and give our community the libraries they deserve.”
USW members voted in July to ratify a new three-year contract with Arconic that covers more than 3,000 workers at four of the company’s U.S. facilities.

The new agreement covers members of Local 309 in Alcoa, Tenn., Local 105 in Davenport, Iowa, Local 115 in Lafayette, Ind., and Local 420A in Massena, N.Y.

The new contract provides annual wage increases for all union members of 3.5 percent per year. The agreement also maintains or improves existing benefits, such as supplemental unemployment, health insurance and retirement provisions, for currently active employees.

The contract includes a $1,750 ratification bonus.

“This is a great outcome not only for our members at Arconic, but for workers throughout the aluminum industry and also for the employer and its customers,” said International President Thomas M. Conway, who led the USW’s bargaining committee.

Conway said that negotiations with Arconic ended in a completely different tone than they began this spring when the company demanded excessive and unnecessary economic and non-economic concessions.

The newly ratified agreement is the USW’s first new contract with Arconic since November 2016, when Alcoa, the iconic corporation that dates to 1888, split into two companies – a smelting and refining company that kept the original name, and a downstream products division that became Arconic.

Members authorize strike
The contract with Arconic expired on May 15, at which point the USW and company agreed that members would continue to work under the terms and conditions of the existing contract as bargaining continued. A few weeks later, as talks stalled and the company continued to push its concessionary demands, members voted to authorize the bargaining committee to call a strike if necessary.

Conway said the strike authorization was a turning point for bargaining. “Our members throughout the aluminum industry – especially at these facilities – create tremendous value and have earned and deserve a contract that recognizes their contributions to the company’s success,” he said.

As members at Arconic were voting to ratify their new agreement, USW members who work at Alcoa were at the bargaining table working with the company to reach a new agreement. The USW’s master agreement with Alcoa covers about 1,500 members of Local 104 in Warrick, Ind., Local 310A in Wenatchee, Wash., Local 420A in Massena, N.Y., Local 4370 in Point Comfort, Texas, and Local 5073 in Gum Springs, Ga.

At the end of May, as Alcoa continued to insist on major concessions, members at those locations also authorized their bargaining committee to call a strike if necessary. Members at Alcoa have continued to work under the terms and conditions of the contract that expired May 15.

“USW members have dedicated years of hard work and personal sacrifice to keep these facilities operating efficiently and profitably,” said Conway, who also chairs the Alcoa committee. “Corporate executives and shareholders are reaping the benefits while Alcoa continues to demand concessions too broad and too deep for our members and their families to absorb.”

Negotiations with Alcoa were continuing as USW@Work went to press.

ABI lockout ends in Canada
Conway said he was hopeful that the end of a lockout of more than 1,000 USW members at Quebec’s Aluminerie de Bécancour Inc. (ABI), a joint venture between majority-owner Alcoa and Rio Tinto, could be a sign that the company would settle a fair contract with workers in the United States.

ABI locked out members of Local 9700 on Jan. 11, 2018. The workers voted on July 2 of this year to ratify a new contract and return to work.

“I am proud of each and every one of the workers, of the struggle they have waged – with the support of more than 500 union organizations across Quebec – to preserve jobs and to defend basic principles such as seniority and their working conditions,” said Clément Masse, Local 9700 president.

“The resistance and the resilience of our members and the solidarity of union members across Quebec made it possible.”
particularly undecided voters. Although clearly corrosive to fair elections, captive audience meetings have been legal for employers to use since passage of the anti-worker Taft-Hartley Act in 1947.

Congress could change that by adopting newly introduced legislation entitled the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act of 2019 (H.R. 2474). The PRO Act aims to strengthen protections for workers engaged in collective action, including banning captive audience meetings and guaranteeing more effective enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

Captive audience meetings are commonly used by employers to stop union drives, and nine out of 10 union organizing drives are subject to them, according to the Economic Policy Institute.

Employers can require workers to attend as many captive audience meetings as they desire, and discipline or discharge those who refuse to attend, leave early or ask questions, as long as the meetings are not held within 24 hours of a vote. Unions have no right to hold their own meetings, nor are employers required to permit union organizers access to company property or employee lists.

Before his retirement, International President Leo W. Gerard urged Congress to pass the PRO Act to empower workers and reduce poverty.

“The ability to form a union is one of the surest ways to improving economic outcomes,” Gerard said. “In order to unlock the potential benefits of unionization, workers need Congress to address the ability of employers to flaunt current labor laws.”

The USW is working with the AFL-CIO and other unions to build support for labor law reform by participating in briefings and meetings across Capitol Hill.

The NLRA guarantees the rights of private sector employees to organize into trade unions, engage in collective bargaining and take collective action such as strikes.
Unfortunately, corporations and their political supporters have pushed in the wrong direction since the NLRA’s passage 84 years ago. Almost every amendment to the NLRA has made it harder, not easier, for workers to form unions.

“Every year, union-busting consultants have taken more and more corporate money to prevent workers from coming together to form unions, and when an election is won, to undermine the process of collective bargaining,” AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka told a congressional hearing.

“State ‘right-to-work’ laws, promoted by a network of billionaires, super PACs and special interest groups, have given even more power to big corporations at the expense of working people,” he said.

As union density declined, income inequality has skyrocketed.

“Although income inequality is seen as one of the most intractable economic problems facing our nation, we know how to reverse it,” Trumka said. “The simple truth is that when a greater share of workers (belonged to) unions, our economy and society were more equal.”

The NLRA lacks credible deterrents for those employers who retaliate against workers seeking to form or join a union. Penalties for employers who violate the law are weak.

The PRO Act would prohibit employers from requiring employees to attend captive audience meetings or participate in anti-union activities. It would also provide stronger remedies for employees whose rights have been violated, penalize employers who violate those rights and safeguard the right to strike.

The PRO Act would facilitate initial collective bargaining agreements after an election has been held. It would require employers and the union to begin bargaining within 10 days of the union submitting a written request.

If labor and management fail to reach a first agreement after 90 days of bargaining, either party may request mediation with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Arbitration would be offered if mediation fails.

JUDGE ORDERS NEW UNION VOTE AT KUMHO TIRE PLANT IN GEORGIA

Workers at Kumho Tire in Georgia are entitled to a new representation election after an administrative law judge determined that the company violated workers’ rights during a vicious anti-union campaign.

Instead of complying with the judge’s order, Kumho opted to delay a fair election by seeking to get the decision overturned by the Trump-appointee-dominated National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in Washington, D.C.

The workers at Kumho “are not just sitting around and waiting for the law to catch up with them,” said Organizing Director Maria Somma. “They are fully committed to continuing organizing until they get the USW in their workplace.”

The initial vote, held in October 2017 in Macon, was a narrow 164-to-136 loss for workers who were seeking to join the USW.

District 9 Director Daniel Flippo, whose territory includes Georgia, six other southern states and the U.S. Virgin Islands, applauded the ruling by National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) Administrative Law Judge Arthur J. Amchan.

“This ruling is a major victory, not just for the brave Kumho Tire workers, and not just for union members, but for all workers who want to improve their lives through organizing,” Flippo said. “The USW is committed to fighting for all workers’ rights.”

Following the 2017 vote, the USW filed charges with the NLRB accusing the South Korean company of illegal conduct to suppress the union. In his ruling, Amchan said Kumho’s illegal conduct was “pervasive” and that it warranted not only a new election but the “extraordinary” remedy of requiring company officials to read a notice to all employees outlining the specific ways in which Kumho violated the workers’ rights.

Kumho’s violations, Amchan said, included illegally interrogating employees, threatening to fire union supporters, threatening plant closure, and creating an impression of surveillance, among other threats.

The company was directed to post on a union billboard an NLRB order saying it had violated federal labor law and that federal law gives employees the right to form, join or assist a union, choose representatives to bargain with management, act together with others for worker’s benefit and protection, or choose not to engage in any of these activities.

Kumho was ordered to stop threatening workers with plant shutdown, job loss, loss of benefits, work transfers, and stricter rule enforcement or other reprisals if they select representation.

The company was also directed to stop interrogating employees regarding union sympathies; suggesting that selecting union representation would be futile; threatening changed work conditions; and telling employees not to speak to others in support of the union.

Kumho entered the U.S. market in 1975 and opened a technical center in Akron, Ohio, in 1990. Its $450 million factory in Macon opened in 2016 with the capacity to make 4 million tires a year.
For the members of Local 9777 who produce custom furniture at Chicago’s iconic Interior Crafts Inc., their work is more than just a job. It is an art form.

The workers at the family-owned company create made-to-order pieces by hand, cutting, sanding, sewing, painting and carving raw lumber, metal and fabric into some of the highest-quality furniture in the world.

“We put our heart and soul into it,” said CNC operator and USW member Robert Perkins. “I wish there were more factories like this.”

In fact, the Interior Crafts facility is one of the last large-
scale custom furniture shops in the Windy City, which in the early- to mid-20th century was the hub of the U.S. furniture industry and home to dozens of such facilities.

Competition from smaller shops and overseas knock-offs has slowly chipped away at the industry and at the USW unit’s membership, which once was about 200 but stands at 75 today.

That competition hasn’t put a dent in the pride that USW members feel for their work. If anything, it has made them even more dedicated to the company’s tradition of unmatched quality. The Interior Crafts work force operates with an almost defiant sense of purpose as members turn out each piece with the utmost precision and attention to detail.

“That’s what keeps us going,” Perkins said. “We want our customers to be 100 percent happy with the work that we do.”

With a return rate of less than one percent, the company’s customers are rarely unhappy. Individuals who buy the high-end furniture usually are well-heeled and working with their own interior designers. The pieces they receive from Interior Crafts are so well-made that they become heirlooms that can be passed down to a buyer’s children and grandchildren.

Company co-owner and President Michael Ursini said he’s proud workers at Interior Crafts maintain the company’s sterling reputation for top-quality craftsmanship.

“They all take a lot of pride in what they do,” he said.

Ursini’s father, Vito, an Italian immigrant, founded the company with partner Jerry Seiff in 1951. The elder Ursini insisted on having a union shop from the beginning, believing that was the key to maintaining a well-trained, dedicated work force.

The company expanded quickly, outgrowing three other workspaces before settling in its current 150,000 square feet of factory and storage space in 1968.

The workers initially were members of the Upholsterers International Union of North America before becoming USW members when that organization merged...
with the Steelworkers in October 1985. Since the beginning, the company and the union have enjoyed a great relationship, Ursini said. One of the keys to maintaining that spirit of cooperation, he noted, was the work of Joe Fabbre, a 50-year USW member and recently retired Local 9777 president.

Vito Ursini worked hard to forge a close relationship with his employees, overseeing production and keeping his own work station on the shop floor until shortly before he died in 2017 at age 91. The affection the work force still has for him is palpable; tributes to the founder still adorn bulletin boards and pillars throughout the factory two years after his death.

His son said he works hard to maintain that close relationship, making sure to have one-on-one conversations with workers on a regular basis. He runs the company with his sister, Emily, overseeing production while she focuses on product design and on running the company’s downtown Chicago showroom.

The workers have repaid the Ursini family with a loyalty of their own, with many staying on the job for decades. Upholsterer Ignacio Rodriguez is planning to retire in a matter of weeks after 34 years of work at Interior Crafts.

“This job has been good for me,” he said.

Rodriguez and co-worker Maria Argueta both said the USW is a big reason why they have decided to stick around. Argueta has been on the job for 25 years stitching fabric covers and other products. Before joining Interior Crafts, she was a USW member at another, now closed, furniture maker.

“I’ve been doing this kind of work my whole life,” she said.

She said the stability of a union job has allowed her to put four kids through college. “They’ll have a better chance in the future,” she said.

PEACE OF MIND

For Perkins, membership in the USW means peace of mind in case anything goes wrong on the job.

“The union sticks up for you,” he said. “It’s good for someone to have your back.”

That same stability has also helped ensure quality control inside the factory. The workers serve as checks on each other, as each piece passes several sets of USW eyes and hands before it is sent out the door.

“We try to help each other out,” said Unit Chair Emilio Valderrama. “This is like a second home.”

In some ways, time seems to have
stood still at the Interior Crafts factory. Some of the equipment, which Ursini calls “the best machines out there,” date to the 1950s and 1960s, while other parts of the manufacturing process require more cutting-edge computer-based technology.

Workers still employ such low-tech communication methods as tapping on pipes to get the attention of co-workers in another room, and scratching notes with pencil and paper.

Each of the work stations at the three-story Interior Crafts shop focuses on a specific aspect of the furniture-making process.

Mirek Stryczek shapes pieces of wood for use in frames. Susana Rico cuts sections of foam to be used as cushions and back rests. Elvira Ramirez stitches chair covers together. Willie Embry fastens upholstery and legs onto seats.

In the end, their individual skills bring them together, like musicians in an orchestra, to form the finished products.

“It’s like an art,” said Rico, who has been on the job for about a year. “But I picked it up well.”

**BEST IN THE WORLD**

That USW-produced artwork has found its way into world-famous restaurants and Hollywood films, and even onto the cover of an issue of Playboy magazine.

“It’s all of us together who do it,” said USW member Andrew Figueroa, who is among the last workers to touch products before they leave the factory.

The family-owned, union-represented, hand-made status of Interior Crafts products makes the company “one of the last of a breed,” Figueroa said.

It’s a status that the work force seems dedicated to preserving, even as new generations of consumers have increasingly turned toward what Ursini calls “a more disposable culture.”

“For me, this has been most of my life,” said Stryczek, who started a career as a woodworker when he arrived in the United States from Poland 23 years ago. “The most important thing is experience. With experience, each project gets better and better.”

That superior quality, and the pride that workers take in overseeing it, is ultimately what sets Interior Crafts apart from virtually any other furniture manufacturer in the country.

“The craftsmanship makes me proud,” Figueroa said. “It’s the best in the world.”
On June 21, quick work by members of Local 10-1 helped to save Philadelphia residents from a life-threatening catastrophe at the East Coast’s largest oil refinery. Less than a week later, those members learned that their workplace could be shut down for good.

Around 4 a.m., a fire followed by a series of explosions rocked the facility and sent massive clouds of smoke into the early-morning sky. Yet, thanks in large part to the refinery’s well-trained USW work force, while the incident caused significant damage to the facility, it resulted in only a handful of minor injuries and zero fatalities.

“Our highly skilled, expertly trained and experienced work force prevented catastrophic injuries or fatalities,” said Ryan O’Callaghan, president of Local 10-1, which represents about 650 members at the refinery, operated by Philadelphia Energy Solutions (PES).

The scene could have been far worse for one major reason: Not far from where the fire blazed were large volumes of concentrated hydrogen fluoride (HF), a highly toxic acid that many facilities employ as part of the refining process to increase the octane of their fuel.

An explosion that released HF into the air could have sent a massive cloud of potentially deadly gas into highly populated Philadelphia neighborhoods, threatening the lives of hundreds of thousands of residents.

Instead, the training and expertise of Local 10-1 members kicked in, and they averted a deadly disaster. PES workers moved immediately to shut down process units. A control room operator made sure to move the dangerous HF into a separate container and out of harm’s way.

Within a few hours, the plant’s Emergency Response Team and local firefighters had the flames under control. The cause of the fire is still under investigation.

While the workers avoided a deadly tragedy that morning, another potential disaster looms on the horizon. Just five days later, on June 26, PES announced that it would shut down the facility and prepare to sell the property.

Such a move would affect more than 1,000 workers, including hundreds of USW members as well as contractors, suppliers and other related businesses. In addition, the region would lose millions of dollars in tax revenue, and fuel prices could potentially skyrocket, International President Thomas M. Conway said.

“Thousands of workers and their families depend on the jobs at the PES refinery, either directly or indirectly,” Conway said. “Closing the facility would have an immediate and deep impact on Philadelphia and the surround-
ing community. Along the East Coast and across the country, the cost of home heating oil, diesel, gasoline and other products will increase dramatically.”

This isn’t the first time the future of the refinery has been in question. In September 2011, then-owner Sunoco announced plans to sell or close the site. The USW responded with a massive campaign to save the facility and two others in the region that were threatened with closure. Members lobbied local, state and federal politicians, launched petition and letter-writing drives, held rallies and marches, and sought support from community and environmental organizations.

By July 2012, Sunoco and the investment firm the Carlyle Group created a joint venture and formed PES with a commitment to continue running the Philadelphia refinery. Local 10-1 members overwhelmingly ratified a contract with the new owner.

The workers are hoping that history can repeat itself, though the road ahead won’t be easy. On July 2, Local 10-1 members met with elected officials to discuss closure of the plant. Conway has been working to identify buyers who would continue to operate the facility, and the refinery’s former CEO met with labor, business and political leaders in an attempt to work out a plan to save jobs.

“While we don’t think it’s prudent to discuss specifically who has shown interest, the USW will continue to seek out and talk with any serious investor with interests that include running the refinery as an ongoing concern,” Conway said. “The union is confident the facility can be safely and profitably operated with the right team of operators and investors.”

Philadelphia Mayor Jim Kenney said he would support a restart of the refinery and agreed to convene a committee to study how the city could help ensure the best possible outcome for workers.

Kenney said he would “focus efforts on determining the future of the refinery, assisting PES to transition the site safely, communicating with local residents, and supporting the employees impacted PES’ decision.”

The USW has already managed a small victory. During a bargaining session with the union, the company agreed to extend the termination date for employees from July 12 to Aug. 25 in order to prepare the refinery for resale or a restart.

Because of a successorship clause the USW negotiated in the National Oil Bargaining Program pattern agreement, a buyer would have to recognize the union and accept the existing USW labor agreement.

“We must look forward to repairing and operating this refinery safely and without negative environmental effects,” O’Callaghan said.
USW MEMBERS FIGHT FOR LEGISLATION TO PROTECT MULTIEMPLOYER PENSIONS
USW members and Rapid Response activists from around the United States traveled to Washington, D.C., in July to fight for a bill that would help to save troubled multiemployer retirement plans.

Dozens of workers took part in a series of events to build support for H.R. 397, legislation that would shore up struggling multiemployer pension plans through the creation of a long-term, low-interest loan program.

So far, that activism has paid off. Shortly after the USW’s events, the House of Representatives passed the bill. Now the bill goes to the U.S. Senate, where it could face an uphill battle in the Republican-controlled chamber.

“Congress needs to understand the seriousness of this situation,” said Cedric McClinton, president of Local 1331, who works at the International Paper facility in Campti, La.

A multiemployer plan is a collectively bargained plan maintained by more than one employer, usually within the same or related industries, and a labor union. Often referred to as Taft-Hartley plans, multiemployer pension plans grew dramatically after World War II and are common in mining, manufacturing and the building and construction industries, among others.

The Rehabilitation for Multiemployer Pensions Act, also known as the “Butch-Lewis Act,” would be funded through bond sales to help ensure the long-term survival of vulnerable multiemployer plans, many of which are struggling with a steady loss of active worker participants due to the effects of offshoring and unfair trade on U.S. manufacturing jobs.

A large majority – more than 90 percent – of single-employer and multiemployer pensions are not in danger of insolvency. However, actuaries project that 130 multiemployer pensions, covering benefits for about 1.3 million workers and retirees, will run out of money within the next 20 years.

In addition, the multiemployer plan fund of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC), the government agency that insures pensions, is expected to run out of money by 2025 without action by Congress.

The PBGC provides much lower guarantees to beneficiaries of multiemployer plans than it does to single-employer plans. The agency’s maximum benefit for a 65-year-old in a failed single-employer plan amounts to about $60,000 per year, while the benefit paid to a participant in a failed multiemployer plan caps out at less than $13,000.

Simply put, without help from Congress, retirees with insolvent multiemployer pensions could end up with next to nothing after a lifetime of work.

“This crisis is real. It has real consequences, and it will require real action by Congress to fix it,” said International President Thomas M. Conway. “No American worker who has put in 35, 40 years on the job should wonder if their retirement savings will be there when they need it. A pension is a promise that must be kept.”

McClinton said both active and retired members at his facility participate in a vulnerable multiemployer plan.

“We have a significant number of people who worked at the mill for more than 40 years who are retired now, and this pension is their main source of income,” said McClinton, who estimated that the pension plan at his IP facility covers about 250 active and 100 retired workers. “Given the opportunity, I’ll do anything I have to do to help them.”

Joined by members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the AARP and other organizations, on July 10 the USW delegation held a rally outside the Capitol in support of the bill. Members then visited individual members of Congress urging them to swiftly pass the bill.

Mark Minor, president of Local 1-243 in Cleveland, said that over the years he and other USW leaders have settled for lower wage increases during contract bargaining in order to put more of their earnings into retirement plans.

“When you negotiate a contract, you either go for a raise in your paycheck or you go for a raise in your pension. You can’t always get them both at the same time,” he said. “They should keep their promise. We kept our promise when it was time to do the work.”
A veteran USW member newly transferred to a paper mill wood yard was finishing the last shift of a two-week training period when he stepped off the dozer he was operating and inexplicably walked on parts of a huge pile of wood chips.

Working alone on a Saturday morning in April 2017, the 45-year-old member was standing near a wood chip reclaimer when a portion of the wood chip bed unexpectedly collapsed underneath him.

The papermaker, who had transferred from a converting plant to the wood yard, fatally fell into the chip reclaimer, machinery used to manage and move the wood materials used in making paper.

Until this tragedy, a wood chip pile was not generally viewed in the industry as a hazardous condition, and many paper mills did not have procedures to address it as a hazard, said Steve Sallman, an industrial safety investigator and assistant director of the USW Health, Safety and Environment Department.

“Some people told me, ‘It’s common sense. You don’t walk the chip pile,’” Sallman recalled. “But, how do you get common sense?

You get it through training, education and experience. If we don’t set people up for success in the very beginning when they’re green, they won’t have common sense about what an industrial workplace is and the hazards associated with it.”

DANGEROUS PLACES

Paper mills and converting facilities such as box plants, like many USW workplaces, are inherently dangerous. Most union safety representatives have been confronted with safety issues common to the paper industry. There are too many ways to be crushed, caught or struck while handling big machinery, heavy logs and large rolls of paper.

Improving safety and health conditions in paper became an issue after fatalities and life altering injuries sky-rocketed in 2013 and 2014. In 2015, the USW paper sector commissioned an in-depth study that identified five critical hazards that contribute to life-ending and altering events – hazardous substances, mobile equipment, falls, being struck by objects and getting caught in or between hazards.

These efforts coalesced in 2016 around a 10-point program called Making and Converting Paper Safely that was officially enacted at the paper bargaining conference that year.

SAFETY TOP PRIORITY

Safety was again a top priority last year at the 2018 USW paper bargaining conference, which improved the 2016 safety action plan and centered it around the three Rs needed to make work safe: the Right to Know immediate and underlying hazards; the Right to Act (also known as the Right to Refuse Unsafe Work Without Punishment); and the Right to Participate in programs and structures that manage safety and health in the workplace.

This year, IndustriALL and the UNI Global Union are engaged in a year-long safety action campaign targeting workers they represent in the pulp, paper, graphical and packaging sectors. The USW is leading and participating in the project.

“All health and safety standards exist because of trade union action, and we invite the pulp, paper, graphical and packaging industries to share information and build...
programs together with their workers who know the work and its hazards better than anyone else,” said International Vice President Leeann Foster, the IndustriALL Pulp and Paper Sector co-chair and a member of the working group that is enacting the paper safety project.

The international campaign structured around the three Rs took off on Workers’ Memorial Day this April 28. Each of these rights will be highlighted with action by workers across the paper and packaging sectors.

May and June actions concentrated on a worker’s Right to Know. Right-to-Know laws typically focus on a worker’s right to know the hazardous substances and dangerous chemicals they work with, but that is not enough. The IndustriALL and UNI program believes workers require information on all workplace hazard information, including dangerous chemicals and materials, hazardous tools, equipment, work processes and the way work is organized.

The campaign calls for workers to be provided an accurate evaluation of hazards, and for workers to participate in hazard and risk assessments. “The only people with the moral authority to assess a risk are those who must face it,” IndustriALL said in campaign materials. “This means industrial hygiene surveys belong to workers. Toxicology studies belong to workers. Ergonomic surveys belong to workers.”

International mobilizations will be conducted in September and October around the Right to Act. Each workplace should develop a Right to Act process, a proactive approach to identify unsafe work. Everyone should know that their right to question or shut down an unsafe job, or call time-out, is supported.

March and April 2020 will focus on the Right to Participate, culminating with Workers’ Memorial Day 2020.

The global paper industry has seen dramatic changes in products, demand and ownership over the decades, and that continuing transformation can sometimes expose hazards or potential hazards in mills and shops.

Properly managing this organizational change, Sallman said, is vital to avoid dangerous problems. Hiring freezes, for example, have led organizations to use new employees rather than seasoned workers to train other new employees, an all too often situation commonly called “green-on-green” training.

The quality of training should be based on the experience received, not just the number of days involved. In the wood chip instance, the pulp mill had been down for two days and training was temporarily suspended.

MENTORING IMPORTANT

“It’s important for new employees to be mentored by seasoned workers who can show them what they need to do and to have a keen ear to the sounds in the workplace, what’s normal and what’s not,” Sallman said.

“In a box shop or in a mill, you learn how to operate things by the sound of the equipment, and you can tell when things are going right or when something’s gone wrong.”

Properly managing organizational change means making sure that downsizing, transfers and other staffing issues do not negatively impact the proper progression of training through new learner to seasoned operator.

Sharing information is a key part of the push to improve safety. Hazard alerts compiled by USW health and safety activists are shared with management in order to improve safety in the sector overall. They are posted on the USW website at http://usw.to/hazards.

The wood chip incident – scrubbed of personal and corporate identifying details and packaged as a hazard alert – has been shared with union members and employers in an attempt to improve safety conditions across the industry.

Recommendations included providing all employees new to the job with written procedures such as instructing operators to stay in the dozer cab unless there is an emergency.

Setting up a safety zone near the in-feed of wood chip reclaimers was another recommendation, as was evaluating management procedures to ensure downsizing, transfers and other staffing issues don’t impact health and safety.

Sallman said the campaign is “about learning and improving. It’s not about blaming the worker, retraining and drug testing.”

Foster agreed. “We must have a plan and work that plan. That is what Making and Converting Paper Safely has been all about.”

Foster said. “We have and will continue to work to bring the number of fatalities and life altering injuries down across the sector, and we look forward to the day we eliminate them.”
The chief executives of America’s largest corporations aren’t called fat cats for nothing.

In 2018, CEOs of the 500 largest U.S. publicly traded companies received on average $14.5 million a year in compensation, an estimated 287 times what their median employees earned, according to an annual review of executive pay by the AFL-CIO.

Each of the CEOs whose companies are on the Standard & Poor’s 500 Index received raises averaging $500,000 in 2018. Compare that to the median pay of $39,888 for their rank-and-file employees, who earned raises averaging $785 for the year.

The Paywatch report, compiled from company proxy statements filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), is a comprehensive searchable online database that tracks CEO pay. To find out what your boss earned, visit www.Paywatch.org.

The equality gap is nothing new. Over the past decade, the average S&P 500 CEO’s pay increased by more than $5 million, while the average worker saw an increase of less than $800 a year.

The disparity shown in the AFL-CIO’s report between executives and ordinary workers remains high and continues to represent a fundamental problem with the U.S. economy: Wages for working people are flat – and staying flat.
Here’s the key point: The average worker isn’t making enough to cover rent for a two-bedroom apartment in 15 of the largest cities across the country, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler said. Meanwhile, 40 percent of hourly workers have nothing saved for an emergency while 75 percent have less than $500.

To compile this year’s report, Executive Paywatch used a new methodology to calculate the average CEO to worker pay ratio than in past years. This year’s report used average global pay of employees as reported by the corporations to the SEC. In previous years, the survey used data compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics for production and non-supervisory employees.

Under the new methodology, the ratio between executive pay and the earnings of their employees dropped to 287-to-1 for 2018 from 361-to-1 for 2017. The ratio would have increased to 363-to-1 for 2018 if the old method had been used, AFL-CIO spokesman Brandon Rees said.

The Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act requires publicly-traded companies to disclose to the SEC the pay ratio between their chief executive and the median employee, or the employee in the middle of the pay range. Last year was the first where nearly all S&P 500 companies disclosed the pay ratio between their CEO and the median employee.

The AFL-CIO fought for the change, which was intended to provide information about compensation strategies and allow shareholders to determine whether CEO pay is grossly top heavy when compared to that of workers.

The AFL-CIO argues that the data is important because it shows which companies are investing in their workforces.

A higher ratio could signal which companies operate under a winner-take-all philosophy where executives take the lion’s share of compensation. A lower ratio could indicate which companies create higher-wage jobs and invest in their employees for the long-term health of the company.

Lower taxes and new loopholes for corporations are only a few of the ways CEOs benefited from the new tax laws. Instead of investing in employees, companies are pursuing aggressive stock buybacks to boost short-term stock prices and executive pay.

In 2018, U.S. corporations bought back a record $1 trillion in shares of their own stock. Ten of the largest U.S. companies combined to buy back more than a quarter-billion dollars of their own stock in 2018. The average CEO pay for these companies increased dramatically.
Companies owned or controlled by the Chinese government are building passenger railcars and transit buses for communities across the United States, sparking concern about domestic jobs and national security.

In response, the U.S. House of Representatives in July passed an annual spending bill for the Defense Department that included a provision to block federal dollars from being spent on Chinese-made electric rail cars. It was a victory for the USW-supported Alliance for American Manufacturing (AAM), which alleges China is seeking to monopolize the production of U.S. transit cars and buses as part of its “Made in China 2025” economic plan.

The National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) passed by the House prohibits federal tax dollars from being used for electric rail cars made by Chinese state-owned companies. The Senate earlier passed a similar version that applied to both rail cars and buses.

As USW@Work went to press, the House and Senate were headed for a fight over the annual defense policy bill with Senate Republicans saying the House version contains amendments they cannot support.

The House bill contains several Democratic priorities including blocking emergency arms sales to Saudi Arabia, giving federal employees paid family leave and preventing the use of Pentagon funds for a border wall.

**China targets transit market**

China Railway Rolling Stock Corp. (CRRC), the world’s largest manufacturer of passenger trains, has in recent years won contracts with low-ball bids that undercut its rivals by hundreds of millions of dollars, the AAM said.

“China is not a fair player, and neither is CRRC,” AAM President Scott Paul told a U.S. House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. Chinese companies can underbid because they are subsidized or owned by their government.

Commuter buses are also in Beijing’s sights. Battery maker BYD (Build Your Dream) Motors established an electric bus assembly facility in California in 2013.

CRRC and BYD are among an estimated 51,000 Chinese state-owned enterprises that take direction from the government and receive a number of unfair benefits in return, including discriminatory loan rates, direct subsidies and favorable exchange rates.

Retired Brigadier General John Adams, now president of a security firm, called it “alarming” that trains purchased by U.S. transit agencies could contain Chinese-built technology including Wi-Fi systems, surveillance cameras and facial recognition.

**Creating monopolies**

Both CRRC and BYD are owned and controlled by the Chinese government, which the AAM contends is seeking to systematically drive away competitors and create monopolies.

Despite concern over the impact of state-owned enterprises on the U.S. economy, Paul said he did not want his testimony to be seen as an attack against American workers, some of them union members, who work for CRRC or BYD.

“These dedicated individuals get up and go to work each day focused on providing for their families. Many have the protections of a union which, as anti-union activity in the United States rises, cannot be overlooked,” Paul said.

Paul also does not want his criticisms to be an attack on international competition or investment. Foreign investment, he said, is welcome in the U.S. economy, even foreign firms that manufacture buses and railcars.

“State-owned, state-subsidized and state-supported Chinese firms, though, are an exception to the rule,” Paul said. “Short-term promises of assembly jobs belie the long-term economic damage being done to our economy.”

**PHOTO:** A subway train manufactured in China for Boston Subway’s Orange Line is shown leaving the manufacturing line in 2017 at CRRC Changchun Railway Vehicles Co., a subsidiary of China Railway Rolling Stock Corp. The state-owned company said it was the first time a Chinese company exported subway trains to the United States with complete Chinese intellectual property. (Imaginechina via AP Images)
Johnsen to Lead Rubber and Plastic Council

International President Thomas M. Conway appointed Kevin Johnsen to lead the USW’s Rubber/Plastic Industry Council. Johnsen succeeds former R/PIC Chair Stan Johnson, who retired on July 15 as the USW’s secretary-treasurer.

Johnsen joined the union as a member of Local 915L in 1990 when he went to work as a maintenance electrician at Dunlop Tires in Huntsville, Ala. Within a year, he was elected as a shop steward and member of the safety committee. Johnsen also served as Rapid Response coordinator and as a delegate to his regional labor council. In 2003, Johnsen was named a staff representative in District 9, which includes Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina and the Virgin Islands. Since then, he has worked with members and locals throughout the district and has served as coordinator of the USW’s collective bargaining agreement with Goodyear since 2006.

“USW rubber and plastics workers are the hardest-working and most productive in the industry,” Johnsen said. “They make products that are second-to-none. I look forward to continuing to work alongside them in my new role as we fight for better wages and benefits, safer working conditions, a stronger domestic industry, and for just and fair treatment for workers and families everywhere.”

The USW’s R/PIC includes tens of thousands of union members who make vehicle tires and inner tubes, hoses and belts, gaskets, packing and sealing devices, containers and other consumer and commercial products. They work for companies including Goodyear, BF Goodrich, Bridgestone, Cooper, ContiTech, Titan, Poly-Seal, Sumitomo Rubber and Uniroyal.

Members Ratify ARH Contract

USW members ratified a new three-year contract that covers about 2,200 workers at nine Appalachian Regional Healthcare (ARH) locations in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia.

The agreement runs through March 31, 2022. It covers USW members who work in a variety of occupations, including clerical, housekeeping, maintenance and dietary, as well as licensed practical nurses, certified nurse aides and some technical employees.

USW members staff ARH locations in Harlan, Hazard, McDowell, Middlesboro, Morgan County, Tug Valley and Whitesburg in Kentucky and in Beckley and Summers County in West Virginia.

ARH is a non-profit health system that operates 12 hospitals, multi-specialty physician practices, home health agencies and retail pharmacies employing more than 5,000 people.

Court Rules on Mine Inspections

A federal appeals court overturned a Trump administration effort to relax an Obama-era safety inspection rule for miners, saying justification for the changes were “arbitrary and capricious” and could have put miners at risk.

The June 11 ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit was a “complete” victory for the USW and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), said Mike Wright, director of the USW’s Health, Safety and Environment Department.

A three-judge panel vacated a 2018 amendment to a 2017 Mine Safety and Health Administration rule that allowed a competent person to inspect the workplace as miners began work rather than prior to a shift—a decision UMWA President Cecil Roberts called a “victory for miners everywhere.”

The court directed that examinations must take place before miners begin their shift. Because the amendment would have allowed miners to work before an examination is completed, the court said there was likelihood that miners could have been exposed to adverse conditions.

“MSHA has always required mine operators to inspect the workplace each shift and correct any hazards they find,” Wright said. “But the (new) provision was almost completely unenforceable since there was no requirement regarding when during the shift the inspection must be scheduled, and no real requirement to keep records.”

Metal and nonmetal miners can now be more confident that their workplace is safe before their shift starts, instead of learning about a safety hazard after they are already in the mine, Roberts said.

“All miners, whether working in a metal/nonmetal mine or a coal mine, should celebrate this ruling because it prevents MSHA from rolling back critical safety and health standards,” he said. “If the agency had been allowed to get away with this, there is no question that we would soon be looking at a host of other attempts to reduce safety standards in every mine in America.”

MSHA is permitted by law to issue new rules and regulations. But the Mine Act forbids regulatory changes that weaken or reduce the protection already afforded miners by existing mandatory health or safety standards.

The court found that MSHA had not adequately explained how its changes complied with the requirement not to weaken existing protections, and thus had acted in an arbitrary and capricious manner.

The National Mining Association and other business groups representing stone, sand, gravel and cement producers have appealed the decision to U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit.
NEWS BRIEFS

USW Members Return to Work at Dow Texas

Some 235 members of Local 13-1 are back on the job at the Dow Chemical plant in Deer Park, Texas, following a seven-week lockout.

Though the local union is still bargaining a new contract with Dow, the company decided to end the lockout in mid-June after weeks of mounting pressure from the USW and the community.

“It’s good to see that the company finally came to its senses and ended this unnecessary and destructive lockout,” said District 13 Director Ruben Garza. “This victory is a credit to the strength and solidarity of the USW membership, and to the support that the workers received from the community and from allies across Texas and around the country.”

Dow opened its doors after growing displays of support for the work force from the community and public officials.

The company imposed the lockout on April 22 after workers voted – by margins of 98 percent and 96 percent – to reject two “last, best and final” proposals from the company.

The two sides began bargaining in February. The union offered to work while negotiations continued, but the company responded by locking the workers out of their jobs.

Safe Jobs Now Campaign

The USW’s Rapid Response program launched a national “Safe Jobs Now” campaign this year to promote legislation aimed at preventing or reducing workplace violence affecting health care and social service workers.

The Workplace Violence Prevention for Health Care and Social Service Act was introduced last November by U.S. Rep. Joseph Courtney (D-Conn.). It would, if approved, direct the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to ensure that workplaces develop and implement violence preventative plans.

In April, USW Health Care Council members lobbied Congress to encourage support for legislation to address the growing increase in workplace violence, specifically in health care and social services.

Packages of postcards directed to U.S. Senators and the Secretary of Labor were mailed to all local union presidents. All members and retirees are encouraged to fill them out. Contact your district’s Rapid Response coordinator or call the Rapid Response office in Pittsburgh at 412-562-2291 for more postcards.

Please send completed postcards to: USW Rapid Response, 60 Boulevard of the Allies, Pittsburgh, PA. 15222

USW Praises Action on Beryllium

The USW praised the U.S. House of Representatives and its Democratic leadership for passing an appropriations rider protecting workers in shipyards and construction from the ravages of beryllium.

In 2017, OSHA released a new standard for beryllium, a highly toxic metal found in some abrasive blasting compounds and in certain high-tech materials. The standard lowered the exposure limit and included ancillary provisions for workplace monitoring, medical surveillance, and other protective measures.

The incoming Trump administration let the standard remain for most workers but attempted to cancel the ancillary provisions for workers in shipyards and construction.

This process can only be done through new rulemaking, and the rider, authored by U.S. Rep. Bobby Scott (D-Va.), chair of the House Committee on Education and Labor, forbids OSHA to complete that rulemaking, a first step in restoring the provisions.

To become effective, the measure must also pass the Senate.

USW Members Participate in Netroots

USW members joined union workers from across the country, along with community organizers, health and safety advocates and other grassroots social justice advocates, in Philadelphia in July at the annual Netroots Nation conference.

The gathering, which drew nearly 3,000 attendees from across North America and around the world, featured four days of panel discussions and training sessions for organizers as well as keynote events devoted to topics such as labor law, organizing new workplaces, electing union members to political office, and many more.


U.S. Senator Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio) reminded the candidates and attendees that they don’t have to choose between fighting for a pro-worker agenda and winning elections.

“Elections aren’t about some ‘electability’ calculation,” Brown said. “They are about one question: ‘Whose side are you on? Are you on the side of workers, or are you on the side of corporations?’”
Struggle for Justice Continues with ASARCO

The USW and its allies continue to pressure Grupo México and its subsidiary ASARCO over slow-moving contract talks for more than 2,000 hourly workers at copper mines and processing facilities in Arizona and Texas.

The USW leads a coalition of eight international unions that represent workers at five copper mines and processing facilities in Arizona and Texas owned by ASARCO. Contracts set to expire in late 2018 were extended while negotiations continue.

“Based on previous experience and the company’s persistent, unfair and unrealistic contract demands, we must continue to build unity and solidarity within and between our local unions, our communities and our allies in the labor movement in the United States and Mexico,” said District 12 Director Robert LaVenture.

This summer, USW activists and allies attended the Grupo Mexico-sponsored 5th Mexico Gas Summit in San Antonio, Texas, to distribute leaflets about the company’s history of labor, environmental and other issues on both sides of the border.

In the company towns where the mine bosses separated workers by culture and language to prevent organizing, ethnic groups were segregated by neighborhood and mostly forced to rely on employers for everything.

“Our parents, grandparents and great-grandparents joined together to form the unions that provided equal wages for all workers so that management could no longer discriminate in pay against Latinos, women or other minorities,” LaVenture added. “Since then, our communities have thrived to the extent our unions can provide family-supporting jobs.”

Separately from the contract negotiations, ASARCO has appealed an arbitrator’s award worth tens of millions of dollars in copper price bonuses wrongly withheld from workers hired after June 30, 2011, to the U.S. Supreme Court after it was upheld by a federal judge and twice affirmed by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Although the Supreme Court is unlikely to hear the case, it is not subject to a firm deadline to announce its determination.

Fendley Named IndustriALL VP

Associate Legislative Director Anna Fendley has been selected vice president for the North American region of IndustriALL, the global labor union.

Fendley succeeded retired International Vice President Carol Landry on the IndustriALL executive board. Landry, the first woman to hold the position, was elected IndustriALL North American Vice President at the 2016 IndustriALL World Congress meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

“I’m so proud to see the next generation taking on these fights,” Landry said. “With activists like Anna leading the charge, the global labor movement is in good hands.”

Fendley has worked in various positions at the USW for a decade, including the past six years in the USW’s office in Washington, D.C. She also chairs the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) youth committee, of which she’s been a member since 2014.

“Anna is doing exceptional work in our legislative office, tackling a wide range of issues from health and safety to health care to climate and energy,” retired International President Leo W. Gerard said before leaving office. “We know she is more than ready to take on this new role.”

IndustriALL is a global federation of labor unions founded in June 2012. It has more than 600 affiliates from 140 countries, all fighting for better working conditions and workers’ rights.

USW, Mine Workers Push for New Silica Standard

The USW joined the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in calling for a new standard to protect miners from silica dust. The request came in a letter from retired International President Leo W. Gerard and UMWA President Cecil Roberts to David Zatezalo, the head of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA).

Silica is believed to be responsible for a large rise in cases of black lung disease among coal miners in central Appalachia. In the past, the primary cause of black lung was thought to be coal dust, but as coal seams become deeper and thinner, miners are cutting through more waste rock, much of which is high in silica.

Silica is more dangerous to miners’ lungs than coal dust, and ordinary diagnostic techniques cannot distinguish between the two causes of respiratory disease. The epidemic of black lung has been widely reported.

In addition, silica causes both lung cancer and silicosis, another deadly dust disease, which has not been eliminated in metal and mineral mines. OSHA set a new silica standard in 2016, cutting the permissible exposure limit in half, but MSHA has yet to follow suit.

“Black lung afflicts thousands of coal miners,” Roberts said. “We know what causes it, we know how to prevent it, yet miners are still getting it. MSHA took action in 2016 to reduce respirable coal dust. Now it must act to reduce silica exposure, and quickly.”

“All miners need this standard, surface and underground, no matter what they’re mining,” Gerard said. “This administration says they love miners. Let’s see if they mean it.”
Have You Moved?
Notify your local union financial secretary, or clip out this form with your old address label and send your new address to:

USW Membership Department,
60 Blvd. of the Allies, Pittsburgh, PA 15222

You may also email the information to membership@usw.org

Name ______________________________________
New Address ________________________________
City ________________________________________
State _________________________   Zip _________

Hand-Crafted
USW-Made Furniture
See Page 24

Ignacio Rodriguez
Photo by Steve Dietz