

Coalition Chronicle

Report to the National Industrial Base Workforce Coalition

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Genesis: A Workforce Coalition to Save Jobs

In the late 1980s, a small group of local union presidents joined with the leadership of the Council of Engineers & Scientists Organizations to create a workforce coalition. The purpose of the coalition was to address mounting attacks on the defense and space budgets.

As the attacks intensified the coalition grew, adding local union after local union to the newly formed National Aerospace & Defense Workforce Coalition. The broad geographic distribution of the group enabled it to have a voice in many regions of the country. Soon unions from the basic industries that produce specialty steel, aluminum, and titanium became active members. Recently, the group expanded to encompass workers in the supplier base including the small subcontractors in the machine tool industry. Where did this all begin?

In the early 1980's, the Reagan Administration launched a long overdue defense modernization program that included a massive build-up of ships, tanks, bombers, fighters, and tactical missiles along with R&D funding for the next generation of defense systems. Additionally, the decision to build an international space station and the announcement of a space exploration initiative represented an attempt to revive the Kennedy space program. Hence, the \$300+ billion dollar defense budget, combined with a host of NASA program initiatives, employed more aerospace workers than in any other period in peacetime.

It produced unprecedented prosperity for aerospace and defense workers in the major aerospace states and created tens of thousands of jobs in the subcontractor and supplier base throughout the country.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union at the close of the decade, the nation began to reorder its spending priorities. A series of anti-defense amendments streamed from the Congress along with calls for canceling the manned space program in the years following the explosion of the *Challenger*. The at-

tacks on the aerospace and defense industry bore different titles. Some fell under the heading of obtaining a "peace dividend" by canceling aircraft orders that had not been filled. Other attacks fell under the heading of the need to establish "defense or economic conversion," that is, shifting from

war to peacetime production.

Coalition members support each other, knowing that the erosion of one program generally leads to the erosion of others.

Coalition Goes to Congress

Senators Dan Inouye, Sam Nunn and Pete Wilson invited coalition members to testify before Congress during hearings on key programs. What made their testimony different to members of Congress was that instead of focusing on the need to keep defense and space programs alive in order to save jobs, they focused on industrial base issues. Members of Congress were reminded that it was the productive capacity of America's aerospace and defense industries

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that had defended the Free World through two World Wars and a Cold War lasting almost half a century. Ultimately, the workforce was successful in saving programs like the B-2, the C-17, the International Space Station, as well as a host of foreign military sales which would not have passed the Congress had it not been for the support of the coalition.

Over the last twelve years, the workforce coalition has been a prime mover in national debates. It rallied to the defense of NASA during the many assaults that began with the *Challenger* accident. Coalition testimony before the Augustine Commission on the future of NASA centered on the industrial base as an issue.

Workforce Profile

There are several features about the workforce coalition that make it unusual. First, it is comprehensive in its membership. It includes scientists, engineers, professional and technical workers who largely are represented by professional associations. It also includes production workers represented by large international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, such as the IAM, UAW, IBEW, IUE, etc. It represents workers in major companies

with a presence in many states as well as those that are concentrated in only a few states. It contains unions that represent plant security and maintenance workers as well as the Teamsters at major aerospace facilities. And, as mentioned previously, the coalition also consists of unions from the basic industries, including those who produce alloys and composites used in modern aerospace manufacturing.

When coalition members testified before the Augustine Commission, panel members -- many of them from the science and engineering community -- were surprised by the diversity of the coalition. Normally there is a division between those who represent the engineering community and those who represent the production workforce. As a member of an engineering union early in his career, commission chairman Norm Augustine was struck by the fact that engineers and production workers had joined in a cooperative venture to save aerospace programs.

In the last several years, the coalition has experienced a large growth in members of public sector unions. These unions are aware of the relationship between the disappearance of defense jobs and the need for public sector services.

The most unusual feature about the coalition is its unity in supporting programs and systems that do not employ members of unions within the coalition. Coalition members support each other, knowing that the erosion of one program generally leads to the erosion of others. Moreover, the coalition is entirely voluntary and non-bureaucratic. There are no dues, no formal meetings. The members keep in touch via a communications committee that changes members from time to time. Trips to Washington, D.C. to testify are paid by union dues, individual members themselves, and sometimes unions in the coalition have sponsored other unions so that they could participate.

Need for Chronicle

This newsletter has been written to serve a number of needs. First, the unions and the workforce associations that are active in the coalition must keep their officers, business agents and rank and file informed on a wide range of issues. Often their local newsletters tend to focus on programs that affect only their own rank and file, which they should. However, by focusing on issues that affect only individual mem-

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Scheduled Space Shuttle Launches



(as we go to press)

July 1	<i>Columbia STS-94</i>	2:37 p.m.	Microgravity Science Space Lab
August 7	<i>Discovery STS-85</i>	10:39 a.m.	Earth Atmospheric Study
September 24	<i>Endeavour STS-86</i>	10:55 p.m.	7th docking mission with Mir
November 13	<i>Columbia STS-87</i>	2:49 p.m.	U.S. NP4 & Spartan payloads

Coalition Chronicle

National Industrial Base
Workforce Coalition

Representing American scientists, engineers, technical, professional, service and production workers in the aerospace, defense, electronics, energy, telecommunications, transportation, and basic industries in both the public and private sectors.

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Member Spotlight

“...and the Best Job is an Aerospace Job”

The National Aerospace & Defense Workforce Coalition salutes Gladys Greene, the “First Lady of Aerospace” for her pioneering spirit, hard work, and dedication to the issues affecting U.S. aerospace workers. In this first edition of the *Coalition Chronicle* we profile Gladys Greene, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers AFL-CIO & CLC, Local 1805 representing members at the Northrop Grumman (formerly Westinghouse) Baltimore facility.

Like many workers in the aerospace industry during the 1950s, Gladys began her career shooting rivets at the Glen L. Martin Company. In 1956, she put down her rivet gun and went to school to study electronics at the Westinghouse Center. She joined the I.B.E.W. and won a place on the Executive Board.

At the time she began at Westinghouse, the only training course open to entry level employ-

with our staff. Gladys later became head of the training school, which swelled to a class of 300 and created a continuous education and training program. This training enabled workers to move from soldering wires to processing microchips.

Gladys said that today, “The training for microchip work is one step below a college course, but you have to hold seven or eight different classifications to qualify.” The members she represents, electronic technicians, high-grade mechanics, and wiring workers, cover the spectrum from microchip handlers to those who work with giant pieces of radar. “We make everything from equipment for cameras for lunar exploration, to sophisticated radar for the U.S. fighter bombers,” Gladys said.

In 1986, Mrs. Greene became one of the driving forces behind the National Aerospace & Defense Workforce Coalition. She began with union leaders Cass Williams of Missouri, Bud Bowen of Georgia, Len Ricks of California and



Mrs. Gladys Greene, President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 1805.

vide them the opportunity for economic and social mobility. In the annual battles over funding entitlements rather than defense and space programs, Gladys has always argued that lawmakers must recognize that the defense and space industries have given tens of thousands of low-income workers an opportunity to participate in the American Dream. Slashing the defense and space budgets will not only destroy the aerospace workers of today, tossing them back onto the welfare roles, but will destroy the career potential of the current generation of low-income workers who will lose this high-tech career path.

The quote most attributed to Gladys is one she has repeatedly made to legislators, U.S. presidents and public officials: “The best social program is a job, and the best job is an aerospace job.” The National Industrial Base Workforce Coalition salutes Gladys Greene. ❖

Gladys has always been a champion of low-income, inner city residents and social programs to provide them the opportunity for economic and social mobility.

ees was soldering. Gladys was instrumental in shaping the training programs at the Baltimore facility, which included a large percentage of low-income hourly wage earners.

“Because of our training programs, we were able to hire people right off the street, train them, and place them into the higher labor grades,” Gladys said in an interview

Harold Ammond of New Jersey. By 1990, the coalition was representing unions in almost thirty states. Gladys led numerous workforce delegations to the White House and Capitol Hill and is widely respected.

Gladys has always been a champion of low-income, inner city residents and social programs to pro-

B-2

B-2 Support Strong Despite Congressional Hurdles

Few programs involving the workforce coalition demonstrate more worker solidarity than the fight over the B-2 Bomber. At the height of the program, the B-2 employed a wide range of engineers, technicians and production workers from Northrop, Boeing, Vought Aircraft and General Electric, and thousands of specialized suppliers across the country. There were more than three thousand high-tech suppliers in California alone. In the early struggles over funding, Senators Inouye, Nunn, Exon and Wilson were four of the B-2's chief supporters. They welcomed coalition witnesses who testified on the subject of the stealth industrial base. These witnesses argued that the technology employed in designing



October 29, 1994 – B-2 Spirit of Washington naming ceremony. Congressman Norm Dicks accepted a resolution conveying thanks from the workforce coalition for his support of defense and space programs. Also present were Jerry King, Boeing President Missiles & Space; General Ronald Fogleman, Air Force Vice Chief of Staff; Sheila Widnall, Secretary of the Air Force; and Kent Kresa, CEO of Northrop Grumman.

and building the B-2 had revolutionized aircraft manufacturing. In fact, during his testimony, Charles Bofferding, the Executive Director of the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association, stated that the defense budget should be renamed the “technology budget.”

Despite its revolutionary technology, the B-2 became the victim of an end to the Cold War and the desire on the part of some members of Congress to transfer funds from defense to entitlement programs. To the workforce coalition, the B-2 has come to symbolize the process by which a program can be killed. The B-2 began as a “black” program where for almost ten years, scientists, engineers and production workers designed and built the first B-2 in secret. In the late 70s when the secret project was made public, the cost of the program was revealed.

Originally, the cost was to be divided between a ten-year engineering and development phase in which new materials and technologies had to be



March 31, 1994 – B-2 Spirit of California naming ceremony. Sen. Dianne Feinstein accepted a resolution of support for the B-2 program from the workforce coalition.

invented, and a production phase in which the B-2 was actually built. But, early in the production phase the program came under such fierce attacks that the original order for 220 B-2s was reduced by fifty percent to 110 aircraft. This, of course, made an already expensive bomber still more expensive and intensified the call for halting production altogether. As part of an attempt to reach a budget agreement with the Congress and demonstrate its willingness to cut a major defense program, in December 1992 the Bush Administration froze the production of B-2s to 20 aircraft.

The unemployment associated with freezing the program at 20 B-2s has been devastating for California. Along with the layoff of production workers, most of the specialized suppliers are now closing down. California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, as well as Congressman Norm Dicks of Washington state, have become the B-2's ardent champions. Representatives Jane Harman, Vic Fazio, Maxine Waters, Dana Rohrabacher, and Duncan Hunter of California have also called for continued production of the B-2.

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C-17

Critics Proved Wrong on C-17

Workforce activity in support of the C-17 Globemaster III military airlifter has been longstanding. Like any other development program, the C-17 came under severe attack from defense critics and watchdog groups. General Ronald Fogleman, then-head of the Air Mobility Command stood solidly behind the C-17 because of the unique capability of this aircraft. All large aircraft capable of moving outsized cargo require sophisticated air fields and paved runways of at least 7,000 ft. in length. The C-17 is the only airlifter that can move outsized cargo, take off and land on a dirt airstrip of 3,000 feet.

Despite its unique characteristics, critics of the C-17 pointed to the initial cost per aircraft of \$325 million dollars, delays and overruns as justification for cancellation. Network news and television documentaries critical of the C-17 fanned the flames of Capitol Hill critics. To appease the critics, in April 1990 the Bush Administration reduced the program from 210 to 120 aircraft. At the height of the controversy, the Defense Department froze the number of C-17s at 40 aircraft until the contractor proved that it could improve quality and contain costs.

Battles continued to rage in congressional committees. The workforce coalition entered the debate at this time offering to testify before the Congress. Their involvement in the debate was timely. Criticism of the aircraft was so distorted that members of Congress did not believe that the C-17 could fly at the very time

that it was breaking world records. One union member of the coalition showed some astonished congressional staffers a newsletter containing a color photo of several C-17s flying in formation over the California desert.

In the end, the critics were proven wrong. The C-17 performed as promised. In 1995, the program received the Collier Award for Aeronautical Excellence. In December of 1995, when the peacekeeping operation began in Bosnia, the C-17 proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that it was capable of delivering men and equipment to short runways. During his trip to Bosnia, President Clinton used a C-17 as Air Force One, as his 747 could not land on the only accessible runway. In 1996, the Defense Acquisition Board approved the purchase by the government of an additional 80 aircraft to bring the total back up to 120 planes.

The unique capability of the C-17 to deliver outsized cargo to small, primitive landing sites spawned research into potential markets for a commercial version of this military transport. An



June 14, 1993 – Delivery of first C-17 to Air Mobility Command at South Carolina ceremony. Workforce coalition and General Ronald Fogleman, Air Force Vice Chief of Staff.



February 23, 1994 – President Clinton visits C-17 McDonnell Douglas facility. Workforce coalition members and all of the union representatives from both Douglas Aircraft, the C-17 Division, and the Huntington Beach Division of McDonnell Douglas.

analysis of freight forwarders worldwide indicated that millions of tons of outsized cargo now assigned to ships, trains, and barges could be delivered to remote airstrips in hours rather than months. The commercial version of this aircraft has been named the MD-17. If commercial air transport companies purchase the MD-17, it will increase the number of production workers at McDonnell Douglas, lower the price of the C-17 to the United States government, and take advantage of a potential market of hundreds of commercial MD-17 airlifters. ❖

Workforce Coalition Defends Space Station

Contractors for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration programs are heavily involved in producing both space hardware and the electronics involved in communications. The major science project coming out of NASA over the last ten years has been the space station program, which was proposed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984. More than any other program, the space station occupied the majority of the workforce coalition's activities over the last eight years.

The years following the *Challenger* accident were filled with attacks on NASA's manned space program. Congressional critics seized upon the space station as a major expense that the nation could not afford. For almost four years, there were major congressional attempts to kill the program in both the House and the Senate. On one occasion, the House failed to cancel the space station by one vote.

In 1990, both the Congress and the Bush Administration cre-

ated an Advisory Committee on the Future of the U.S. Space Program. The committee later became known as the "Augustine Commission," as it was headed by Norm Augustine, then-chairman and CEO of Martin Marietta Corporation. The purpose of the Commission was to determine the future of NASA and the U.S. space program for the coming decades. The workforce coalition was heavily involved in the debate and testified before the Augustine Commission. Harold Ammond, Legislative Director for the Council of Engineers & Scientists Organizations (CESO), testified eloquently about the thousands of engineers who entered the space program as students answering the call of President John F. Kennedy. Harold argued, "University programs are created when there are jobs to be filled in industry. Without the mission, there are no space vehicles. Without the vehicles, there is no production workforce. And all of this depends on the engineers and scientists taking the college and graduate

courses to prepare them to create the next generation of space vehicles." He concluded that this is what John Kennedy was talking about when he said we were going to the moon. Through ten years of battles, the workforce coalition stood solidly behind the space station and is credited by many for saving NASA's manned space program.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the incoming Clinton Administration seized upon the idea of a partnership in space with the Russians. The job of selling the Congress on a Russian partnership fell to NASA Administrator Daniel Goldin who understood the tension that a Russian partnership would create in the American aerospace workforce. More than any other government official or cabinet member, Dan Goldin kept coalition members informed on the rapidly changing NASA program. He made it clear that both he and the President

See NASA, page 9



February 2, 1995 – Workforce coalition visits Cape Kennedy to witness launch of space shuttle *Discovery*.



June 1995 – Cal State Dominguez Hills, California Space Rally. Coalition members with NASA Administrator Dan Goldin and U.S. Representatives Jane Harman and Steve Horn.

F-22

Coalition Gives F-22 Top Priority

The U.S. has enjoyed air superiority since World War II. It has shortened conflicts, saving countless American lives. One need only look at Desert Storm to understand its crucial importance.

The F-22 represents the next generation of air dominance fighter aircraft. It combines stealth with supersonic cruise capability without the use of afterburners. Its advanced avionics and thrust vectoring engines give it maneuverability right out of Star Wars. The Pratt & Whitney F-119 engines that power the F-22 were designed to have lower failure rates than other fighters, thus allowing it to fly more sorties before needing major maintenance.

Like all defense modernization programs, the F-22 is in trouble this year. The original Air Force request was for 750 aircraft, but because of continual cuts in the defense budget in 1995, the Pentagon's Bottom-Up-Review reduced that number to 442 aircraft. Aerospace workers know that as the number of aircraft orders go down the cost of each aircraft goes up. All of this raises the cost and threatens the entire program. This is exactly what happened to the B-2. This cost increase on the F-22 program has already moved the Congressional Budget Office and Members of Congress to call for reducing the program still further, deferring production, or canceling the program altogether.

For U.S. aerospace workers, the F-22 is a major employer in the prime, subcontractor, and supplier base in 46 states representing over 15,000 manufacturing jobs at present and will expand to 30,000



April 9, 1997 – F-22 Roll-Out Ceremony. Workforce coalition presenting Proclamation of support for F-22 program to Air Force Secretary Sheila Widnall and Air Force Chief of Staff General Ronald R. Fogleman.

when the plane reaches full production. Hence, it will be a top priority for the workforce coalition.

On April 9, 1997, a multi-state delegation of workforce coalition leaders attended the F-22 Roll-Out Ceremony held at the Lockheed Martin Aeronautical

Systems facility in Marietta, Georgia. The event was attended by a who's who in the aerospace industry: Lockheed Martin executives Norm Augustine and Micky Blackwell from corporate, Bill Bullock of Georgia and Dane

See F-22, page 11



April 9, 1997 – F-22 Roll-Out Ceremony. Workforce coalition greeted by Phil Condit, Chairman & CEO of The Boeing Company, Micky Blackwell, President & CEO, Aeronautics Sector of Lockheed Martin Corporation, and Alan Mulally, President, Defense & Space Group of The Boeing Company.

Supplier Conference

Supplier Conference Seeks Solution to Aerospace Job Loss

One of the driving forces behind the workforce coalition over the last few years is the concern that cuts in defense spending have seriously eroded the membership of aerospace unions throughout America's manufacturing centers. To shed light on this problem, the Small Manufacturers Association of California hosted an October 7, 1996 conference in Los Angeles that brought together all of the key players in the manufacturing arena.

At the conference, panels of industry experts presented information on the effects of aerospace and defense downsizing and the implications to America's aerospace industrial base. Witnesses included scholars from the UCLA Business Forecast Group, workforce coalition leaders, officials from national trade associations, and elected officials. Gov. Pete Wilson opened the program and U. S. Rep. Jane Harman gave the keynote luncheon address. The audience was filled with business, labor, and community leaders representing California and other aerospace industrial states. It was the largest supplier conference of its kind ever held in the state. What was originally projected as an audience of 200 - 300, swelled to almost 600.

According to the State of California Commission on State Finance, between 1988 and 1993 Southern California lost 464,000 jobs in the aerospace industry. The projection through 1997 was that there will be another 90,000 aerospace jobs lost. Additionally, nearly 1 million indirect jobs in the aerospace and industrial support services area will be lost nationwide. Of even more concern



October 7, 1996 – Gov. Pete Wilson opening the Supplier Conference hosted by the Small Manufacturers Association of California.

Table 1

Company	Workers Employed	1996 Workers Employed	Loss of Jobs	% Workforce Laid Off
1986 Lockheed Martin	16,700 Burbank/ Palmdale 3,000 Ontario 19,700 Total	3,900 Burbank/ Palmdale 1,200 Ontario 5,100 Total	14,600	74%
1987 McDonnell Douglas Huntington Beach, CA	8,000	6,600	1,400	18%
1989 Rohr Company, CA	11,000 salaried and hourly	2,900	8,100	74%
1990 McDonnell Douglas Long Beach and Torrance, CA facilities	47,900	20,900	27,000	56%
1991 Northrop Grumman Hawthorne, CA	14,000	7,500	6,500	46%
1991 Northrop Grumman Pico Rivera and Palmdale, CA facilities	14,000	7,500	6,500	46%
1994 - Rockwell's UAW Local 887	20,000 CA	1,800 CA 1,200 Oklahoma	18,200 Total Both States	91%

to conference attendees, was the fact that minorities make up two-thirds of the laid off aerospace workers. Conference presenter, Mrs. Catherine

Vezzetti, then-Executive Director of the Southern California Professional Engineering Association, pointed out

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B-2 from page 4

During the last several legislative cycles, the workforce coalition has rallied to defend continued production of the stealth bomber. The B-2s that have entered service have been named after the states. Workforce coalition members have been present in many of the naming ceremonies that have taken place. At these events, coalition members presented a resolution or proclamation of support to the U.S. senator or representative involved in the naming ceremony. Despite the fact that there were only four major subcontractors involved in the B-2 program, the workforce coalition numbered 27 unions in 14 states. The solidarity of workforce support for the B-2 has become a hallmark of the workforce coalition.

Even though most of the member unions in the B-2 coalition do not represent members working on this program, the coalition stands solidly behind the B-2. The unions have come to recognize that what happened to the B-2 can happen to the F-22 and Joint Strike Fighter, namely, a slow death by cutting the number of aircraft and raising the per-unit price, producing a red-flag in front of congressional budget members. ❖

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that these, of course, are statistics (See Table 1). The real pain, she said, is seen in the actual layoffs that occurred in California companies.

David Goodreau, chairman of the Small Manufacturers Association of California, introduced California Gov. Pete Wilson to the audience. Gov. Wilson, a long-time supporter of the aerospace workforce, pledged he would work closely with the conference participants to fight for California aerospace jobs. He urged the audience to take their fight to Washington. The goal, he noted, was to maintain existing programs such as the B-2 Bomber, the C-17 Cargo Transport, the F-117 and F-22 Stealth Fighters, and the newly awarded Reusable Launch Vehicle. At the same time, he urged the audi-



October 7, 1996 – Gov. Wilson taping interview with Rev. Braxton Berkley and co-host Karen Shepherd-Grimes of *After Thoughts Productions*.

ence to fight for future aircraft such as the Joint Strike Fighter and the commercial MD-17 cargo plane.

At the conclusion of his address, Gov. Wilson was interviewed for *After Thoughts Productions*, a cable TV show hosted by the Rev. Braxton Berkley and co-host Karen Shepherd-Grimes. The show, on 12 public broadcast stations, has an audience of 1 million+ paid subscribers.

The conference provided an excellent opportunity for labor, business and community leaders to network. ❖

NASA from page 6

were committed to completing the space station, but that without a Russian partnership it was likely that the program would not obtain the needed congressional support.

The completed space station will weigh 924,000 pounds and stretch 20 yards longer than a foot-

ball field. In order to assemble it, the space station will require 44 space flights on more than a half dozen different launch vehicles from spaceports in five different countries. After assembly is completed in 2002, the station will have seven research laboratories with 33 standard pres-

surized payload racks for microgravity research in life, physical and materials sciences. Space station laboratory resources are allocated in proportion to a nation's financial investment in the project, requiring intricate cooperation among the eighteen international partners. ❖

Platform Testimony



August 12, 1997 – GOP informal platform meeting, San Diego, California. Presentation of the coalition's platform testimony addressing aerospace and defense issues. Congressional attendees include Senators Rick Santorum and John Ashcroft, House National Security Committee Chairman Floyd Spence, Congressmen Chris Cox, Curt Weldon and George Nethercutt. Also present at this meeting were Congressmen Duncan Hunter and Dana Rohrabacher.

Informal Platform Testimony Wins Lieberman Support

In March 1996, leaders of the workforce coalition decided that questions of defense, space, and industrial policy would be important in the 1996 presidential election. Accordingly, member unions engaged in defense and aerospace programs were polled on issues concerning defense procurement, manufacturing, and research and development. All of the information collected was divided into three categories: defense procurement, civil space, and commercial aviation. Outreach was then made to the leadership of both the Republican and Democratic parties, offering workforce testimony for both platform committees. The goal was to present aerospace industrial base issues in a national forum.

While both political parties expressed concern for the issues raised by the coalition, actually appearing before the platform committees of either party was not possible because topics and witnesses

had been selected earlier in the year. Once it was determined that the coalition would not be afforded the opportunity to formally appear before either committee, outreach was made to prominent members of the House and Senate to make an informal presentation.

At the invitation of U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania and Representatives Chris Cox and Dana Rohrabacher of California, a group of coalition leaders went to San Diego to present testimony at an informal meeting on the eve of the GOP convention. The union witnesses were pleased by an excellent turnout of two senators and six representatives. One of the attendees, Chairman Floyd Spence of the House National Security Committee, promised to distribute copies of the workforce testimony to his committee members. He pledged his support for defense and space programs saying his door is open to our members and his mind

is open to our issues. Echoing those sentiments were Sen. Rick Santorum and Sen. John Ashcroft.

The coalition members were not able to appear in Chicago before the Democratic National Convention. However, congressional leaders from the Democratic party were anxious to receive workforce testimony. Prominent leaders in the Democratic Party who also serve on the House and Senate Armed Services Committees made a special effort to meet with workforce coalition leaders.

The photo accompanying this article was taken during the meeting held in Sen. Joseph Lieberman's (D-Conn.) Washington Senate office where he received a brief overview of the testimony from each of the coalition presenters. A strong supporter of labor unions and the defense budget, Sen. Lieberman indicated that the next round of defense budget debates were going to be stormy regardless of which party occupied the White House. He noted that many of his colleagues were going to press hard for funding the entitlement programs at the expense of the defense and space budgets. He pledged that he would stand firm on preserving the current programs in the budget as well as the needed modernization of the U.S. military inventory.

When the coalition noted their concern over the departure of Sen. Sam Nunn, a strong supporter of the workforce coalition, Sen. Lieberman told them that he considered Nunn his mentor and would follow in his tradition.

Another good friend of both
See PLATFORM, page 11



September 26, 1996 – Presentation of coalition's platform testimony addressing aerospace and defense issues to Sen. Joseph Lieberman, member of the Democratic Leadership Council.



October 7, 1996 – U.S. Congresswoman Jane Harman receiving platform testimony from coalition members attending the California Aerospace Supplier Conference.

PLATFORM from page 10

the aerospace industry and the workforce coalition, Rep. Jane Harman (D-CA) met with a large delegation of unions in October 1996 during the California Aerospace Supplier Conference. Coalition members present at that meeting represented the entire spectrum of the industrial base: scientists, engineers and technical workers, production workers in the UAW, IAM, IBEW, and unions representing workers assigned to military bases. The coalition gave Rep. Harman a copy of its testimony and a brief overview of its content, to which she echoed the words of Sen. Lieberman on the debate that would occur between the entitlement and investment accounts. Rep. Harman has been one of the strongest supporters of programs important to the workforce coalition and will surely be helpful in promoting aerospace issues. ❖

F-22 from page 7

Hancock of Texas; Boeing executives included Phil Condit, Alan Mulally, and Jerry King. Also present was Karl Krapek of Pratt & Whitney. George Kourpias, President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers addressed the assembly, as did Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and Senators Max Cleland and Paul Coverdell. Sen. Cleland read a message from President Clinton. Representing the Air Force at the event were Dr. Sheila Widnall, Secretary of the Air Force; General Ronald Fogleman, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force; and General Richard Hawley, Air Combat Command. ❖

Books of Interest



The Next War – by Caspar Weinberger and Peter Schweizer
Description of five scenarios that would test the might of our current military forces.

The Future of War – by George and Meredith Friedman
Discussion of imagined battles dominated by automated, strike-at-a-distance missiles, by high-endurance, stealthy, unmanned aircraft and precision weapons. Presumption that technology drives warfare, but budgets still have an enormous role.

Leading People: The 8 Proven Principles for Success in Business
by Robert H. Rosen with Paul B. Brown
Eight principles of leadership -- vision, trust, participation, learning, diversity, creativity, integrity and community -- along with the stories of thirty-six leaders whose experiences demonstrate the principles in action.

Aviation Fuel Tax

Aviation Fuel Tax Exemption Extended; Coalition Successful

American aircraft manufacturers have always been aware of the close relationship between a healthy U.S. airline industry and that industry's ability to buy new airplanes to modernize its fleet. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the airline industry suffered incredible losses in revenues. Industry analysts reported that collectively the airlines lost more money in the recession than had been made during the entire history of flight. The recession resulted in the delay and cancellation of orders for commercial aircraft at McDonnell Douglas and The Boeing Company.

In the energy tax of 1993, a fuel tax of 4.3 cents per gallon was levied on all transportation modes, specifically for deficit reduction. Because the airline industry is fuel-intensive, any price increase can

drastically alter the profit margins of airline operators. Hence, this fuel tax threatened airline companies that were desperately trying to recover from the recession. In recognition of the negative impact of a fuel tax on the airlines, Congress granted them an exemption from paying this tax for a period of two years.

By the end of 1995, the airlines began to operate at a profit. Thus, the administration decided to levy the airlines with a fuel tax. The airlines argued that they had just begun to recover some of the massive losses of earlier years. The fuel tax would plunge the airlines back into the red and further delay airline modernization.

Aerospace workers suffering from delays and cancellations in earlier aircraft orders had hoped that the airlines would order new planes given their recent profitability. The tax now

threatened the new orders for aircraft.

Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania sponsored a bill to repeal the tax. The workforce coalition joined with the pilots and other industrial base unions to help the Senator. By linking airframe makers and their subcontractors and suppliers in a fourteen-state coalition, the workforce was able to help Sen. Santorum retain support from Republicans who were wavering on the tax issue. The Senator brought workforce coalition leaders into a meeting with then-Majority Leader Robert Dole to discuss the industrial base implications of the jet fuel tax. Sen. Dole arranged a meeting with the Speaker of the House that same day, producing both House and Senate support for repeal.

During the public policy debates on the aviation fuel tax issue, Sen. Santorum appeared on a television broadcast with unions representing McDonnell Douglas, USAir, and the Air Line Pilots Association. The taping was hosted by the Rev. Braxton Berkley, a prominent spokesman for the workforce coalition in California. As a former union shop steward who has worked for several aerospace companies, Rev. Berkley was laid off years ago and now works as Director of the Good Samaritan House. The Reverend has devoted his television program *After Thoughts Productions* to focus on the social plight of laid off workers and their families. In recent years, he has devoted numerous programs to the plight of the aerospace

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September 26, 1995 – Aviation Fuel Tax Taping. Sen. Rick Santorum videotaping an interview on the aviation fuel tax issue with workforce coalition members Capt. Duane Woerth, First Vice President, Air Line Pilots Association; Catherine Vezzetti, then-Executive Director of the Southern California Professional Engineering Association; Tom Fullard, Legislative Chairman IAM-AW, Local 1976; and Reverend Braxton Berkley. The show was aired in Southern California.

What Lies Ahead

The Congress that convened in January 1997 will be forced to deal with a growing percentage of the Federal budget needed to fund entitlement programs. There has always been a struggle between the champions of the entitlement programs and those who champion defense and space. But the absence of the Cold War and the "perceived absence" of a super power enemy will give supporters of defense and space programs a much harder task. Thus, the workforce coalition will have to be involved in the public policy debate that will be affected by a number of factors. First, the next generation of fighters, missiles and space vehicles are all on the table. Second, the short-fall in defense spending will come at a time when current defense programs are beginning to modernize. Third, with large numbers of Baby Boomers heading for retirement, fewer taxpayers will be funding a larger entitlement burden. Coalition leaders are now trying to assess the status of the programs that employ their members. While what follows is by no means an exhaustive list, aerospace programs that are in some jeopardy this year include those set out below.

B-2 Program

Although the B-2 production line is nearing shutdown, supporters on Capitol Hill recognize the need for a highly survivable aircraft that has a longer range, carries heavier payloads, and has a precision-strike capability.

Twenty-one B-2s does not give adequate coverage in a dangerous world. Thirty stealth bombers could provide a minimum umbrella to cover a long-range operation in two theaters. A slow rate of production of one B-2 per year would keep the stealth supply base alive and provide the U.S. with an option to increase production should world conditions change.

The last two B-2s are now in the final stages of assembly, which means that many of the suppliers and their skilled workers who helped design and build the airplane have already completed their work. Not only does this mean that thousands of jobs have been lost, but also the industrial base that made the revolutionary aircraft possible is now almost nonexistent.

Congressional committees are now looking at next year's defense budget, and are considering adding some \$350 million to start production of nine more B-2s in 1998. As the legislation moves forward, we will continue to keep you informed. Most im-

portantly, we will urge the workforce coalition to continue to keep this program alive, as it has in past congressional cycles. The B-2 is a vital element in our nation's defense. We must preserve the stealth technology and support the B-2 workforce. ❖

C-17 Commercial Derivative

One of the first steps toward creating a commercial MD-17 version of the C-17 cargo plane is to seek commercial certification from the FAA. Early indications from ongoing market studies are that there would be enough cargo for almost a hundred flights daily for the MD-17 to serve the needs of a variety of companies.

For the MD-17 to be offered for export, a Commodity Jurisdiction (CJ) ruling must be obtained from the departments of State and Defense. Such a ruling will indicate whether the jurisdiction of an MD-17 will fall under the State Department or the Commerce Department. McDonnell Douglas submitted the CJ in October of 1996. Currently, there is great debate over the MD-17 capability of its doors opening while in flight. Some in Washington apparently believe that this capability could be exploited by warring countries for military purposes after they purchase

MD-17s for civil purposes. Having the aft cargo door and ramp operate in flight has real commercial market value. The MD-17 could be utilized to protect the environment by dispensing liquid agents for breaking up oil spills on the ocean, fighting forest fires, spraying for insect infestation or even dispensing seedlings to help with reforestation.

We will keep you informed on the status of the MD-17 as this is an important program to many members of the workforce coalition and to thousands of supplier shops around the country. The increased rate of production that would result if the MD-17 enters the commercial market would lower the Pentagon price of the C-17, freeing up DoD funds that could be used for other Air Force programs, keeping aerospace production workers as well as service sector employees working for a number of years. ❖

Space Station

The International Space Station, which last year attracted only minimal opposition may be headed into a storm later this year. America's contribution to the orbiting laboratory remains on schedule and on budget. But the program has hit a snag with the funding

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troubles in Russia, which has left its contractors eight months behind schedule on the Russian-built Service Module. This module is an integral part as it provides navigation and control for the space station. NASA, therefore, is exploring various options for an interim replacement service module until the Russians complete their module.

Russian officials claim they have made available the necessary funds to meet their obligations for the space station this year. But NASA and our other international partners remain skeptical. The financial difficulties Russia is experiencing may be so severe it will become necessary to restructure their participation in the station. If this scenario comes to pass, the U.S. will have little choice but to make up the shortfall in funding, which would stir up troubles on Capitol Hill.

Because of the delay, the lift off of the first space station components has been set back to late spring of 1998. "The most important thing," NASA Administrator Daniel Goldin said, "is holding the end date and not letting the end date slip too much" beyond June 2002.

The next several months are critical to the space station project. About a third of the station has been built and much work remains before its completion in 2002. The International Space Station is a stepping stone to the future. What we learn on the orbiting laboratory will help America and its global partners develop new technologies, providing job opportunities and economic health.

Many of the unions involved in building the space station believe that all of the production jobs associated

with this program are now completed. Further, they have read news accounts of more production of other component parts going to the European partners. This has caused some coalition members to believe that there is no point in following issues concerning space station because it no longer involves their workforce. Nothing could be further from the truth. About fifty-percent of the hardware remains to be built. The reason we are building a space station is so we can return to the moon. NASA already has plans for a trip to Mars.

Massive technology will be required and tens of thousands of future aerospace workers will be employed working on space exploration initiatives. None of these initiatives will come to pass if the space station is abandoned. It is the largest science project in history. If it is abandoned now, the momentum could be lost for decades. Hence, we will be contacting all the members of the coalition to reassemble once again for the legislative battle that will occur this summer. ❖

Aviation Fuel Tax

The airlines are currently paying the *deficit reduction* 4.3 cents per gallon fuel tax. However, in February 1997, House members argued that the Aviation Trust Fund taxes should not be reinstated without an offsetting cut in other taxes, such as the aviation fuel tax. (The workforce is deeply disappointed in those U.S. airline companies that received a benefit of a reduction in various taxes and then used those funds to buy foreign-made aircraft.) The aviation fuel tax undoubtedly will become an issue discussed by the National Civil

Aviation Review Commission.

The 21-member Commission was appointed by Congress last year to explore long-term financing reform for the Federal Aviation Administration after reviewing the results of an independent accounting firm, Coopers & Lybrand L.L.P. The study was ordered by Congress to assess the scope of the F.A.A.'s financial needs through the year 2002. As we go to press, media reports say the ninety-day financial assessment has concluded that the F.A.A. has no system to account for its costs and that the F.A.A. managers generally cannot manage money. The study did say that F.A.A. managers deserve credit for trying to develop a cost-accounting system, but that thus far they had not succeeded.

Several areas were recommended for potential F.A.A. cost savings: Cut labor costs; consolidate and close facilities; maintain current personnel, acquisition and travel reforms; improve productivity; reduce maintenance expense by replacing the antiquated air traffic control system; cut communications costs through cost management and an aggressive program to turn over communication activities to "more efficient providers."

The Commission is required by law to make its recommendations to the Secretary of Transportation by August, 1997. The Secretary must then draft legislation and submit it to Congress. The National Civil Aviation Review Commission's report is due in August 1997. The workforce coalition may be involved in the final debate over F.A.A. funding and will be waiting for the Commission's recommendations. ❖

JSF - Joint Strike Fighter

The tri-service Joint Strike Fighter is an aircraft whose primary mission will be to deliver air-to-ground weapons once air dominance has been achieved. The JSF is not expected to enter production until the Air Force's F-22 and the Navy's F/A-18E/F programs wind down. Both Lockheed Martin and Boeing are competing for this contract and are currently building a demonstrator aircraft for a fly-off in the next decade.

Currently, the Pratt & Whitney F119 engine is the baseline JSF powerplant. General Electric's YF120-FX, a variant of the losing F-22 powerplant, will provide an alternate JSF engine.

The Pentagon plans to procure 3,000 JSFs for about \$200 billion, including development costs. The Pentagon also has high hopes of selling hundreds of JSFs abroad. The cost per plane for the different versions of the JSF to be made for the Navy, Air Force and the Marines are estimated to vary from \$45 million to \$81 million dollars. ❖

F-22 Fighter

After a spectacular April 9, 1997 Roll-Out Ceremony, the media frenzy began with short coverage of the event itself, but centered most of their attention on the per unit cost of each F-22 fighter. Many articles compared the F-22 to the F-18E/F manufactured by McDonnell Douglas and the contract that both Lockheed Martin and Boeing are competing, the Joint Strike Fighter program. The F-22 will continue to face a heated debate at the Pentagon and in the Congress where defense budget cutters are trying to stretch fewer dollars to cover upgrading of older aircraft, procure new planes,

And Now It's Your Turn

Many of you have often asked for more information on projects that involve other coalition members around the country. In this issue of the *Coalition Chronicle*, we have provided you with a background and an update on major issues and programs involving the industrial base workforce.

In future issues we will continue to present information about other union activities in which coalition members are participating. We welcome your comments and feedback regarding our publication. If there is a special industrial base topic that affects your membership and that might be of interest to other coalition members, you may contact us by fax (703) 276-1415 outlining your idea and comments. Please provide both a day and evening phone number for follow-up.

and provide R&D funds for next generation aircraft.

The F-22 may be subjected to two tactics that are sure to cause problems. The first could be a decrease in the total number of aircraft purchased, increasing the per unit price of each aircraft like the B-2. This tactic will bring forth cries for termination of the program. The second tactic will be to argue that we should skip production of the F-22 and wait for the JSF. The problem with this option is that we will wind up terminating both the F-22 and the Joint Strike Fighter programs. ❖

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industry in California. His show appears on twelve public broadcast stations and has an audience of more than a million paid subscribers. Rev. Berkley is known as a spokesman for unemployed aerospace and defense workers.

On October 27, 1995, Sen. Santorum inserted into the Congressional Record the coalition's

"Aviation Fuel Tax Resolution," which urged the Senate to repeal the aviation fuel tax as it would only cause more hardship for American workers and further erode our country's aerospace industrial base.

In his speech on the Senate floor, the Senator noted, "Throughout the debate on the aviation fuel tax issue, I worked closely with the National Aerospace Workforce Coalition...The Coalition believes, as I do, that a commercial aviation fuel tax will be extremely harmful to America's manufacturing base."

Ultimately, the Congress passed in their Balanced Budget Reconciliation Act (BBRA) an initiative to extend again the fuel tax exemption for airlines, so the workforce coalition's efforts were successful. However, the battle over the Federal budget that ensued between the White House and congressional leaders stalled the measure, forcing the airlines to once again pay the tax. This issue is not settled, and most probably the workforce coalition will once again be involved in this debate in the future. ❖

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bers, they lose sight of the wide spectrum of issues that impact on the entire industry. This newsletter will review some of the major activities and programs of the workforce coalition, providing more of a comprehensive overview of the whole industry rather than just one program.

Second, the defense cutbacks and resulting layoffs have put a serious strain on local union treasuries. Many writers, editors and publishers of local union newsletters are not able to publish as often as they once did. The funds used to inform the rank and file members these days are spent more on flyers and handbills dealing with contract negotiations rather than program issues. This newsletter hopes to fill the gap left by those workforce publications that, because of financial reasons, are published less frequently or are no longer published.

Third, our newsletter has been written to inform rank and file union members about the existence of the coalition and its accomplishments. The articles in this issue are aimed at celebrating some of the accomplishments that the coalition has achieved over the past few years.

Fourth, this newsletter is designed to inform the rank and file

about the public policy debate that lies ahead in this legislative cycle. The Congress that convened in January will be faced with choices that will pit the entitlement programs against all of the discretionary programs including defense and space. Labor unions in the coalition are fully supportive of the entitlement programs; at the same time there will be a need for members of Congress to strike a balance between the entitlement and the investment accounts. The workforce coalition will have to be involved in the public policy debate if defense and space programs and their jobs are to survive.

Fifth, the *Coalition Chronicle* will shed light on the extent of the damage that has been done to the aerospace and defense workforce. Hundreds of thousands of aerospace workers have permanently lost their jobs. While unions in the coalition have seen their ranks severely reduced at the local level, even they cannot appreciate the damage that has occurred nationwide. In the article in this issue of the *Coalition Chronicle* that deals with the October '96 California Supplier Conference one of the union presidents vividly makes this case (See page 8).

What began as an aerospace and defense workforce effort to save

specific programs has now evolved into a multi-union, multi-state, multi-workforce, multi-company, and multi-industry coalition. The coalition has also defended industries beyond aerospace and defense. These include energy, telecommunications, and the transportation industries. The coalition has been heavily involved in opposing harmful regulations and taxes that have undermined America's industrial base.

Because of the broadening of activities, the coalition is being renamed the ***National Industrial Base Workforce Coalition***. Coalition members will continue to work together to defend each other's individual programs. As always, individual coalition unions retain the right of neutrality in support of particular programs that either compete with or clash with the long-term objectives of their members.

This first issue of the *Coalition Chronicle* highlights both past successes and future challenges of the National Industrial Base Workforce Coalition. If America's industrial base is to survive, the coalition must be deeply involved in program-specific public policy debates. The national security of this nation and the economic well-being of American working families may depend on our success. ❖

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