100TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION 2003

A CENTURY OF PRIDE AND STRENGTH

EDITION

100th Anniversary

...of Pride and Strength
The Power to Build Better Lives

The Laborers’ first 100 years is the story of hard-won battles in the fight for what was right. The Laborers’ next 100 years will be our responsibility—the duty to continue that fight for even greater achievement, even greater innovation, even greater empowerment for our members.

One hundred years ago a group of 25 leaders from 23 Local Unions and 17 cities came together with a common purpose. Most of these leaders, as well as those they represented, were recent immigrants who faced not only barriers to finding work, but deplorable working conditions and low pay. Independently, these leaders stood up for the rights of the workers they represented. At the historic moment of our founding, they united together to achieve their goal—to form an International Union that would serve to better the lives of all Laborers and their families.

The first to speak at this historic gathering was Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labor, who brought the first convention of the Laborers together. He said, “The constant struggle in which the wage earners of our country are continually engaged for the attainment of their rights and the mitigation of the wrongs they daily endure, renders it essential that they organize and unite in one common brotherhood, regardless of nationality, creed, or color.”

The delegates did just that, they came together—united—and organized the International Hod Carriers Building and Common Laborers’ Union of America. They worked hard and hammered out the founding principles of this new union. They forged a new constitution. And on the final day, April 17, 1903, they elected a slate of officers to carry out the work of the new organization.

These men were Laborers—they worked as Laborers, knew the trade, and knew the work. What made them different is that they stood up when it was necessary and fought the fight. They were not formally schooled, but what words could be more powerful and appropriate than the motto they chose—“Justice, Honor, and Strength.”

Our history has documented the application of our founding principles throughout our first
100 years. Our defining moments as an organization have been times when individuals stood up and took action.

As our union grew, there were many important mergers and our jurisdiction expanded. Our Union enjoyed unprecedented postwar growth following World War II, the building of a permanent headquarters, and the establishment of our first benefit funds and their rapid growth throughout North America.

Laborers volunteered to serve their nations in times of war, we endorsed our first presidential candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson, and political and legislative activities increased. Throughout this time, our members were building monumental projects all across the continent.

Many past leaders of this organization made outstanding contributions to our great union. Training, safety and health and labor-management cooperation funds were established, Construction Craft Laborer was recognized by the Department of Labor, the wide-spread establishment of apprenticeship programs, and the more recent emphasis placed on organizing activities throughout our union played vital roles in defining our union as we know it today.

Now it is our turn to create our defining moments. Perhaps the most important of these took place at the 2001 Convention when Resolution Number One was passed. This important resolution mandates that we increase market share in every segment of every industry where we represent Laborers by 20% or more before the next Convention in 2006.

For Laborers today, this commitment to increasing market share is our guiding principle. We need only to recall our very first convention, our founding, to understand, as our founders did, the significance of our responsibility. As stated by our founders 100 years ago, our priorities then as now: “First: To gather under one grand banner all of those who toil within our craft and calling. Second: To promote, by all honorable means, the social and financial standing of all those who wish to partake of the fruits created by amalgamation.” This means that whenever and wherever we find Laborers or others doing the same type of work, we must work together to promote the social and financial welfare of all. None of us alone can do what needs to be done together.

“Third: To create general agitation for the purpose of making a universal eight (8) hour day. To increase the wages of members of the craft. Fourth: To establish a system of conciliation and arbitration in the different sections of our land. Fifth: To help the members of the craft in securing lawful and profitable employment.”

This means that we must always be prepared to fight for what is right and what is rightfully ours. The percentage of workers who belong to a union is down significantly. Our forefathers understood as we do today, that unless we represent a majority of those working as Laborers in all areas of the continent, we cannot control our industries or bargain from a position of strength for our members.

Today, union membership and our share of the markets in which we represent Laborers are at unacceptable levels. So how must the Laborers of today respond?

First of all, each and every one of us must stand up and be counted. It is no longer an option to allow others to do the work that must be done. Each Laborer must become an activist. Attend your union meetings. Stay informed and stay active. Encourage others to attend meetings and don’t be satisfied until the Local Union hall is full on meeting night.

Second, become involved in organizing and political action. Those first 8,000 Laborers grew to 10,000, then 20,000, then 50,000, then 100,000 within the first 20 years of our organization—more than a ten-fold increase in twenty years. We must organize, or we die.

Early Laborers put their lives on the line to improve their conditions and the conditions of those who followed. They talked to others working by their sides and those working in the same industry, and they convinced them of the benefits of fighting the fight together.

The challenge of history is now upon us. We have enjoyed the benefits of the last 100 years. We have made investments in our future—the training funds, the LECET funds, the health and safety funds, the organizing funds, the fair contracting funds, the market recovery funds.
We have the infrastructure in place to do the job, but we need all members to take up the call and organize the unorganized.

We also must be involved in the political process, and do our part. Walk precincts. Make telephone calls. Transport voters to polling places. And most importantly, register and vote!

These are but a few of the actions that we must take. We must be a force in every political action, event, and election. Only by knowing us will politicians hear us and act with Laborers’ best interests in mind.

The 100th Anniversary is a tribute to those who came before us. This magazine documents and celebrates those defining moments and legacies.

What will be our legacy? Are we to maintain the status quo and simply get by? One hundred years from now, we will be judged by the decisions we make and the actions we take right now. Our mission is clear and our cause is just. We know what we must do, and as Laborers have done throughout history, we must get to work and get the job done.

The mark of a true leader is to leave the organization better than they found it. Let’s work together to leave our mark, our legacy for the generations of Laborers’ who follow us.

Brothers and sisters, as we look ahead to our future, I leave you with this thought: “Always remember where we came from, always remember where we are going, and never, ever forget, that where we go, we go together.”

Tony O’Sullivan
MESSAGE FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

Courageous Leaders Who Stood For What Was Right

As we celebrate our centennial, think about who our founders were and the world in which they lived. They were hard-working immigrants who came to these shores seeking better lives for themselves and their families. They believed they would find opportunity and wealth in a new land. Instead, they found poverty and oppression.

Many lived in drafty tenements without indoor plumbing. They shivered in the winter and sweltered in the summer. Their children became ill, and their families suffered. They struggled to put food on the table, and to keep inadequate roofs over their heads. They knew few comforts, and worked long and exhausting hours. Their lives were hard and unforgiving.

At work, they faced low pay and long hours. Work sites were dangerous and deadly. There were no hard hats, no safety goggles, no respirators, no fall protection, nothing we take for granted on our job sites today. Too often, a laborer would leave his family in the morning, only to return home on a stretcher or in a casket at the end of the day. In the days and weeks that followed such tragedies, there were no benefits or safety nets to take care of the survivors, and so grief and mourning were followed by financial ruin. Those that did make it to old age had little to look forward to; most had almost no savings, and there were no pensions or Social Security. After a lifetime of hard work, there was destitution and disgrace.

For working men and women, education was unheard of beyond the first few years of school. Children labored alongside adults, often doing the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. In sweatshops, coal mines, and construction sites, children worked under conditions that can only be described as child abuse. All were robbed of their childhoods, and far too many lost their lives.

This was the world our founders faced as they set about organizing this union. Rejected by other trades, looked down upon as unskilled helpers, they had to stand up not only to employers, but to some of their fellow trade unionists. Yet stand up they did, and we are here today, 100 years old, and more than 800,000 strong, because of their courage.

Imagine the strength it took to challenge other unions and to organize this one. When our first General President, Herman Lilien, and 24 other laborers and hod carriers gathered in Washington 100 years ago, they may have had the blessing of Samuel Gompers, but they were shunned by many other trades. Many people thought we were too unskilled and too undisciplined to organize a union. Yet stand up they did, and we are here today, 100 years old, and more than 800,000 strong, because of their courage.

Imagine the courage it took to fight against how things had always been done, and to take on powerful employers in a system that stacked the deck against workers. Our early leaders risked their livelihoods, and sometimes their lives, to speak out and demand better wages.
and safer work. We know how scary it can be to join an organizing drive, to be the fifth or tenth or fifteenth employee to sign a union card. But these early Laborers were the first. And when they stood up, they did not have the strength of 800,000 other brothers and sisters standing behind them. They had only each other, and their faith in the justice of their cause. Without their dedication, we would not be where we are today.

Imagine the energy of our early General Presidents and General Secretary-Treasurers, all of whom traveled near and far organizing laborers and hod carriers. They visited work sites, met in crowded homes, and never got enough sleep. They journeyed over lousy roads and rickety bridges to spread the message of trade unionism, and to grow our union. And they were decades ahead of their time in accepting anyone and everyone. They did not care about skin color, religious affiliation, or nationality. All they cared about was numbers, and in a very short time those numbers increased; from the hundreds, to the thousands, to the hundreds of thousands. Whenever I get tired at the end of a long day, the memory of those early laborers and hod carriers inspires me to go on.

Think about the vision of the leaders who built our first pensions, and convinced employers to fund them. They believed that old age should not spell poverty, and that retirement should not be just for the rich. Other visionary Laborers worked to build health benefits, dental plans, and vision benefits. We worked with other unions to provide working men and women financial services, mortgages, legal assistance, and other tools to build better lives. And, because we have always valued education and believed in the future, we established scholarship funds to put our children through school. We not only improved the lives of our members and their families, we built the middle class.

Think about the sheer audacity it took to develop Laborers’ training; to begin to train those whom others had always seen as untrainable. We had to believe in ourselves, because, back then, nobody else did. So we established training funds, first in local unions and district councils, then in our regions, and finally, in 1969, nationally, with the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund. That audacity has been critical to our success and growth over the past thirty-three years. It is why we have been able to expand into environmental remediation, asbestos and lead abatement, trenchless pipe repair, pipeline maintenance, and many other areas of our industry.

Think about the risks we took in reaching out to management to establish our Laborers’ Health and Safety Fund of North America, and our Laborers-Employers Cooperation and Education Trust. It was a bold step to take labor-management cooperation, which had worked so well in training, and apply it to these new areas. Those who built these funds had to establish trust and respect, prove the worth of their programs, and show Laborers and employers that cooperation could work. Now, thanks to their vision and dedication, we have a foundation that will take us into our next hundred years.

Since our founding in 1903, we have been blessed with leaders who had a clear vision of what lay ahead, and the courage to do what needed to be done. And that leadership is not limited to the General Executive Board; it is, and always has been, evident at all levels of our great international union. The talented and dedicated union and Tri-Fund staff who support our work are leaders. The Laborer who reaches out to other workers as a volunteer organizer is a leader. The organizer who endures long hours and sleepless nights is a leader. The business agents and business managers who sign new employers are leaders. The local union and district council officers who make the tough calls, burn the midnight oil, and sacrifice for this union are leaders.

That dedication and leadership at all levels has made our union what it is today. And we can all be enormously proud to call ourselves Laborers at this unique moment in our history.
Wherein: We hold that all men are created free and equal, and that honor and merit makes the man, and that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that he who would be free must first strike the blow; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers do hereby declare and adopt the following for the base of our operations:

First: To gather under one grand banner all of those who toil on buildings within our craft and calling.

Second: To promote, by all honorable means, the social and financial standing of all those who wish to partake of the fruits created by amalgamation.

Third: To create general agitation for the purpose of making a universal eight (8) hour day. To increase the wages of members of the craft.

Fourth: To establish a system of conciliation and arbitration in the different sections of our land.

Fifth: To help the members of the craft in securing lawful and profitable employment.

—Declaration of Principles
Adopted at the Founding Convention
International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union
April 13-17, 1903

First Class Workers, Second-Class Status

Working as a Laborer has always been challenging and rewarding, but never easy or privileged. Throughout the 19th century, Laborers did the heavy lifting, carried the hods, dug the tunnels, surfaced the streets and played a central role in every aspect of construction. Without the immensely difficult and productive work of Laborers, the buildings, dams and bridges of the 1800s would never have been constructed, canals would never have been dug, train tracks would never have been laid, and streets would never have been built.

Yet, despite their indispensable contributions, Laborers were treated as second-class citizens both on and off the job. They were forced to perform the most dangerous work, yet received little if any training and few safeguards. They usually were excluded from the craft unions that were forming in the 1800s or could only join as “helpers.” They were paid the least and disrespected the most.

March 12: Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sends out a convention call to independent local Laborers’ unions, urging them to come together to establish “an international union of Building Laborers…adopt a Constitution…and elect officers to administer its affairs.” Most construction crafts had already formed international unions by this date. Gompers recognizes that Laborers—often treated as second-class citizens by employers and even the craft unions—needed to be empowered through a strong international union.

April 13-17: The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU) is founded, as 25 delegates from 23 Local Unions in 17 cities—representing 8,186 Laborers—meet in Washington, D.C., at the union’s founding convention. The delegates elect Hermon Lilien, a Belgian immigrant from Chicago Local Union 4, as General President, and Harold Stemburgh of Waverly, N.Y., as General Secretary-Treasurer.

The AFL grants the IHC+BLU exclusive jurisdiction over the class of work claimed in the union’s Constitution:

“Wrecking of buildings, excavations of buildings, digging of trenches, piers and foundations, holes, digging, lagging, sheeting of said foundations, holes, and caisson work, concrete for buildings, whether foundations, floors or any other, whether done by hand or any other process, tending to masons, mixing and handling all materials used by masons (except stone setters), building of centers for fireproofing purposes, tending to carpenters, tending to and mixing of all materials for plastering, whether done by hand or any other process, clearing of debris from buildings, shoring, underpinning and raising of old buildings, drying of plastering, when done by salamander heat, handling of dimension stones.”

1903

The Wright Brothers make the first manned flight.

The Ingalls Building in Cincinnati—the world’s first skyscraper with a reinforced concrete structure—opens.
Laborers often came from groups discriminated against by society at large: African Americans; recent immigrants from Ireland, and later Italy, Poland, and other countries in Eastern and Southern Europe; Asian Americans; Mexican Americans; and Native Americans.

While the work was difficult, dirty and dangerous in urban areas, in the countryside, where canals and railroads were being built by hand, there were no unions even for the crafts. Wages often averaged $1 per day. Death and injury from accidents were a constant risk, but infectious diseases such as cholera and dysentery were even more devastating, wiping out entire labor camps in a few short days.

**Early Organizing**

In response to these extraordinarily harsh working conditions, Laborers started to organize their own local unions in the latter half of the century. Some Chicago Laborers formed their own union in 1861. These early city laborer unions were often organized on ethnic lines or by the specific craft they tended.

During the post-Civil War era, other building trades, such as carpenters, lathers and plasterers, joined their local unions into national and international organizations. These early unions united in a national labor federation in 1881, reorganizing five years later as the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

Over the next 17 years, while craft union members started improving their wages, working conditions and dignity, armed with the added strength of national representation and the solidarity created by the AFL, Laborers remained too often on the outside looking in. While local Laborers’ unions won important gains for their members, Laborers still lagged behind their counterparts in their ability to shape their destiny and stand up to their employers.

Adding to the immense challenge of organizing and empowering Laborers through collective bargaining were the transient nature of work, the need for many Laborers to work in other fields during inevitable gaps in construction work, ethnic divisions that employers were sometimes able to exploit, and the Padroni system (see page 10).

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**June 15:** The International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers officially endorse the IHC+BLU as the union with exclusive jurisdiction over laborers’ work, a major boost for the newly-formed union.

**August 26:** The IHC+BLU and the craft unions unite to found the Structural Building Trades Alliance (SBTA), which includes two unions not yet affiliated with the AFL, the Bricklayers and Operative Plasterers’ and Cement Masons’ International Association of the United States and Canada. This alliance bolsters IHC+CLU’s legitimacy and is a valuable tool for overcoming rival, independent unions.

The Chicago Laborers’ District Council is chartered, the first district council in the IHC+BLU.

**December:** By the end of 1903, the IHC+BLU has chartered 136 locals, including its first Canadian affiliate in Kingston, Ontario. It is receiving per capita of 5 cents per member per month on more than 2,000 members.

With the support of the United States, Panama secedes from Colombia to become an independent country, opening the way for construction of the Panama Canal.

The first World Series is played, with the Boston Red Sox defeating the Pittsburgh Pirates 5 games to 3.
The Call is Issued

Clearly, new steps were needed to improve the lives of those who worked at the calling. AFL President Samuel Gompers took action. On March 12, 1903, he issued a convention call to local Laborers’ unions, urging them to come together to establish “an international union of Building Laborers...adopt a Constitution for the government of the organization and elect officers to administer its affairs.”

A Union is Born

On April 13, 1903, 25 delegates convened in Washington, D.C. for the founding convention of an international union for Laborers.

They represented 8,186 Laborers from 23 Local Unions in 17 cities across North America. The Local Unions ranged in size from the 4,039 members of Chicago Local Union 1 to the 13 members of Federal Union 9454 of Washington, D.C. Nineteen of the Local Unions has already affiliated with the AFL as “Federal Unions,” a special status the federation provided to protect and support Local Unions not yet represented by an International Union. Many of the Local Unions had also affiliated with city-wide central labor councils.

As Gompers told the delegates in his Convention address:

The constant struggle in which the wage earners of our country are continually engaged for the attainment of their rights, and the mitigation of the wrongs they daily endure renders it essential that they organize and unite in one common brotherhood regardless of nationality, creed and color.

The delegates ensured that all Local Unions would have a strong voice in the new union, even though three-quarters of the existing membership belonged to the three Chicago Locals. They elected as their General President Hermon Lilien, a Belgian immigrant from Chicago Local Union 4. Harold Stemburgh of Waverly, N.Y., was elected General Secretary-Treasurer. And they elected five Vice Presidents, reflecting the geographic range of the budding union: Peter Larson of Philadelphia, Pa., James Mallay of White Plains, N.Y., Val Canavan of Portland, Maine, August Palutze of Cleveland, Ohio, and Elmo Chambers of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Delegates voted to affiliate with the AFL, wrote the union’s Constitution, set a per capita tax of 5 cents per member per month, imposed a $10 charter fee for new
At the IHC+BLU’s Third Convention (they were held annually in the union’s early years), Herman Lilien declines to run for re-election as General President. He is succeeded by another Chicagoan, Michael Knipfer of Local Union 1. But soon thereafter, Knipfer and his Local Union are expelled for non-payment of per capita. First Vice-President August Palutze of Cleveland Local Union 310 is elected as the new IHC+BLU General President.

May: Laborers vote by a 1,052 to 747 margin to raise their per capita from 5 to 10 cents per month, agreeing to Secretary-Treasurer Stemburgh’s call to “be thoroughly prepared to meet the combined, organized opposition of the employing classes.”

NATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA • 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

Alberta and Saskatchewan become provinces of Canada.

25,000 autos are manufactured in the U.S., 10 times the number produced in 1899.
unions and adopted a crossed hod, hoe and shovel, encircled by the union’s name, as the official seal.

The delegates’ first resolution was designed to advance solidarity and avert damaging intra-union fights, stating “that where in a locality a charter is issued to a local union no more charters for any more local unions shall be granted without the consent of the local already in existence.”

Moving forward

Following the conclusion of the IHC+BLU’s successful founding convention, delegates and newly-elected officers returned home to start the challenging, painstaking work of building a great international union. General Secretary-Treasurer Stemburgh opened the union’s headquarters in his hometown of Waverly, N.Y., and immediately sought an AFL charter for Laborers’ jurisdiction.

The AFL swiftly granted the IHC+BLU exclusive jurisdiction over the class of work claimed in the union’s Constitution:

Wrecking of buildings, excavations of buildings, digging of trenches, piers and foundations, holes, digging, logging, sheeting of said foundations, holes, and caisson work, concrete for buildings, whether foundations, floors or any other, whether done by hand or any other process, tending to masons, mixing and handling all materials used by masons (except stone setters), building of centers for fireproofing purposes, tending to carpenters, tending to and mixing of all materials for plastering, whether done by hand or any other process, clearing of debris from buildings, shoring, underpinning and raising of old buildings, drying of plastering, when done by salamander heat, handling of dimension stones.

This action by the AFL gave the IHC+BLU instant legitimacy in the eyes of most of the craft unions and raised union Laborers, for the first time, onto a more even footing with the other organized building trades workers. As evidence, the
Bricklayers officially endorsed the IHC+BLU as the union with exclusive jurisdiction over Laborers’ work on June 15, 1903.

Strengthening this solid foundation, the IHC+BLU and the craft unions formalized their relationship with the founding of the Structural Building Trades Alliance (SBTA) two months later. This would become a powerful tool for overcoming rival, independent unions claiming the same work for their members.

The fledgling union could not afford to hire paid organizers, but International Officers traveled around their regions seeking to organize new Laborers’ locals and affiliate existing unions. They also sought and received assistance from paid AFL organizers.

These efforts bore initial fruit. By the end of 1903, just eight months into its existence, the IHC+BLU had chartered 136 locals, including its first Canadian affiliate in Kingston, Ontario.

While the Laborers’ Union would face a host of challenges and difficulties in the years to come, it had survived its birth and stood solidly on its own two feet—putting itself in a position to improve the quality of life and raise the standard of living for millions of Laborers as its first century unfolded.

February: Domenico D’Alessandro of Boston Local Union 209 is appointed an IHC+BLU general organizer. He travels up and down the East Coast organizing new locals and bringing existing independent Laborers’ Local Unions into the IHC+BLU.

September: D’Alessandro is elected IHC+BLU International Vice-President.

A death benefit is implemented, set at $75 for members with more than one year of service and $50 for those with less than one year’s service. Five cents per member is also set aside for a strike fund.

The new union is now receiving per capita on more than 11,000 members.

Oklahoma becomes the 46th state.

Nearly 1.3 million immigrants enter the United States, the most ever.
Throwing Off the Padroni’s Shackles

By the late 19th and early 20th century, indentured servitude should have been a relic of the past. Unfortunately, it was all too real to tens of thousands of immigrant Italian Laborers, who came to the U.S. and Canada under the evil padrone system—essentially a corrupt “hiring hall” that enriched employers and padroni (bosses) at the expense of workers.

It would take the courageous work of the Laborers’ union and the man who would later become its General President, Domenico d’Alesandro, before the padrone system would be overcome.

The padrone system helped satisfy contractors’ need for cheap labor. Employers made arrangements with padroni to supply workers for construction projects. Padroni then arranged for the workers’ passage from Italy to North America.

Suffering from poverty and famine, many Italians were eager to begin a new life in the New World. When padroni offered the prospect of jobs in the U.S. and Canada, it was often their one opportunity to migrate across the Atlantic.

Padroni bought tickets for the ocean voyage in bulk at huge discounts, then resold them to immigrants at more than full price, lending the money in the process. Once in the U.S. or Canada, the immigrants had to work exclusively for the padroni to pay off the debt, which often took two or three years.

Domenico D’Alessandro is elected IHC+BLU General President, replacing John Breen. AFL organizer Jacob Talezaar is appointed acting Secretary-Treasurer. After serving for six months, he is replaced by Vice President Earnest Villard of Kingston, Ontario, Local Union 66.

The IHC+BLU affiliates with the Trades & Labour Congress of Canada.

The first tunnel under the Hudson River opens, connecting Manhattan with New Jersey by rail.

Republican William Howard Taft defeats Democrat William Jennings Bryan for the Presidency.

The 42-story Metropolitan Life Insurance Tower in New York opens as the world’s tallest building.
But that was only the beginning of the padroni’s exploitation of Italian immigrants. Each time they were hired for a construction job, laborers had to pay the padrone a bossatura charge (finder’s fee). Padroni conspired with employers to keep wages low. They often controlled the workers’ overcrowded housing and charged exorbitant rents, even when employers provided it for free. Sometimes padroni even operated stores on the site, where they marked up prices to twice the retail price.

D’Alessandro was outraged at the padrone system’s abuses. After emigrating from Avesta, Italy, to Boston in 1898, he sought to find work as a bricklayer outside the padrone system and found the jobs locked up. To fight back, he founded a branch of the Dante Alighieri Society, which was sponsored by the Italian government to educate citizens abroad. There, he provided vital information to newly arrived Italians about their rights and how to avoid the padroni.

At the same time, the Italian consul in Boston, Baron Gustavo Tosti, was equally appalled by the padrone system. He recognized that unionization offered the best chance for immigrants to break free of the padroni and build a better life. While Tosti could not organize workers directly, d’Alessandro was ready and willing to spearhead the campaign.

With support from the AFL, d’Alessandro organized a series of mass meetings for the Italian immigrants who were excavating and building Boston’s subway. He explained that union membership would give them the power to improve their lives and leave the padroni behind. Within three months, the union was formed, chartered as AFL Laborers’ and Excavators’ Union No. 11,679. Soon thereafter, the union won a wage increase to $2/day, a significant achievement. A year later, the union joined the IHC+BLU as Local 209.

D’Alessandro also persuaded the Italian government to establish and subsidize the Benevolent Aid Society for Italian immigrants, which he made a subsidiary of Local Union 209. The Society helped immigrants empower themselves through union membership and steer clear of the padroni’s quasi-enslavement.

Under d’Alessandro’s leadership, Local Union 209 established a hiring hall and persuaded employers to hire crews there, rather than from the padroni. While the union negotiated much higher wages than the padroni, it did not charge employers fees for providing the crews and offered a larger, more stable pool of reliable, productive, skilled workers. This made hiring union more attractive to Boston’s contractors.

In addition, d’Alessandro and Local Union 209’s other leaders stopped employment agents from collecting bossatura charges, pushed bills through the state outlawing the padrone system’s abuses, and gave immigrants the leverage to increase their pay, shorten their working hours and better their working conditions.

By providing immigrants the tools to build a better life and avoid the padroni, d’Alessandro helped Local Union 209 reach the 2,000 member mark by June 1906. This brought him to the attention of the IHC+BLU leadership. In February 1907, he was hired by the International union as a general organizer, later that year he won election as First Vice President, and in 1908, he was elected General President.

D’Alessandro would serve in this position with distinction, building the Laborers’ into a North American powerhouse until his death in 1926. But nowhere would he leave a greater legacy than with Boston’s Italian immigrant Laborers, whom he freed from the shackles of the padroni.
Bringing Laborers into the Middle Class

Since organizing we have lessened the working hours of our members, increased their wages, and secured for them their just rights by the arbitration of disputes between employer and employees.

—Laborers General Secretary-Treasurer H. A. Stemburgh
The American Federationist, November 1903

In 1903, when the Laborers’ International Union was founded, life was hard for Laborers. A typical wage was just 15 cents an hour. That was worth $3.00 per hour in today’s dollars—far less even than the minimum hourly wage of 2003. As a result, most Laborers lived in poverty, rented small apartments or houses, struggled to afford even the necessities of life and faced what seemed to be a bleak future. In “good” times, they worked 60 or more hours a week in often dangerous conditions. In bad times, they had no work at all. By any and all measures, they were on the bottom of the economic heap in North America.

One-hundred years later, the picture could not be more different. Most Laborers earn between 100 and 200 times what they made in 1903, and about seven to ten times more in real, inflation-adjusted dollars. As a result, they have made it into the middle class. They have a decent standard of living, many own their own homes, they can feed and provide for their families, and more than a few send their children to college. Life can still be a struggle at times, especially during economic downturns, and threats to their status require constant vigilance on the part of their union—but compared to their brethren in 1903, today’s Laborers are much better off.

What accounts for this dramatic transformation in the lives of millions of hard-working men and women over the course of a century? The power of collective bargaining—and the strength of the Laborers’ Union in bringing that power to bear on behalf of its members.

Early Years of Struggle and Progress

As members joined the independent Laborers’ unions that would eventually come together to form the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU), they quickly found their wages on the rise. For example, when Louis Littlepage joined Local Union 3 of Cincinnati’s independent hod carriers union in 1899, he was paid 25 cents an hour. But by 1907, four years after his union became Local Union 119 of the IHC+BLU, he and his brothers and sisters were earning 60 percent more. Their wage of 40 cents an hour brought the same purchasing power as $7.50 an hour today—not a lot, but much more than non-union laborers were earning.

The new international union was helping to win similar gains across the country. IHC+BLU President John Breen reported visiting Pittsburgh in June 1906 and finding that members were earning 17½ cents an hour while working a 10-hour day. After negotiations, the new union won an 8½ hour day at 25 cents/hour for building laborers and hod carriers. They were now making 21 percent more a day while working 1½ fewer hours—a dramatic increase in their quality of life.

Membership in the IHC+BLU tops 11,000 again after a lengthy recession hurts construction employment. There are now 159 affiliated Local Unions.

After the IHC+BLU Convention, members approve a referendum to hold a vote every five years on whether or not to hold a Convention. In 1916, 1921, 1926, 1931 and 1936, members would vote against holding a Convention. The next International Convention would be held in 1941.

Conservatives win control of Parliament in Canada and Robert Borden replaces Wilfred Laurier as Prime Minister.

March 25: 146 workers are killed in a fire at New York’s Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, a disaster that would spearhead a national movement for better working conditions.

April 17: 11,745 immigrants pass through Ellis Island in New York Harbor, a one-day record.
By 1906 and 1907, Laborers Local Unions in places as diverse as Chicago, New York, Stockton, Calif., Cincinnati, and Rutland, Vermont, all had contracts in place providing for an eight-hour day, and wages ranging between 25 cents/hour and 50 cents/hour. In September 1907, Secretary-Treasurer H.A. Stemburgh reported to the American Federation of Labor that “Some of our unions have secured slight increase in wages and others have reduced hours from ten to nine and from nine to eight a day. Wages have increased from $3.50 to $4.00 a day.” That was equal to $75 in today’s dollars—for a four-year old union in the early 1900s, a remarkable achievement.

Upward trends continued in the union’s second decade. In 1916, Laborers at St. Louis Local Union 22 earned 35 cents an hour—the equivalent of $5.70 today. Boston hod carriers made 40 cents/hour, or $6.52 in today’s dollars. In Chicago, excavating Laborers were bringing home 42 1/2 cents/hour, mason tending Laborers earned 55 cents/hour, plaster tending Laborers made 57 1/2 cents/hour and concrete Laborers were paid 62 1/2 cents/hour.

In 1919, the Chicago District Council intervened in a job dispute in South Bend, Indiana, and won workers an increase in their wages from 45 cents to 60 cents an hour, with time-and-a-half for overtime.

By 1923, Charleston, West Virginia hod carriers were earning 75 cents an hour.

Five years later, hourly wages for some Laborers’ job classifications, such as plasterer tenderers in Alton, Ill., and Portland, Ore., topped the $1.00 mark—bringing them the same purchasing power as $10.30 would provide today.

While Laborers had achieved significant success in reducing work hours through collective bargaining, in 1928, they went a step further by endorsing a five day work week. They participated in a national labor effort to eliminate Saturday work, and quickly started winning a two-day weekend for members in many local contracts.

**Fighting Through the Depression and World War II**

The advent of the Great Depression in 1929 not only put tens of millions of Americans out of work, including tens of thousands of Laborers—it also drove wages downward. With so many people jobless and struggling to feed and house their families, unions temporarily lost much of their leverage to negotiate continuing wage increases.
Nevertheless, within a few years, the Laborers’ Union was maintaining its position and even making some gains. In 1935, wages for Laborers in New York Local Unions 45, 102, 250, 266 and 731 started at 80 cents/hour (also the equivalent of $10.30/hour today) and went up to $1.65/hour for blasters in open cuts. Laborers working in compressed air earned between $11 and $12.50 daily for a six-hour day, giving them even higher earnings on an hourly basis.

By the late 1930s, the union was back in a strong position to negotiate pay increases. This stopped temporarily during World War II as the government imposed wage freezes across the board. It resumed once again after the allies’ victory and became all the more imperative because of high post-war inflation. This is illustrated by the International Union’s computation of average national hourly rates for Laborers from 1939 to 1947:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average National Hourly Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>$0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>$0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>$1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>$1.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1948, Newark, N.J., Laborers’ hourly wages had topped the $2 mark, with their $2.12½/hour earning them the equivalent of $15.60 in today’s dollars.

National Contracts Raise Wages Across the Board

In the Laborers’ Union’s early years, all contracts were negotiated locally with individual contractors. They reflected widely varying economic conditions, costs of living, construction market environments, overall labor clout, local traditions and many other factors. As a result, while Laborers’ wages were on the rise throughout the U.S. and Canada, a comparison of contracts from one Local Union to another would reveal significant differences.

However, as the scope of Laborers’ work expanded and as some specific projects involved work across the continent and even for a small group of national employers, the union began negotiating national contracts. Two of the first were a 1949 national agreement between the Laborers’ International Union and the Pipeline Contractors and a 1951 national agreement with the Railway Track Contractors.

Over the next several decades, the International Union would take the lead in negotiating more national contracts where appropriate. Because this process enabled the union...
The AFL Convention dissolves the American Federation of Cement Workers and splits the union’s work between the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons and the IHCB+CLU.

to strengthen its clout at the bargaining table by combining the collective power of its Local Unions and members, it would serve an important role in taking the Laborers’ standard of living to new levels across the board, and in improving earnings for Laborers in some areas where wages traditionally lagged behind those in other parts of the Continent.

Partly as a result, by 1966, average hourly pay for Laborers had reached $3.85—equal to $21 in today’s dollars—plus health, pension and welfare benefits (see the article on page 18). By now, most Laborers were firmly in the United States’ and Canada’s middle class.

In 1973, the Laborers’ International Union signed a national agreement with the National Constructors Association for large-scale projects. One year later, a National Masonry Agreement was reached with the Bricklayers and masonry contractors.

The 1968 merger with the National Association of Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers and Group Leaders further increased the importance of national contracts for the union, as the Mail Handlers have one employer—the U.S. Postal Service. After a national strike in 1970, the Mail Handlers won a strong national contract, followed by a second one in 1975.

**Rising to Meet New Challenges**

By the early 1980s, the economic environment, construction industry dynamics and political climate had all changed, placing downward pressure on Laborers’ wages for the first time in decades. Emboldened by the anti-union policies of President Ronald Reagan, the culture of greed that was infecting the economy and the growing practice of double-breasting, non-union contractors became much more aggressive in trying to take business away from Laborers’ signatory contractors. Some Laborers’ Local Unions actually found themselves freezing their wages or even taking reductions in order to keep members working.

Countering this disturbing trend was the rapidly increasing productivity of Laborers, a result of the union’s strong move into training and health and safety. This made union members more than worth their higher cost to employers. Combined with renewed organizing that helped to stem declining market share for the union sector of the construction industry, Laborers’ living standards were still, for the most part, improving.

In the Laborers’ International Union’s 1986 Annual Report, the Research Department documented the remarkable growth in members’ wages over the previous 51 years. The following table illustrates the impressive rise in members’ living standards in eight selected cities between 1934 and 1985.
Spring: Laborers go on strike in several cities across the nation, including Boston, Philadelphia and St. Louis, demanding their fair share of the national prosperity generated through the economic recovery that started in 1915.

President Wilson narrowly wins reelection over Republican Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes.

Increases in Negotiated Building Laborer Rates

**SELECTED CITIES—1934-1985**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1934 WAGES</th>
<th>1985 WAGES ONLY</th>
<th>1985 WAGES PLUS FRINGES*</th>
<th>1985 WAGES AS % OF 1934*</th>
<th>CHANGE IN REAL DOLLARS**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>$0.450</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$20.50</td>
<td>4556%</td>
<td>565%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>$0.400</td>
<td>$12.40</td>
<td>$16.44</td>
<td>3660%</td>
<td>453%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>$0.625</td>
<td>$13.42</td>
<td>$21.60</td>
<td>3456%</td>
<td>429%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>$0.625</td>
<td>$14.00</td>
<td>$20.50</td>
<td>4556%</td>
<td>565%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>$0.500</td>
<td>$13.70</td>
<td>$17.20</td>
<td>3440%</td>
<td>427%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Ore.</td>
<td>$0.500</td>
<td>$12.84</td>
<td>$15.79</td>
<td>3580%</td>
<td>444%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>$0.400</td>
<td>$14.70</td>
<td>$17.40</td>
<td>4350%</td>
<td>540%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trenton</td>
<td>$0.500</td>
<td>$13.10</td>
<td>$15.60</td>
<td>3120%</td>
<td>387%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes hourly rates for health and welfare, pension, vacation and training benefits.

**Represents 1985 wages and benefits as a percentage of 1934 wages, adjusted for inflation. For example, a 565 percent change means that in 1985, Laborers’ earnings gave them 5.65 times the purchasing power they had in 1934, based on changes in the Consumer Price Index. Source: Laborers’ International Union Research Department, 1985

It is important to note that those cities showing the smallest percentage growth in wages typically started from a higher 1934 wage, a result of their Local Unions’ success in organizing and ability to negotiate strong contracts during the Laborers’ first three decades. In addition, variations in wages and hourly fringe benefit contributions between cities reflect differences in the local cost of living and other factors. What is most striking is the consistent improvement across the board.

The two charts below take one city where the pattern of wage increases was representative of what was happening to Laborers’ incomes throughout North America—Spokane, Wash.—and illustrate the upward movement at 10 and 11 year intervals. The first chart shows wages without adjusting for inflation:

**LABORERS’ WAGES IN SPOKANE, WASH., 1934-1985**

The chart on the following page calculates Laborers’ wages in constant 1985 dollars. In both charts, the 1985 figure includes hourly employer contributions for health and welfare, pension, vacation and training benefits.

Here, Laborers’ real standard of living in 1985, based on their hourly rates of pay and benefits, was 4.6 times what it was...
in 1934—comparable to the increase Laborers in other cities experienced during this time.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Laborers continued their effective use of national contracts to raise members’ wages further. The year 1987 was noteworthy as the union signed national agreements with the Association of Wall and Ceiling Industries (along with the Painters, Carpenters and Cement Masons) and with the Asbestos Abatement Contractors. The latter contract expanded Laborers’ job opportunities by ensuring union access to this growing field of work.

In 1999, the Mail Handlers ratified a new contract with the Post Office, winning their largest wage increase since the 1980s.

An Unprecedented Increase in Wealth

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Laborers’ Union in its first 100 years was its success in using the power of collective bargaining to spearhead an increase in incomes and wealth among working men and women that is virtually unprecedented in world history. Where Laborers once earned among the lowest wages of any occupation, today they are solid members of the middle class. In 2003, their actual purchasing power and standard of living was seven to ten times higher than it was in 1903.

And that is only one piece of the story. Where Laborers once worked 10 or more hours a day, six days a week, today they work eight hours a day, five days a week. If called upon to work longer, they receive time-and-a-half for overtime. They have weekends and vacations. They have a host of benefits providing health, retirement and job security, documented in the next section of this history. They receive lifelong training, making them among the most productive workers in the world. And their work is much safer, with far fewer accidents and disabling injuries.

In the years to come, the Laborers’ Union will use this remarkable record as a platform both to keep Laborers in the middle class and to raise their standard of living and quality of life even higher. As the union’s powerful new campaign to expand market share through organizing makes gains, wage and benefit increases in members’ contracts will only accelerate. The future, which was so bleak 100 years ago, will rely on the efforts of Laborers’ members and leaders to work together and increase market share. By increasing market share, LIUNA can ensure continuing improvements in Laborers’ wages, benefits and working conditions.
Above all else, the 100-year history of the Laborers’ Union is a story of unparalleled achievement in raising the standard of living and improving the quality of life for Laborers and all working families across North America.

One of the most critical ways the union has accomplished this was by breaking new ground in achieving equitable compensation not only through higher wages, but also through health insurance, pensions, disability coverage, and other benefits offering greater physical and financial security.

At the time of the union’s founding in 1903, these benefits did not exist for the highest-paid workers in North America, much less for Laborers who at that time were near the bottom of the economic ladder.

Nevertheless, one of the first actions taken by the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU) was to provide strike and death benefits to members, funded through per capita contributions to the union. Passed by delegates to the 1906 Convention and implemented the next year, this benefit provided $75 to assist the members’ next of kin with funeral expenses following the death of the member. The families of members with less than one year’s service received $50. By 1919, the union was paying out $20,000 annually to members’ families in death benefits.

Strike benefits were also essential, as they made members more willing to walk off the job when necessary to win gains at the bargaining table. This helped level the playing field between labor and management in negotiations, for it meant that the threat of a strike was not a hollow gesture.

In 1929, Laborers voted by national referendum to raise their death benefit to $200 for members who joined before age 50 and had belonged to the union for two years, increasing the per capita tax to 35 cents to pay for it.

For two more decades, these would be the primary fringe benefits received by Laborers—and by most union members in North America.

The Concept Comes Alive

Immediately after the United States’ entry into World War II, the government imposed wage and price controls, along with product rationing, to ensure that all resources were focused exclusively on the war effort. But by 1944, many workers were fed up with stagnant wages and clamoring for improve-
ments. In response, the U.S. government allowed employers to grant their employees benefit improvements in lieu of higher pay. Many unions took advantage of this opportunity and began negotiating and then establishing pension and welfare programs.

**The Multi-Employer Innovation**

This opened the door for a new approach to compensation in collective bargaining. However, for the Laborers’ Union, as with all the building trades, there was a complicating factor. Since most members worked for many different contractors over the course of their working lives, it made no sense to persuade single employers to establish pension plans for their employees as the industrial unions were doing. Instead, the Laborers had to innovate by establishing multi-employer plans, financed by negotiated contributions from each signatory contractor to newly-created, independent funds.

Ironically, this option was advanced by the 1947 passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, in every other respect one of the most anti-union bills ever enacted in the United States. One of the Act’s provisions prohibited employers from contributing to union health and welfare funds that are not under joint labor-management administration. Thus, the multi-employer plans created in its wake—also commonly known as Taft-Hartley Funds—are governed by boards composed of union and employer representatives in equal numbers. This, in turn, helps ensure that the plans are administered in the interests of the workers and minimizes the possibility that workers’ pensions can be used for other purposes, as has occurred in some single employer funds controlled exclusively by management.

Reflecting the quality of the union’s grassroots-based leadership and the vibrancy of Laborers’ Local Unions, winning new pension, health and welfare benefits and creating new multi-employer funds was spearheaded at the Local Union and District Council level. In a huge breakthrough, the Chicago District Council launched a multi-employer pension plan for area Laborers in 1951. The was one of the first such plans offered by any building trades union in the U.S. It would be a swift and great success, paying out more than $15 million in benefits by 1964.

Throughout the 1950s, Laborers’ locals across the U.S. negotiated employer-funded benefits in their contracts and established pension, and health and welfare plans. Northern California Laborers would win health and welfare benefits—but it took a nine-week strike to achieve victory. In 1956, Pittsburgh Laborers

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### 1919

- **Construction volume in the U.S. hits $6.3 billion, up from $3.8 billion in 1916.**
- **June 28:** The Treaty of Versailles is signed, forcing Germany to give up land and colonies, and to pay reparations to the allies.
- **Two years after claiming the right to organize shipyard laborers, the IHCB+CLU is awarded this jurisdiction by the AFL over the protests of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.**
- **The IHCB+CLU shows its maturity as an international union as it helps other unions organize, providing assistance to an AFL-supported steelworker organizing campaign.**
- **One in every five workers goes on strike during the year, and general strikes are held in Seattle and Winnipeg, as workers demand their share of prosperity now that the war is over.**
established their first pension, with the first retiree drawing a check in 1958. The Laborers in Arizona launched a health and welfare fund in the late 1950s and a pension fund in the early 1960s. The Central and Southern States region—now part of the Ohio Valley and Southern States Region—established its first pension plan in 1970.

**International Leadership**

In their bold work to provide members with vital new benefits, Laborers’ Local Unions and District Councils were being urged on by their International Union, which launched an all-out educational effort in 1957. The union surveyed Local Unions to identify and analyze the plans already in existence. The International then offered assistance to Local Unions in choosing the most appropriate options to best serve the needs of their members.

At the 1961 Laborers’ Convention, delegates voted to establish a pension plan for full-time union officers, from the Local Union to the International level. Local Unions with officers making more than $2,000 annually were required to participate.

Five years later, the union had to confront a new issue—its broadening representation of workers outside the construction industry, a result of revitalized organizing efforts throughout the union. In response, LIUNA established the Industrial Pension Plan, to ensure the retirement security of members working in other fields, such as on military bases, for local governments, and in manufacturing.

In 1967, members achieved their next big breakthrough when the Laborers’ Union negotiated portability between the various regional and local pension funds. This was absolutely essential because the transient nature of construction work often requires Laborers to move from city to city and state to state to get jobs. Portability (or reciprocity) allows members working away from their home region to collect local pension credits even though their work was performed in an area covered by a different multi-employer plan. Therefore, members were empowered to follow the work, confident that it would not undermine their retirement and health security.

The IHCB+CLU has 548 locals and 96,143 members, more than twice the number of locals and nearly four times the membership it had just seven years earlier.

New York excavating Laborers earn 75 cents/hour, up from 30 cents/hour in 1917; Chicago building Laborers earn $1/hour, up from 45 cents/hour in 1917.

At the AFL Convention, IHCB+CLU President d’Alessandro speaks out forcefully in support of an effort by African American trade unionists challenging unions to accept them as equals.

The so-called “American Plan” is introduced by employers as an effort to destroy labor unions. In the construction industry, “American Plan” contractors would not allow closed shops, hire only non-union foreman, and hire crews that are at least 50 percent non-union. Rogue employers also convince materials suppliers to refuse to sell to non-“American Plan” contractors.

The number of people living in the United States exceeds 105 million, and for the first time, more people live in cities than in rural areas.

January 16: Prohibition takes effect under the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

July 10: Arthur Meighen succeeds Robert Borden as Prime Minister of Canada.

August 16: Tennessee ratifies the 19th Amendment and women win the right to vote in the U.S.

November 2: The first radio station starts broadcasting.

Republican Warren G. Harding defeats Democrat James M. Cox in a landslide to win the Presidency.
As Laborers gained new benefits, it not only improved their quality of life—it helped the union achieve greater gains in other areas. The prospect of health, welfare and pension coverage became a vital tool in union organizing drives. For example, when the Laborers were attempting to organize city employees in Houston, Texas, into Local Union 1347, a 1964 hospitalization package proved critical to the victory.

**Canadian Benefits**

Most Labourers’ Local Unions in Canada launched their own benefit plans in the 1960s and 1970s. The members’ need for benefits and the structure of the plans was influenced by Canada’s more advanced system of social insurance. In 1965, Canada introduced its National Health Plan, guaranteeing universal health coverage to all the nation’s citizens. And in 1966, the Canada Pension Plan was established, providing all Canadians with more comprehensive retirement benefits than U.S. Social Security.

Nevertheless, Canadian Labourers wanted health, welfare and retirement benefits that supplemented and surpassed those provided by the government. And so the 1,200 members of Local Union 890 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan won the first Canadian pension plan in 1968 after a two-week strike.

**New Benefit Innovations**

The explosive growth of health and welfare and pension plans did not end the Laborers’ Union’s relentless search for new innovations to improve the quality of members’ lives. From the 1960s up to the present day, Laborers’ Local Unions are pushing the benefits envelope.

For example, in 1964, Local Union 472 opened its own dental clinic in Newark, N.J. In 1970, Local Union 229 in Shreveport, Louisiana began offering legal services to its members. Three years later, the Massachusetts Health and Welfare Fund opened a vision center in Boston for Laborers, which it shared with the Teamsters.

In 1981, New York Laborers Local Unions added drug and alcohol rehabilitation to their welfare programs. And in 1989, Local Unions established a pilot Membership Assistance Program (MAP) in the Baltimore-Washington area, also giving members access to drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs.

MAPs have since expanded to Laborers’ Locals across North America, as these efforts not only improve the health and even save the lives of individual members—they also help avert workplace accidents, prevent employee absences and improve productivity.

In short, LIUNA’s history of winning essential benefits for Laborers continues to grow and evolve. The record of the first 100 years is nothing short of remarkable in terms of the union’s ability to improve the health and financial security of its members—and their entire families. These are truly benefits for life.
Empowering Workers Through Organizing

Our organization shows a rapid and gratifying growth. New unions are being formed almost daily, and those already organized are showing a pleasing growth in membership. Moreover, our local unions throughout the country are enthusiastic, loyal and devoted to the strengthening and upbuilding of the international. We, therefore, feel confident that it will not be long before every person of our craft throughout the country will awaken to the fact that great things may be accomplished by a thorough organization.

—Laborers General Secretary-Treasurer H. A. Stemburgh
The American Federationist, November 1903

Organizing is the lifeblood of any union. To raise workers’ standard of living and quality of life, unions must first empower them through collective bargaining. To win the greatest gains at the bargaining table, unions must maximize the percentage of workers they represent in their craft or industry, because this gives them more leverage in negotiations. To achieve the most power in all elements of society—politics, the economy, the community—unions must represent a large and broad base of workers across North America.

To put it more succinctly, when unions grow through aggressive organizing and gain greater market share, their power to improve their members’ lives increases.

The responsibility of organizing workers who once stood on the bottom rung of the construction industry ladder—and later, organizing workers in other fields also generally on North America’s lower economic tiers—has been immensely challenging. The obstacles Laborers have faced have been huge. Yet LIUNA’s ability to overcome these hurdles only makes its growth that much more remarkable and its achievements that much more impressive.

Organizing on a Shoestring, Gaining Critical Assistance

The early Laborers realized the need to organize. They faced two concurrent challenges: organizing members not yet belonging to a union—and bringing other, independent unions claiming to represent laborers under the single banner of the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

Back in 1903, two non-AFL organizations sought to represent the very same workers for whom the AFL had granted exclusive jurisdiction to the IHC+BLU—the International Laborers’ Union (ILU), based in Dayton, Ohio, and the Building Laborers’ International Protective Union (BLIPU) of Lowell, Mass.

In its first few years, the Laborers’ Union could not afford to hire paid organizers. So the union’s officers took on organizing as one of their many responsibilities, traveling to areas near their home to recruit members and charter new Local Unions.

The union also relied heavily on the AFL. Working on a reduced commission basis, with the Federation paying their

The IHCB+CLU strengthens its internal organization, requiring District Councils to issue monthly reports to the General Executive Board (GEB).

Calvin Coolidge becomes President of the United States after Warren Harding dies.

AFL President Samuel Gompers, whose leadership was instrumental in founding the Laborers’ Union and ensuring its growth by protecting its jurisdiction, passes away. William Green of the United Mine Workers succeeds him.

Calvin Coolidge wins a full term as President in a landslide over Democrat John W. Davis.
expenses, AFL organizers—most notably Jacob Talezaar—were instrumental in the union’s early growth. The commitment came directly from AFL President Samuel Gompers, who told the IHC+BLU’s second convention in 1904:

Wherever we have an organizer for the A. F. of L., either salaried or volunteered, his services have been enlisted to help build up locals of Building Laborers and Hod Carriers, and attach them to your International Union.

The third leg of the Laborers’ early organizing efforts came from the craft unions, such as the Bricklayers, Carpenters and Plasterers. They recognized the IHC+BLU’s legitimacy through the AFL and later, the Structural Building Trades Alliance (SBTA), which was formed in August 1903 with the Laborers’ full participation. Local craft unions affiliated with the AFL and/or SBTA were supposed to refuse to work with any Laborers other than IHC+BLU members. In most cases, they came through with this critical support. They also engaged in sympathy strikes from time to time.

In Pittsburgh, Pa., and Paterson, N.J., among other places, the endorsement of the Bricklayers executive board proved the...
decisive factor in IHC+BLU locals being recognized as the legitimate Laborers’ Union over BLIPU locals.

Finally, local central labor bodies—whose job it was to mediate disputes between unions—often played an essential role in helping to organize and confer legitimacy on IHC+BLU Local Unions.

The union’s initial success in chartering new locals in its founding year of 1903 was followed by several years of difficult struggle. But eventually, the combined efforts of IHC+BLU leadership, AFL organizers, craft unions and central labor bodies paid off. During the 18-month period between the 1906 and 1907 Conventions, a concerted effort focused on rank and file members resulted in 25 BLIPU locals joining the IHC+BLU. In total, 125 Laborers Local Unions were chartered during this productive period.

Laborers’ organizing efforts geared up even further in 1907 when Domenico d’Alessandro of Boston was hired as a general organizer, following his success in organizing Boston Local Union 209 and freeing Italian immigrants from the oppressive padroni system (see page 10). Traveling up and down the East Coast, d’Alessandro was amazingly prolific in organizing new Local Unions and affiliating independent, ILU and BLIPU locals. The secret to his success was his focus on reaching out directly to individual Laborers, rather than trying to broker deals through the officers of independent unions.

This work by d’Alessandro, the AFL’s Talezaar and others enabled Stemburgh to report to the AFL in September 1907:

_During the month we issued charters to Scranton, Pa.; Kewanee, Ill.; Norwich, Conn.; Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Providence, R.I.; Regina, Canada; New Castle, Ind.; Jacksonville, Ill. During the past two months, we chartered several organizations belonging to the International Laborers’ Union and the Building Laborers International Protective Union of America. The A. F. of L. Organizers and city central bodies have assisted us a great deal of late in securing applications for charters from independent organizations…_

**The d’Alessandro Years**

In 1908, d’Alessandro was elected General President of the IHC+BLU. He brought with him his commitment to rank-and-file organizing and sought to infuse the entire International Union with this mission.
His organizing plan began with Chicago and proved incredibly successful for the IHC+BLU. In 1913, the union authorized $2,000—then a considerable sum—to hire organizers and grow beyond what was an impressive 212 locals and 24,397 members. At this point, Laborers Local Unions were joining to establish District Councils. These organizations created a critical mass for organizing throughout a metropolitan area or even an entire region.

By 1919, the IHC+BLU had come full circle. Just 16 years after its founding, in which it had to rely on AFL organizers to gain new members, the union was now helping another union, the Steelworkers, in its organizing drive. No greater testimony could be offered to the Laborers’ maturity and growth.

In the 1920s, the conservative political climate made organizing difficult, but the Laborers continued their steady growth. The construction industry was booming with new office buildings in cities and road-paving projects reaching rural areas. The IHC+BLU took aggressive action both to ensure that existing Laborers’ Local Unions got the work and to organize the new construction jobs. Of note, Joseph V. Moreschi of the Chicago District Council achieved considerable success organizing road pavers in rural and small town Illinois.

Moreschi was elected IHC+BLU General President after d’Alessandro died in 1926, and he continued his predecessor’s emphasis on growth, sending an organizer to Vancouver, B.C., in 1928, to spread the union westward and expand its presence in Canada.

**Government Action Boosts Organizing**

The stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed devastated the construction industry and threw tens of thousands of Laborers out of work, with severe consequences for the IHC+BLU. However, President Franklin D. Roosevelt under-
stood that empowering unions was essential to spearheading an economic recovery and raising the living standards of impoverished workers.

Immediately after enactment of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, which guaranteed private sector workers the right to union representation, the Laborers swung into action. President Moreschi traveled across the country, renewing Local Unions, forming new ones, establishing regional headquarters and hiring 30 organizers. The IHC+BLU, which had less than 26,000 members at the Depression’s depths, entered the 1940s with more than 200,000 members—an eight-fold increase.

**Post-War Boom**

After World War II ended, a new boom in construction, especially on federal road and dam projects, spurred the Laborers to organize in new regions. They also innovated with new organizing approaches. For example, Business Agent Cecil DeArmond of Baton Rouge, La., Local Union 1177 went on the radio in 1949, encouraging area laborers to join the union. Montreal Local Union 62 used materials in French, English and Italian to organize 1,800 new members working for 94 contractors, through a job-by-job effort with all the building trades unions.

**Broadening the Base**

In the 1960s, the rapid growth of the previous decade came to a halt. Construction was stagnating. Union leaders recognized that for the Laborers to grow, they would have to reach out in new areas. As a result, the Laborers’ General Executive Board made a concerted decision in 1964 to expand the union beyond its traditional construction base.

One strategic priority was to organize service contract workers on military bases. In the 1960s, the Defense Department started contracting out janitorial, maintenance, landscaping and other services. While organizing federal employees was problematic at the time, organizing employees of the private contractors hired by the government was not. And it was made easier by enactment of the Service Contract Act in 1965. Essentially a prevailing wage law for service workers employed by federal contractors, the Act was passed after intense lobbying work by the Laborers’ Union.

While the IHC+CLU and its members are reeling from the Depression, good news comes when Congress passes and the President signs the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires contractors on federal construction projects to pay workers the prevailing wages and benefits in their community. The law is especially valuable to Laborers who were vulnerable to being replaced with lower-paid, non-union workers by contractors trying to win federal contracts by lowering their costs. Davis-Bacon will ensure good work and fair pay for Laborers for the next 72 years and counting.
In one early success, the Laborers chartered Local Union 1057 at the Laredo Air Force base in 1964. The mostly Latino workforce went on strike for union representation and a year later, won a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election, and eventually negotiated a contract for better conditions. In 1967, San Francisco Local Union 261 won a representation election at the Tracy (Calif.) Defense Depot. With the Vietnam War escalating military base activity, the Laborers were able to improve conditions for many service contract workers.

The union also made organizing public employees a major focus. The first victory occurred in 1965 when Kanawha County, W. Va., school employees won a contract with Laborers’ representation. That same year, the union began organizing public employees in San Antonio.

Besides federal contract workers and public employees, the Laborers organized health care and clerical employees, building materials producers, cement plants and other construction industry suppliers during this fruitful period. By 1970, the union’s membership rolls were growing again.

Within the construction industry, organizing received a major boost from the union’s innovative move into training, which started in the mid-1960s and expanded greatly by decade’s end. (See page 38 for more on the Laborers’ commitment to training.) With union Laborers’ skills now on an entirely different level from those of unorganized workers, contractors came to realize that the higher wages and benefits they would pay by hiring union would be more than outweighed by superior productivity and quality.

### Paying the Ultimate Price

Organizing has always been a risky business. Employer hostility to union representatives is often fierce. And so courage and fearlessness have always been qualities every Laborers organizer must possess.

Tragically, some organizers have paid the ultimate price to empower Laborers with union representation and collective bargaining rights.

On February 9, 1967, Cecil Babineaux, a business manager with Laborers Local Union 1152 in Louisiana, was trying to organize drilling rig operators employed by the Pernie-Bailey Drilling Company. During a shift change at a company rig, Babineaux stood outside on public property talking to prospective members. A company guard named Joseph Hanks ordered Babineaux to keep his distance, first firing a warning round from his 12 gauge shotgun and then firing a second shot, this one aimed directly at Babineaux. He lay on the ground, fatally wounded.

The guard claimed that Babineaux had reached into his pocket, but of course he was unarmed, without even a pocketknife. His only “crime” was trying to help the rig operators build a better life for their families.

Cecil Babineaux left behind a wife and four young children. And his legacy reminds us that winning fairness and dignity for working men and women often requires nothing less than heroism.
Continuing to Expand and Diversify

In the 1970s, the union, now named the Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA), continued to organize public employees, winning representation in such diverse places as Allegheny County, Pa., Albuquerque, N.M., Montgomery, Ala., Norfolk, Va., and Jacksonville, Fla. Laborers also succeeded in organizing Alabama and Titusville, Fla., hospital workers; resort workers at Weeki Wachee Springs, Fla., and Cedar Point Amusement Park in Ohio; and military service contract workers at Ft. Bliss.

One new area the union swiftly pursued was the growing pre-fab housing industry. In 1970, LIUNA signed a national agreement to represent workers at pre-fab housing manufacturers Pre-Stress and Midwest Prestressed Concrete. This led Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney to praise the union’s “great leadership” for “recognizing the positive opportunities that await the working man in industrialization of housing.”

“Your leadership has placed you in the forefront—in a position of competitive advantage,” Romney told the union at its 1971 Convention. He added that in moving LIUNA into pre-fab housing, General President Peter Fosco “had the foresight to recognize the wave of the future.”

Another area of focus for the Laborers—in keeping with its long-time commitment to diversity and civil rights—was Indian Health Services. In 1978, the union organized Navajo National Health Care Employees Local Union 1376. LIUNA also lent strong support to Cesar Chavez’s efforts to organize California agricultural workers.

Fighting Back in Tough Times

The unionized share of the construction industry was shrinking in the 1970s and the trend accelerated...
in the next decade amid the anti-union atmosphere fostered by President Ronald Reagan. Sometimes, instead of organizing, unions had to fend off decertification drives.

With the growth of double-breasting and open shop contractors, LIUNA implemented new strategies for addressing the threat. By salting jobs and leafleting non-union job sites, Local Union 938 in Florida gained 300 new members in 1979-1980.

The union also met the challenge by continuing to organize in non-traditional areas. For example, in 1980, LIUNA won a first contract for industrial workers at Burlington Mills in Ontario.

**Taking the Offensive Again**

Recognizing the need to switch from defense to offense, LIUNA recommitted itself to organizing at its 1991 convention. Two years later, the very first act by Arthur A. Coia after succeeding the late Angelo Fosco as General President was to establish a LIUNA Organizing Department. Previously, most organizing was spearheaded at the local and regional level, but now the International was going to provide additional leadership, coordination and strategic direction.

In a new initiative to expand and diversify membership—building upon its historic role as home to recent immigrants and people of color—the Laborers launched an aggressive southern organizing drive in 1994, hiring young organizers from the AFL-CIO’s recently-established Organizing Institute. Targeting primarily African American and Latino meat-packing and health care workers in Virginia, North Carolina and Mississippi, the union was successful at Smithfield Packing and Case Farms in North Carolina.

In 1995, LIUNA hired new organizing staff and launched the VOICE program—Volunteer Organizer In Community Empowerment. This bold new effort mobilized rank and file Laborers to join professional staff in organizing, using their daily experiences to show the benefits of unionization.

A year later, the Mason Tenders District Council of New York achieved a landmark victory, organizing more than 2,000 asbestos workers and 1,500 interior demolition workers—many of them Polish and Yugoslav immigrants. This gave LIUNA representation...
of 75 percent of the interior demolition market in the New York metropolitan area.

As this effort showed, LIUNA Regions, District Councils and Local Unions were all engaged more vigorously in organizing. To spur further progress, the Midwest and Eastern Regions both set up Organizing Committees in 1997, each utilizing more than 3,000 member-activist volunteer organizers, bringing in thousands of new members and signing up scores of new contractors.

During this successful period, LIUNA also continued its outreach to government workers, establishing a Public Employee Department following the 1996 General Convention. Soon thereafter, the Laborers organized 5,200 Riverside County, Calif., employees.

Health care was a growing area, with the union organizing California hospital workers and the Canadian Licensed Practical Nurses Association.

In fact, throughout Canada, the Laborers were diversifying membership.

In the period from 1998 to 2000, LIUNA gained 38,347 new members. Approximately half work in construction and the other half are in health care, concrete products and public employment.

**Strategic Focus, Ambitious Goals**

In 2001, the Laborers’ dedication to organizing reached new heights as General President Terence M. O’Sullivan committed $9 million to hire new organizers in the field. This historic investment meant that LIUNA was devoting one-quarter
of the International’s budget to organizing—an amount matched three-fold by additional voluntary contributions from members into Regional Organizing Funds. The International Union also offered to financially assist the organizing efforts of Local Unions, District Councils and Regions in the effort through the establishment of an Organizing Grant Program and an initial $3 million investment.

Just as important as the overall investment was its strategic focus. Under O’Sullivan’s leadership, organizing is now carefully targeted in areas where the union can increase its market share, rather than simply gain raw numbers of workers. In this way, organizing directly benefits current Laborers because it increases the union’s ability to win better pay, benefits and working conditions. This focus is accompanied by high expectations and ambitious objectives, as mandated by the 2001 General Convention. The union set a national goal of increasing its market share by 20 percent in the next five years in every segment of every industry in which it represents workers.

In its first two years, this new organizing initiative is already paying impressive dividends. Laborers are moving toward majority control of the labor markets in such areas as asbestos removal in California, Long Island, New Jersey and Wisconsin; and pipeline work in Western and Southern states.

As LIUNA enters its centennial year, it is clear that the original spirit of organizing, empowerment and growth that infused the union’s founders has been taken even further, with committed leadership and a more active, mobilized membership than at any time in the union’s history. The path to new growth in the Laborers’ Union’s second century has been forged.

**Convincing the Contractor**

In the construction industry, one of the most critical approaches to organizing is to persuade individual contractors that when they hire union Laborers, they get the best-trained, most reliable, safest and most productive workers on the planet.

Indeed, it has often been said that the contractor organizes the construction industry. This does not diminish the critical role the Laborers’ Union can and must play in expanding its market share in construction work. Instead, what it means is that organizers often have the greatest success going directly to contractors and convincing them their profits will increase by going union. This process is smoothed by the fact that many contractors are themselves former Laborers or members of other building trades unions.

Once contractors see first-hand what the Laborers can do for them in training, health and safety, labor-management cooperation, and other areas, they frequently become the best messengers to other contractors. As they explain to their colleagues how the increased wages and benefits they pay to Laborers are more than outweighed by the increased productivity and higher quality they receive from their workforce, a “domino effect” starts. More contractors agree to hire Laborers, more members find good work, and contracts continue to get better.
A man carrying the hod or mixing mortar is just as necessary to the construction of the building as the lordly and puffed up man who lays the brick, or manipulates the hammer and saw...[T]he workers who receive high wages [should] lend their assistance to the poorly paid toilers, which is true unionism and is carrying to the letter the principles of the brotherhood of man.

—Laborers General Secretary-Treasurer H. A. Stemburgh
“Official Journal,” May-June 1906

From the day of its founding through its centennial year, one of the most important responsibilities of the Laborers’ Union has been to defend and broaden the definition of what it means to work at the calling.

“Working at the calling” is Laborers’ jurisdiction—and that defines both what Laborers do and what LIUNA is as a union. The protection and expansion of this jurisdiction is so vital that, for many, jurisdiction is the “lifeblood of the union.”

The story of the Laborers’ first 100 years in this area—expanding the union’s jurisdiction through direct action and mergers—is one of bold strategies, foresight and consistent achievement.

Pushing the Envelope in the Early Years

At the union’s founding in 1903, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) gave the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU) very specific jurisdiction:

Wrecking of buildings, excavations of buildings, digging of trenches, piers and foundations, holes, digging, lagging, sheeting of said foundations, holes, and caisson work, concrete for buildings, whether foundations, floors or any other, whether done by hand or any other process, tending to masons, mixing and handling all materials used by masons (except stone setters), building of centers for fireproofing purposes, tending to carpenters, tending to

As war clouds loom, Laborers vote to hold their first international convention since 1911 and so the IHC+CLU convenes in September in St. Louis to celebrate nearly 40 years of service and make critical decisions about the union’s future. Delegates hear reports on union activities, elect officers, enact a regional plan to better serve members, pass numerous resolutions calling for civil rights, and pledge the union’s support for the upcoming war effort.

The Grand Coulee Dam—the world’s largest, spanning the Columbia River in Washington State—opens and begins generating electric power.

Germany invades Russia, ending their alliance and opening an Eastern front in the war. The Nazis fully implement their plans to commit genocide against Europe’s Jews.

December 7: The Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and the United States enters World War II.

The IHC+CLU achieves an important jurisdictional breakthrough, signing an agreement with the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada specifying that Laborers have the right to install water mains and piping systems under roadways and streets, right up to the edge of buildings.
and mixing of all materials for plastering, whether done by hand or any other process, clearing of debris from buildings, shoring, underpinning and raising of old buildings, drying of plastering, when done by salamander heat, handling of dimension stones.

Vigorously defending this jurisdiction meant Laborers kept and won jobs. In its first few years, the IHC+BLU had to devote much effort to fending off the challenges of two rival unions not affiliated with the AFL (see the organizing article on page 22). Eventually, the IHC+BLU prevailed.

But union leaders were not satisfied. They sought to increase Laborers’ jurisdiction both through AFL action and mergers.

In the March 1907 IHC+BLU *Official Journal*, the union published a farsighted article reflecting visionary thinking that would evidence itself repeatedly throughout the Laborers’ first 100 years. The piece urged Laborers not to resist the rapidly growing use of concrete in construction (which threatened stone cutters, masons and others in the brick and stone crafts) but instead to gain control over it. In words that would be applied by the union to the introduction of virtually every new construction technology in subsequent years, the *Official Journal* piece states:

Don’t say concrete is a failure. Don’t say brick or stone is superior, but organize and combine to control concrete construction good, bad, or indifferent. Let us control the labor end of the proposition.

In other words, the Laborers’ Union was going to embrace change and make it the ally of its members, rather than resist change and become victimized by it.

Expanding in the Teens, ‘20s and ‘30s

The union’s foresight on concrete paid dividends in 1912 when the AFL ruled that the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers (ABCW), which had also claimed jurisdiction over concrete in buildings, belonged in the IHC+BLU. Within a few years, the ABCW was officially dissolved and its members split between the Laborers and the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons. This would be the first of many natural and beneficial mergers.

In 1912, the AFL added “Common Laborers employed in the construction of streets, sewers and tunnels” to the IHC+BLU’s jurisdiction.
Five years later, the renamed International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers’ Union of America (IHCB+CLU) merged with the International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers of the U.S. and Canada, consolidating an important new area of work within the union. Also in 1917, the AFL assigned street cleaners to the Laborers and merged some small locals with the ever-growing Laborers’ Union.

During World War I, shipyards were booming, offering new opportunities for Laborers to find work. The union moved aggressively in this area, making sure that the craft unions, which also were organizing shipyards, did not infringe on Laborers’ rightful work. In May 1919, the IHCB+BLU reached an agreement with the Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Boilermakers and Iron Workers, under the auspices of the AFL, stating that in shipyards, “all laborers come under the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers’ Union of America.”

In 1929, the Laborers’ Union moved to eliminate lingering conflict and confusion created by unions whose jurisdiction overlapped with theirs, merging with the Tunnel and Subway Constructors’ International Union. This unified all work building subways in North America under the IHCB+BLU banner and led the AFL to grant the Laborers jurisdiction over:

Construction of tunnels, subways, reservoirs, dams, sewers, the excavation of cellars, cutting on streets, railroad cuts, with power to charter, regulate and control subordinate unions of drill runners, foreman, blasters, rockmen, timbermen, timbermen’s helpers, concrete form makers’ helpers, foremen, laborers and all men engaged in the excavating industry.

Eight years later, in a similar move, the union merged with the International Union of Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, expanding Laborers’ work in hard road construction as millions of dollars were pouring into this rapidly growing area. The AFL granted the Laborers jurisdiction over:

all block and brick paving, regardless of composition or material and stone flagging, curbing and crosswalk laying...[and] Asphalt Workers.

This would prove vital as road and highway construction boomed further in the decades to come.

In 1941, the IHCB+BLU achieved another jurisdictional breakthrough when it signed an agreement with the United...
Association specifying that Laborers had the right to install water mains and piping systems under roadways and streets, right up to the edge of buildings.

**Working Together to Solve Problems**

In the post-World War II period, the Laborers and other building trades unions devoted much effort to averting and resolving jurisdictional conflicts so that projects could be completed on time and within budget. In 1948, the Laborers joined with other construction unions in establishing the National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes.

Developing a process to address these issues was particularly critical in the 1950s as the Interstate Highway System was being built. Consequently, in 1955 the Laborers joined the Operating Engineers, Teamsters and Carpenters in establishing the National Joint Heavy and Highway Construction Committee, which both sought union work in road-building, and also mediated and resolved jurisdictional disputes.

No union had a greater stake in addressing jurisdictional problems than the Laborers, whose work was often targeted from “above” by the craft unions, and from “below” by apprentices or helpers.

**Mergers and Agreements**

In the largest merger in its history, the renamed Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA) agreed in 1968 to affiliate the then-17,000-member National Association of Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers and Group Leaders. Because the nature of their work was so different from other Laborers, the Mail Handlers maintained their identity as a separate division of LIUNA. Their addition added to LIUNA’s overall membership and clout—and gave the union a strong foothold among federal employees at a time when it was already organizing state and local government workers, as well as the employees of federal contractors.

A few months earlier the historic Journeyman Stone Cutters Association of North America also merged with LIUNA, bringing 3,000 skilled workers into the Laborers and expanding jurisdiction once again.

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Congress passes the Federal Highway Act, creating a comprehensive U.S. Interstate Highway System, the construction of which would provide jobs for hundreds of thousands of Laborers in the decades to come.

President Roosevelt is reelected to a fourth term over Republican Thomas E. Dewey.

April 12: Franklin Delano Roosevelt dies at age 63, Vice President Harry S. Truman takes the oath of office.

May 8: Victory is proclaimed in Europe as Germany surrenders.

August 14: Victory is declared over Japan, after the Allies drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In total, World War II has taken the lives of approximately 55 million people across the globe. American casualties total more than 290,000 and Canadian casualties number just under 40,000.
Throughout this time, the Laborers were working to forge cooperation with other building trades unions. In 1970, LIUNA, the Operating Engineers and the Teamsters signed a working agreement to jointly organize and settle jurisdictional disputes. And in 1984 the Laborers and Bricklayers signed a mutual support agreement to protect each others’ interests.

LIUNA achieved an important jurisdictional victory in 1985 when the U.S. Department of Labor recognized highway flaggers as a Laborers craft, protected by Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provisions. This culminated a 17-year campaign by the union.

Cleaning the Environment

As the 1970s ended with a national scare over the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident, Laborers were on the job to clean up, heralding the union’s bold expansion of its jurisdiction into environmental remediation.

The opportunities for Laborers were many, and the union seized them. One of the first significant opportunities was created by the 1980 passage of the Superfund Act, which provided for the cleanup of the nation’s worst toxic waste dumps. Many Laborers found employment doing this important work.

As the dangers of asbestos became apparent, another new field opened up for Laborers in removing this hazardous material from the many buildings in which it had been placed. In 1985, LIUNA reached an agreement with the Asbestos Workers specifying that wherever asbestos is to be removed without using a mechanical system, Laborers are to do the work. In 1987, LIUNA developed an agreement to be used by asbestos contractors ensuring that Laborers would perform hazardous waste remediation work.

This was a result both of a natural outgrowth of Laborers’ traditional construction work, which often involved using protective gear and handling hazardous materials in areas such as road paving and demolition—and of the union’s breakthroughs in membership training (see the article on training on page 38.)
Two years later, when one of the world’s most notorious environmental disasters occurred, the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound, Alaska, Laborers were on the job again leading the massive cleanup.

Moving Forward

A significant group of workers, the 10,000-member National Federation of Independent Unions, affiliated with the Laborers in 1997, widening further the union’s base of work and bringing together more of organized labor under the LIUNA banner. That same year, the Canadian National Federation of Independent Unions also joined the Laborers, increasing the union’s membership by another 2,300.

In recent years, LIUNA has continued to expand jurisdiction in the environmental and hazardous materials fields. Laborers are helping to locate and remove unexploded ordnance on old bombing and artillery ranges in Hawaii, California and other states.

As states started mandating that local and county governments recycle paper, bottles, cans and plastic, this field also has proven a growth area for the union. While much of the work has been done by private contractors hiring undocumented workers and paying them little more than minimum wage, LIUNA is aggressively organizing and staking a claim to this important work.

Today, anywhere important environmental remediation work is done, Laborers can be found on the job—most notably, at the World Trade Center site recovery and cleanup operation in 2001 and 2002.

As the Laborers’ Union moves into its second century, the foundation has been built for continued expansion of its members’ rightful jurisdiction. In doing so, the union has used four essential tools:

- Aggressive defense of its jurisdiction from raiders, interlopers and pretenders;
- Aggressive organizing in open areas to expand Laborers’ work and the union’s jurisdiction;
- Mergers with other unions working in similar and compatible areas; and
- Staying ahead of the technological and economic opportunity curve—both within and outside the construction industry—to ensure that Laborers get the jobs of the future.

As a result, the Laborers’ Union of 2003 is, by any definition, a leader not only in the building and construction trades, but throughout the labor movement.

June 23: The newly-Republican Congress passes the Taft-Hartley Act, overriding a veto by President Truman. The law amends the National Labor Relations Act to restrict union organizing, allow states to outlaw union shops, prohibit closed shop agreements, forbid unions from making political contributions, and impose other limits on labor activities. Of note, Taft-Hartley prohibits employers from contributing to union health and welfare funds that are not under joint labor-management administration—this leads to the creation of the multiemployer pension, health and welfare funds that are the primary source of Laborers’ benefits today.

The IHCB+CLU holds a brief convention to realign the union’s constitution with the Taft-Hartley Act. The union also resumes publication of its magazine, now titled The Laborer.

Average national hourly rates for Laborers, as computed by the International Union, hit $1.37/hour, up from 79 cents in 1939, 92 cents in 1940, $1.05 in 1945 and $1.25 in 1946.

Jackie Robinson joins the Brooklyn Dodgers, becoming the first African American to play in the major leagues.

The Marshall Plan to rebuild post-war Europe and encourage the growth of democracy is proposed. It will be enacted and funded in 1948.
The hodcarrier or building laborer of the present day is entitled to all the wages he receives. He not only follows an occupation that is very hazardous, but one in which a certain amount of skill must be added to experience, endurance and strength.

—General President Hermon Lilien
“Official Journal,” May-June 1906

Through the first half-century of the Laborers’ Union, members usually learned their trade “on the job” or through guidance by a family member. This was more than sufficient to keep Laborers among the most productive workers anywhere.

But as construction technologies started to change—and as the pace of change accelerated—union leaders began to recognize the importance of doing something more to keep Laborers among the most productive workers anywhere.

This process inevitably led to the Laborers expanding the boundaries of how a labor union can improve the lives of its members, moving beyond the traditional areas of organizing and bargaining into training, education and other new means of service.

**Early Initiatives**

One of first and most perceptive moves in this area took place in Providence, R.I., in 1936, where Laborers trained mason tenders for their closed-shop contractors in the back of an old building and gave them referral cards to certify them.

In 1950, Kansas City Local Union 555 members built their own training center behind the union hall. A series of ladders allowed prospective hod carriers to climb with a load and learn the tricks of the trade.

During the 1950s and ‘60s, the Laborers also moved aggressively into leadership training, giving office-holders additional skills in serving their members. In most cases, this took place through the many university-initiated labor education programs that sprung up after World War II. For example, in 1961, the union started sending Laborers’ leaders to the Harvard Trade Union program.

Many early training efforts were also tied in with safety concerns, such as a 1964 Utah Laborers’ project, in which the union worked with the state highway department to certify highway flaggers.
A Bold Launch

Decades of membership growth slowed and stopped in the 1960s. As the Laborers’ Union looked for ways to reverse this troublesome trend, it found that education and training increased the appeal of the union both to members and to contractors.

For current and prospective members, training greatly added to the value of being a Laborer. Not only did union membership mean higher wages and benefits, it also meant continual improvement in the craft, and expanded job and career opportunities.

For contractors, education and training meant that their workers would be more productive and efficient, producing projects of the highest quality in the world. This quality and productivity more than compensated for the additional wages and benefits they would pay by working union.

The Laborers’ Union’s systematic move into training was given a huge boost by enactment of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962, President John F. Kennedy’s initiative to combat unemployment. MDTA made a pool of federal money available to help raise workers’ skill levels.

This helped lead to a new breakthrough in 1966, when the union established the Northern California Construction Laborers’ Training School in Santa Rosa under the leadership of Terence J. O’Sullivan. Funded in part through MDTA, this was the first place Laborers could go and get intensive training in the new skills needed and new technologies used in construction work.
Shortly thereafter, on September 7, 1966, the Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA), won its first MDTA contract. And the next year, LIUNA established a National Training Program to raise members’ skills across the continent on a comprehensive basis. Jack Wilkinson, who later became an International Vice President, was named executive director for training. Joe Short of Terre Haute, Ind., Local Union 204 became national training director, and six regional coordinators were hired, utilizing an initial investment of $2.1 million from the International Union.

Regions were then encouraged to establish negotiated hourly contributions by employers to support training efforts. By the end of 1969, training funds financed through this mechanism were operational in Alaska, British Columbia, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, northern Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, the New England region, Oregon, Utah and Washington. MDTA grants enhanced these efforts further.

**The Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund**

While the very first Laborers’ training initiatives were union operations, often with MDTA funding, contractors became involved as they saw the benefits of having such highly-skilled workers. Soon, collective bargaining agreements included contractor contributions toward training, and this led to the establishment of 20 joint labor-management state training funds by 1969.

These groundbreaking efforts swiftly coalesced in 1969 into a joint initiative of LIUNA and the Associated General Contractors (AGC)—the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund. This was the first of what would become LIUNA’s vaunted Tri-Funds—and it would be a pillar of the...
union’s service to its members and signatory contractors for the next 34 years.

The Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund was financed by regional, state and local training funds that signed “participation agreements” sending a percentage (initially 5 percent) of their negotiated monthly contributions to the national effort. This evolved over the years and today, all 70 affiliates send Laborers-AGC a flat two cents per manhour. The Fund’s original co-chairs were General Secretary-Treasurer Terence J. O’Sullivan and Dan Mardian, an Arizona contractor. The first training fund to affiliate and participate was Indiana’s.

The Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund helped regional, state and local training funds spearhead innovations on many levels. In 1971, Laborers-AGC held its first national training conference. That same year, Laborers-AGC completed its first training film—the subject was concrete vibration and it included a companion training manual that was distributed to all affiliates for their use. This was a multi-media model that Laborers-AGC would replicate over the next several decades.

In the mid-1970s, Laborers trained Alaskans to work on the oil pipeline being built through the state, funded by a grant from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), MDTA’s successor. In 1976, Laborers trained women in construction at the Indiana training school, also under a CETA grant. Around that time, the New Jersey SET Fund and New Mexico Laborers hit the road in their states with trailer classrooms, taking training directly to the members. Also in the Southwest, the Laborers and Operating Engineers jointly trained hundreds of Navajos in the skills needed for mine construction work.

One of the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund’s most noteworthy innovations was in “training the trainers.” At first, most instructors were foremen, some of the union’s most experienced members, and, occasionally, representatives from equipment manufacturers. But the fund made a concerted effort to recruit all the trainers from the union’s membership and then to educate them about how to best convey the skills they knew, so that all instruction was of uniformly high quality.
The first “Train the Trainer” session took place in 1977 at the Southern California Training School at Saugus.

Growth and Maturity

As the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund reached maturity, its activities were carefully integrated with the strategic priorities of LIUNA and its signatory contractors. For example, as the rapidly growing field of environmental remediation created job opportunities for union members and new business for contractors, the fund started training Laborers in the new skills they would need and the technologies they would be using. (See the article on jurisdiction on page 32 for more information.)

In 1980, the New England Fund worked with a signatory contractor to launch one of the first courses in asbestos abatement, a field that was expanding swiftly as the risks posed by exposure to this toxic material were being discovered. Laborers-AGC partnered in this effort, providing both staff and funding.

Five years later, the Iowa Laborers Training Fund received a $240,000 Department of Labor grant to develop a Hazardous Waste Worker training course and train 200 Laborers. The
Indiana Training Fund was on a parallel track, developing a program to train Laborers to work safely in hazardous waste remediation. This early funding and work led a committee of training directors to help outline and promote the need for training in this new area, and to begin the process of inserting language into federal OSHA regulations on Hazardous Waste Training along with a grant funding mechanism.

Then, in 1988, the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund achieved another breakthrough when it initiated a hazardous waste removal program that included certification at six regional sites. Funded initially by a grant from the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences, the program trained 2,500 workers in its first year alone. The 80-hour course taught Laborers how to recognize and remove toxic substances, how to wear protective clothing and equipment, how to protect themselves from the risks inherent in the work, and how to monitor their own physical condition. It has since expanded, and is now offered at more than 20 fixed sites and three mobile units to address hazardous waste training wherever it is needed.

In 1989, the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund received the first of what would be several grants from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to expand asbestos abatement training throughout LIUNA.

One year later, Laborers-AGC initiated a 32-hour training course in lead abatement, an important area of work given the danger to children from exposure to lead-based paint. Soon thereafter, it conducted training in nuclear remediation, with a focus on the cleanup necessary at former nuclear weapons facilities.

Another important need that the Fund addressed was in providing members with literacy skills. Many members came from impoverished communities ill-served by underfunded schools and simply could not read. Many also did not speak English as their first language. Yet to work effectively in the construction industry of the late-20th century, every member had to be able to read at high levels of comprehension.

Consequently, the LIUNA Education Department, in partnership with Laborers-AGC, won a federal VISTA grant in 1988 to pilot a literacy program for members. One year later, the U.S. Department of Education awarded Laborers-AGC a grant to improve members’ literacy. In 1990 the union released a “Learn at Home” literacy program on video, featuring cookie mogul Wally “Famous” Amos as host—an effort that continues today.

In 1992, the Fund won another federal grant developing literacy skills for limited English speak-
ers (an area of service that is more important than ever in the union’s 100th year, due to changing demographics). Also in 1992, the Fund launched a basic skills initiative for Laborers, the Construction Skills Training Program.

During the same general time period that the Fund was expanding into these and other new areas, it was also putting down roots. In 1985, the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund established a permanent home in Pomfret Center, Conn., at the New England Laborers’ Training School. The extensive facilities allowed the Fund to train instructors from other Training Funds in one central location.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, thousands of members were being empowered with new skills every year and the Laborers were developing a clear competitive edge through their pioneering training programs.

Landmark Victory Sets the Stage for a Vibrant Future

In 1994, more than three decades of training work came to fruition when the U.S. Department of Labor certified Construction Craft Laborer as an apprenticeable occupation. This culminated a lengthy, intense campaign by LIUNA and the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund to win formal recognition of the fact that “working at the calling” as a Laborer is a craft just like any other on the construction site, and requires as much or more skill as any other trade.

At this point, the Fund shifted its efforts into apprenticeship programs, building toward the day when all Laborers will complete an apprenticeship. To ensure a quality program, the Fund had one year earlier established the Instructor Development Program, which provides certification to trainers meeting the highest standards.
This move into professional development was expanded in 1997 with the initial offering of the Director Development Program aimed at improving the administrative skills of training administrators and directors.

In recent years, LIUNA and the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund have continued to innovate, forging new paths to meet the needs of Laborers and serve two nations.

In Rhode Island, for example, LIUNA, under the Leadership of General Secretary-Treasurer & New England Regional Manager Armand Sabitoni, joined with employers and public officials to establish a charter school offering training opportunities for high-schoolers so they become qualified for high-skill, high-paying jobs.

And throughout the U.S. and Canada, the Fund helps support the most sophisticated adult education programs, training workers in complex technologies used in industries from tunnel-building to anthrax removal.

As the Laborers’ Union enters its second century, it is clear that the pace of technological change will only get faster. Thus, it is equally apparent that the role of the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund and all affiliated training funds in creating new job opportunities for union members and supplying the skilled workers needed for the jobs of the future will continue to grow in importance.

With each passing day, the wisdom of those who pioneered this new concept of how unions can improve the lives of their members is being affirmed more strongly than ever.

Training to Fight Terrorism

In the wake of the horrific terrorist attacks on America of September 11, 2001, and the outbreak of bioterrorism the following month, the Laborers Union and the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund swung into action to help a stunned nation recover and rebuild.

Laborers trained in the world’s most advanced hazardous waste recovery skills were instrumental in the cleanup at Ground Zero, the site of the World Trade Center towers.

And when anthrax sent by mail to elected officials contaminated a Senate office building and Washington, D.C.’s central post office, the Laborers once again led the response. The U.S. Department of Labor called upon the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund to prepare an anthrax response curriculum.

This Fund subsequently trained U.S. Marshals, U.S. Capitol Police, Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Police, U.S. Supreme Court law officers, and officers from other agencies in how to handle anthrax and other potential hazardous materials’ threats from terrorists. The law enforcement officers received a 50-hour course in these now-essential skills using materials developed by the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund at the West Virginia Laborers Training Center in Mineral Wells, W. Va.

For its service, LIUNA and the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund were honored on September 10, 2002, by the West Virginia Secretary of State.
Protecting Laborers’ Health and Safety

Working at the calling is immeasurably invigorating and fulfilling. To construct great buildings, dams, stadiums, tunnels, bridges and highways—and to have these structures stand as a monument to one’s skill and hard work—is a source of enormous satisfaction for most Laborers. Yet these rewards can come at a great cost—for construction work has long been among the most dangerous occupations in existence.

Crippling and even fatal injuries have always been constant risks for Laborers. Cave-ins, falls, collapses, equipment failures, and a host of other mishaps have perpetually loomed a split-second away. Even those Laborers who escape injury often witness disaster on the construction site at some point during their working lives.

But sudden death or injury are far from the only perils Laborers face. Because construction work involves heavy lifting and other intense physical activity, exposure to everything from loud noises to toxic substances, and substantial stress, Laborers frequently suffer from a number of long-term health problems. These include hearing loss, muscular and orthopedic difficulties, lung and heart disease, cancer, high blood pressure and stroke. All of these hazards take a severe toll.

May 14: The IHCB+CLU moves into newly-constructed headquarters located at 905 16th Street, N.W., across the street from the AFL-CIO and two blocks from the White House.

Local Union 209 member Clem Miller of San Rafael, Calif., is elected to the U.S. House.

Some of the first nuclear power plants begin operation, including a privately funded plant in Dresden, Ill., and the Yankee Atomic Plant in Rowe, Mass.

There are now almost 2.2 million miles of paved roads in the U.S., a nearly 30 percent increase from 1950.

Nineteen states, mostly in the South, have now enacted so-called “right-to-work” laws, permitted under the Taft-Hartley Act, that outlaw union-shop agreements.

Democratic Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts defeats Republican Vice President Richard Nixon in one of the closest races ever, winning the White House.
The Laborers’ International Union is filled with courageous men and women who have never hesitated to put their lives on the line for their countries. But this great union also is dedicated to the principle that no one should ever have to die for his or her job. One of the greatest achievements of LIUNA’s first 100 years has been to make safe and healthy workplaces both a right and a reality for hundreds of thousands of union members. Today’s health and safety program—the strongest union-affiliated program in North America—is fresh testimony to the Union’s commitment to its members’ well-being.

**Early Efforts**

Back in the 18th and early 19th centuries, construction work was far more dangerous than it is today. Disasters were an everyday fact of life. But LIUNA never accepted this as inevitable, never tolerated death and injury as unavoidable by-products of difficult work. Instead, it has consistently worked to improve safety procedures on worksites and to protect the health of its members.

In the union’s early years, much of this work occurred informally at the jobsite where Local Unions pressured contractors to end shoddy safety practices or intervened after accidents occurred. Because the Laborers’ Union was one of the few consistent voices for improved safety, this often proved an impetus to organizing, growth and expansion.

After World War II, some Local Unions and District Councils took formal steps to establish their own safety programs. Local Union 252 in Tacoma, WA, offered Red Cross safety classes to members in 1952 to improve disaster response time at the jobsite. Laborers in the Pacific Northwest promoted the “Turtle Club”—certificates for workers saved from serious injury by wearing their hard hats.
Throughout the 1950s, the International Union advanced its safety and health agenda mainly through outreach to Local Unions, safety messages displayed on the back cover of The Laborer, and feature articles on silica and other hazards. The union also developed a strong relationship with the National Safety Council.

Taking a Larger Role, Winning OSHA

In the 1960s, with more members at risk of workplace injury and fatality than any other union, the Laborers’ International Union stepped forward, taking more active and aggressive steps to make safety a priority throughout the union and in the construction industry. In 1962, LIUNA was instrumental in founding the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Department’s Safety Committee to protect the health of all construction workers. Even more significantly that year, the union “declared war on cave-ins,” educating members on safe practices and pushing for protective legislation.

Continued Advances

In the 1970s and early 80s, armed with the power of OSHA and seeing the safety improvements resulting from their early efforts, LIUNA continued its efforts to educate Laborers in the areas of health and safety. Much of this work was centered in the LIUNA Education Department, which played an active role in many committees of the National Safety Council, the AFL-CIO and the federal government.
In 1972, the union hosted three regional 40-hour OSHA “Train the Trainer” classes, helping to improve the quality of OSHA’s new safety inspection program. In 1977, LIUNA was centrally involved in administering an OSHA contract with the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, to train both labor and management in construction safety procedures. Also that year, LIUNA member Richard Tupper was appointed the first Labor Department director of the National Safety Council.

**The Laborers Health & Safety Fund of North America**

Despite significant progress—Laborers’ death rates in the 1980s were half of the industry-wide rate—union leaders realized much more needed to be done. The work remained dangerous; one in seven construction workers was injured every year. Moreover, surveys showed the average Laborer’s life span was only 58 years. Sadly, the typical member did not even make it to retirement and a pension. In addition, the many injuries and illnesses afflicting Laborers imposed a huge financial burden on the union’s health and welfare benefit funds, and increased the workers’ compensation premiums of signatory employers.

Clearly, a more comprehensive approach to improving health and safety was needed.

As a result, in 1988 LIUNA became the first labor union in North America to establish a joint labor-management fund to improve the health and safety of its members. Modeled structurally after the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund, the Laborers Health & Safety Fund of North America (LHSFNA) was born—the second part of what would become LIUNA’s Tri-Funds.

LHSFNA was—and remains today—systematic and holistic in its conception and operation. It was given responsibility not only for helping to improve the conditions under which Laborers work, but also for enhancing the health of union members and their families from cradle to grave. The Fund rapidly established itself as the construction industry’s premier health and safety organization. Even today, it has no peers. Not only is it the only union-associated health and safety fund with a substantial staff of full-time professionals—it also has secure, long-range funding rooted in contracts negotiated between signatory employers and LIUNA Local Unions throughout North America. Building on this foundation, the
The Fund implements a comprehensive program of health and safety initiatives directed at the special needs of Laborers.

Taking Health and Safety Protection to New Levels

Soon after its founding, LHSFNA won a research grant from the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) to study the causes of Laborers’ injuries and mortality, to contrast Laborers’ health and safety with that of the general public, and to identify ways to reduce the gap between Laborers and the population at large. This and subsequent research yielded a number of important insights and findings that helped focus and guide LHSFNA’s work in its first 15 years.

The Fund’s program development also was shaped by the steadily emerging but dangerous field of hazardous waste remediation, an employment opportunity that was increasingly seized by LIUNA and Laborers’ Local Unions.

In addition, the United States’ health care crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s—which continues to the present day—led LHSFNA to work closely with local health and welfare funds to seek new ways of containing costs without cutting the quality of care members’ receive.

This spurred a new initiative, LaboreRx, which the Fund established in 1995 to reduce prescription drug costs for members and their health and welfare funds. In the past eight years, it has saved more than $40 million.

A major Fund priority over the past decade has been to serve as a catalyst for expanded regional and local efforts. For example, in 1994, the New England Laborers’ Health and Safety Fund was established through an agreement between the New England Region and the Associated General Contractors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. In 1999, the Midwest Region Laborers’ Health and Safety Fund was launched. Regional Health and Safety Funds also have been established in New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia. And LHSFNA has helped the Canadian Tri-Fund establish a solid presence in Canada.

1964

The General Executive Board adopts a bold new organizing program, with a new structure designed to empower on-the-ground organizers, greater cooperation with other unions, expansion of District Councils to achieve economies of scale in organizing, and a focus on public employees in order to increase union membership and strength.

The Chesapeake Bay Bridge-Tunnel opens, traveling over and under a nearly 18-mile stretch of water at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

The Verrazano Narrows Bridge, connecting Brooklyn with Staten Island, opens as the longest single span suspension bridge at 4,260 feet.

July 2: The most comprehensive civil rights legislation in American history is signed by President Johnson.
In recent years, the Fund achieved other important milestones in fulfilling its mission. In 1997, LHSFNA organized the first-ever Work Zone Safety Conference. A year later, it became the first labor-affiliated program to win a tobacco control grant from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control. It also won the Hammer Award for its successful campaign to reduce work zone injuries in New Jersey. In 1999, the Fund’s pioneering collaboration with OSHA, the National Asphalt Pavement Association, the Asphalt Institute and the International Union of Operating Engineers to reduce hazardous fumes from asphalt pavers earned it the Partnering Award from the National Occupational Research Agenda.

Other areas of focus for LHSFNA in the 1990s and early 2000s, addressing the most serious and debilitating conditions on worksites, have included silica safety, tunnel safety, lead abatement, miner safety, scaffold use and roadway safety.

One of the most important features of the Fund’s work has been its ongoing effort to connect directly with signatory contractors, Local Unions, and Laborers across the United States and Canada. Site visits provide a means to investigate specific health and safety problems, recommend plans for corrective action and devise comprehensive, site-specific programs to help employers meet OSHA standards while reducing workers’ compensation costs. Local health fairs, a successful concept first pioneered by New Jersey Local Union 172 in 1978, provide a way to reach Laborers, their families and retirees with important health information and to conduct personal screenings to foster healthy lifestyles and detect problems early.

The work of LHSFNA also is reflected in the central role of safety in collective bargaining. The first contract won by recently-organized, predominantly Latino workers for the Florida concrete contractor Form Works provides essential new safety training to help stop a wave of injuries that had been occurring.

Clearly, much more work remains to be done. But LHSFNA’s track record of improvement in the health and safety of LIUNA members and their families points the way toward continued progress in future. If the 100-year history of the Laborers’ Union tells us anything, it is that the union will not rest until working at the calling is as safe an occupation as possible.
When people think of labor in action, the most common images that come to mind are of unions walking picket lines, organizing workers and acting as adversaries with management.

Of course, this would be a fair description of the Laborers’ Union at key points during its first 100 years, for this union has never hesitated to go to battle for its members whenever necessary. Yet a more accurate picture would also show the union and its signatory contractors working together to create union jobs, expand union market share in the construction and environmental remediation industries, raise workers’ skills, and increase both contractors’ profits and members’ wages.

The fact is that while Laborers and their employers occasionally have their differences, far more often, they have more in common. When signatory contractors pick up business, Laborers get the work. And when Laborers are well-trained, safe and productive, contractors are more competitive and profitable.

In other words, when Laborers and contractors work together to increase the union market share of the construction industry, everyone benefits.

In many respects, this cooperation comes more naturally to the Laborers than to other unions. Many contractors began work as Laborers’ Union members and fully understand the trade’s challenges and the labor perspective. This makes it easier to negotiate contracts and settle grievances in ways that do

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**100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA • 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA • 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA**

- **The Gateway Arch in St. Louis is completed.**
- **1965**
- **March 21-15: Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., leads an historic march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., calling for full voting rights.**
- **August 10: President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act ensuring full and fair representation for African Americans.**
- **September 9: The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is established.**
- **Canada’s National Health Plan is introduced, guaranteeing universal health coverage to all the nation’s citizens.**
- **LIUNA establishes an Education Department to provide new training techniques to officials and staff of Local Unions and District Councils, empowering them to better represent their members.**
- **Expanding the union’s move into public employee organizing, Kanawha County, West Virginia school employees win a contract with Laborers’ representation.**
- **The union changes its name to the Laborers International Union of North America (LIUNA), fulfilling a long-sought desire of many union leaders and members who found the “common laborer” designation in the old name belittling. After years of lobbying, the AFL-CIO allows the name change to go forward.**
not produce long-lasting animosities. In addition, the competitive nature of the construction industry also forces Laborers and their contractors to work together more closely both to win contracts over non-union operations and to maintain their jurisdiction.

Still, the Laborers’ Union has gone beyond these inherent advantages to take labor-management cooperation to new and unprecedented levels within the labor movement, and thereby created countless new jobs and career opportunities for Laborers across North America. This stands as one of the union’s great innovations and achievements in its first century.

**Cooperation from the Beginning**

While not formalized or institutionalized, Laborers and their employers have engaged in various forms of cooperation from the time of the union’s founding in 1903. Even in the first half of the 20th century, it was common to find contractors and their representatives as guests at Laborers’ conventions and events. In fact, one was as likely to see Laborers and contractors sitting down together, planning how to get work building new skyscrapers and roads, as it was to see them sitting across from one another at the bargaining table.

The union’s unique perspective was evident back in 1946, the greatest strike year in U.S. history. Laborers President Joseph Moreschi provided a compelling counterpoint to the trend of the day by speaking out about the virtues of labor-management cooperation.

In 1959, one of the first formalized cooperative ventures was launched when the Laborers’ St. Louis District Council played a key role in founding the local Construction Industry Joint Conference—an effort to market and expand the unionized share of that city’s construction industry.

Similar efforts gradually took shape in other areas. In 1982, the Pennsylvania District Council of Laborers joined with other heavy and highway unions to form a labor-management commit-
Representatives from both sides, including rank and file members, attended educational programs and worked cooperatively to regain market share. Two years later, the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, following LIUNA’s lead, distributed materials encouraging the formation of local labor-management committees to address competitive issues and help union contractors get back business that was going with increasing frequency to non-union contractors.

From the 1950s through the 1980s, labor-management cooperation expanded exponentially in other venues—first through the creation of Taft-Hartley multiemployer pension, and health and welfare funds (see the article on page 18), and later with the dramatic growth of training (see page 38) and safety and health (see page 46). The creation of the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund in 1969 and the Laborers’ Health and Safety Fund of North America in 1988 further institutionalized the close working relationship between Laborers and their signatory contractors, and created forums through which even greater cooperation would be possible.

### Laborers-Employers Cooperation & Education Trust

By 1988, it was time to make cooperation work even more powerfully to improve Laborers’ lives. The training and safety funds had proven the value of working together for mutual benefit. The union and its contractors were ready for the third and final piece of LIUNA’s Tri-Funds.

Formalizing their already-close working relationship and pioneering new forms of collaboration, the Laborers’ Union and

LIUNA establishes the National Training Program to systematically spread and implement member training on a comprehensive basis. Six regional education directors are hired. Regions are encouraged to establish a check-off fund to support training efforts. In addition, Laborers District Councils and Local Unions are now able to utilize funds under the federal Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) to launch field training programs for members. The first pilot project is conducted in a Kansas City, Mo., quarry.

Expanding the union’s longstanding work in promoting safety, the Laborers hold their first week-long Area Safety School in Washington, D.C.

To enable Laborers to travel where construction work is to be found without putting their benefits at risk, LIUNA negotiates portability between various regional and local pension funds. This allows members working in different jurisdictions to still collect local pension credits.

A 1,097-foot long steel arch bridge opens spanning the St. Lawrence River at Trois Rivieres, Quebec.

Rioting erupts in more than 125 American cities, most notably in Detroit and Newark.
their signatory contractors formed the Laborers-Employers Cooperation & Education Trust (LECET).

LECET’s first major project was to get business in the growing field of hazardous waste removal. The Trust worked to identify union contracting and job opportunities in the area, working with the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund to ensure a supply of skilled workers, and building relationships with government agencies to meet their requirements.

With much of this work being contracted by the federal government and its agencies at sites such as the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington State and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado, one of LECET’s prime responsibilities was to ensure that cleanup projects were classified as construction work and subject to Davis-Bacon prevailing wage laws. This both leveled the playing field for LIUNA signatory contractors and ensured that other unions would not tread on the Laborers’ rightful jurisdiction. LECET’s work in this area proved successful in generating millions of dollars in new business for contractors and thousands of good jobs for Laborers.

Perhaps the greatest value of LECET in the years immediately following its creation was its role in moving Laborers and their contractors off the defensive—where they had been put for more than a decade due to political and economic trends—and back onto offense. Rather than reacting to developments and trying to stave off losses, the unionized sector of the construction industry was now aggressively seeking—and even creating—opportunities to expand work and add jobs.
A Unique Model

LECET has proven itself a key ingredient in the Laborers’ toolbox because it takes a comprehensive approach to expanding union market share in the industries in which members work. A cornerstone of its work has been to help Laborers’ Local Unions and their signatory contractors identify and win projects and jobs by combining old-fashioned legwork with the use of high-tech databases. LECET’s Software for Tracking, Analysis and Research (STAR) provides comprehensive research information on projects, markets and contractors, while the Cooperation Trust Tracking System (CTTS) keeps tabs on tens of thousands of construction projects throughout North America.

More broadly, LECET has worked to promote the union sector of the construction and environmental remediation industries through public outreach, using the news media, industry trade publications, trade shows, job fairs, advertisements and marketing materials. Some of this outreach has been aimed directly at non-union contractors, letting them know that if they become LIUNA signatory contractors they will improve their prospects for getting new business and increase their competitiveness.

LECET has provided many additional services, including lobbying, a Resources Clearinghouse, research, seminars and conferences, and assistance to environmental contractors in negotiating bureaucratic mazes.

Regional LECETs Assist at the Local Level

In the years following its founding, dozens of state and regional cooperation trusts were formed by Laborers and contractors to complement national LECET’s efforts in a local setting, providing job- and worksite-specific services requested by Local Unions.

Their work has included helping to establish local prevailing wages and monitor job sites for Davis-Bacon compliance; working to create a more level playing field between union and non-union contractors; and helping local signatory contractors enter the environmental remediation industry and respond...
to work opportunities as they arise. Regional LECETS also have expanded outreach with state and local governments and the community at large to help ensure the creation and completion of union-built projects.

**Looking to the Future**

One of the most important responsibilities of LECET and the regional funds is to take the long view, looking forward to anticipate changes in the construction and environmental remediation industries, the economy and technologies in order to help the union and its contractors stay ahead of the curve. This research and knowledge is then applied by the other Tri-Funds. For example, the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund uses LECET’s market analyses to plan and develop training programs that keep Laborers up to date and safe on the job. In addition, LECET works closely with leading industry organizations on important issues such as transportation funding, market-related legislation, marketing strategies and workforce development.

To help meet these future needs, LECET works hard to recruit the next generation of Laborers. This outreach includes meeting with high school guidance counselors, developing youth-oriented recruitment materials, and engaging in mentoring and school-to-work programs. LECET also recruits skilled and experienced workers away from non-union contractors.

Today, LECET and its network of 28 regional, state, and local LECET Funds set the standard for labor-management cooperation in North America. And they promise even greater achievements for LIUNA and benefits for Laborers in the union’s second century.
ne of the most notable developments in the Laborers’ Union’s first 100 years has been its growing use of political and legislative action as essential tools to improve members’ standard of living and quality of life. In fact, the record shows that, in many cases, politics and lobbying have made as profound and positive an impact on Laborers’ lives as collective bargaining.

It is an axiom for all unions that any and every gain made at the bargaining table can be taken away by an act of Congress or a state legislature; or the stroke of a president’s or governor’s pen. But the Laborers have even more at stake in the decisions of government. Federal and state regulation has a greater impact on construction than many other industries—and massive public investment is essential to many, if not most, major projects employing Laborers, ranging from highways to dams, from airports to bridges and tunnels, from stadiums to environmental cleanup.

**Prevailing Wage and Other Major Advances**

In the Laborers’ first 60 years, the union forged and maintained a tradition of neutrality in political campaigns. But that did not mean the union stayed out of major legislative and regulatory battles impacting the lives of its members. In fact, as part of the broader labor movement, as a key member of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and acting on its own when necessary, the union helped forge many of the breakthroughs in worker protections most Americans and Canadians take for granted today.

One of the first major achievements—and also one of the most momentous and long-lasting—was the 1931 passage of the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires contractors on federal construction projects to pay workers the prevailing wages and ben...
The Laborers worked long and hard for this vital legislation. By taking wages out of the competition between contractors for federal projects, it ensured that the government’s incomparable purchasing power would not drive down the living standards of Laborers and other construction workers.

Davis-Bacon came at a pivotal moment for the union, as three years of the Great Depression had ravaged many of its Local Unions and its members’ lives. The new law meant that no matter the state of the economy, Laborers would be much less vulnerable to being replaced by lower-paid, non-union workers.

Most important, Davis-Bacon would stand as a pillar of federal construction policy for the next seven decades and counting, surviving even the attacks by the administration of President Ronald Reagan and House Speaker Newt Gingrich in the 1980s and ’90s.

While Davis-Bacon became law under Republican President Herbert Hoover, the election of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt the next year would signal a host of new measures empowering unions to do even more to raise their members’ wages and spark an economic recovery.

The Laborers joined with the administration in supporting:

- The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, a cornerstone of the New Deal, which set minimum standards for working conditions and established what would become the National Labor Relations Board to enforce collective bargaining rights.
- The Tennessee Valley Authority Act, passed the same year, which created huge public works projects employing thousands of previously jobless Laborers.
- The Code of Fair Competition for the Construction Industry, signed by President Roosevelt in 1934, which was designed to eliminate cutthroat competition, raise wages and spur employment.
- The National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which guaranteed private sector workers the right to union representation, encouraged organiz-
Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Setbacks

The progress of the New Deal gave way to World War II and then to a conservative backlash against a wave of strikes held in 1946 and 1947 by workers seeking to improve wages frozen during the war. The Republicans took control of Congress in 1946 and the next year passed the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman’s veto and the vehement opposition of all U.S. trade unions.

The Act hampered labor’s ability to organize by banning the closed shop and secondary boycotting. It also outlawed strikes over jurisdictional issues, allowed states to prohibit union shops, and banned unions from making political contributions. Caught up in atmosphere of fear Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.) was fomenting, the Act even required union officers to sign affidavits stating that they were not members of the Communist Party.

Taft-Hartley did have one major impact on the Laborers’ Union that was not negative. Its language prohibiting employers from contributing to union health and welfare funds that are not under joint labor-management administration led to the
creation of the multiemployer pension, health and welfare funds that are the primary source of Laborers’ benefits today.

In the wake of what was otherwise a major blow, the Laborers’ Union stepped up its political involvement. While staying neutral in elections, in 1948 it began to encourage members to register to vote and go to the polls on election day. Local unions took the lead in this effort.

While the union enjoyed some lobbying successes in the 1950s, especially in generating funding for the Federal Highway Program while keeping prevailing wage protections, the decade ended in another setback with passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959. This imposed additional barriers to organizing and burdened unions with cumbersome new record-keeping and reporting obligations.

**Raising Service Workers’ Standard of Living**

When Jack Curran became head of the Laborers’ new Legislative Department in February 1965, he had to hit the ground running. But his quick work provided immediate proof that the union’s decision to upgrade its lobbying and political action capabilities had direct benefits for members.

“Our local in Laredo, Texas, was out on strike against the air force base,” Curran recalled in the 1991 book “Working at the Calling” by John F. Goodman. “They were getting a bad deal there from a new service contractor who took over by underbidding his predecessor at the expense of the workers. He cut their pay, cut back on vacation pay, sick pay, and demanded increased productivity.

“So they came to Washington for relief,” Curran said, “and as a direct result of our efforts, we were able to interest Congress in passing the Service Contract Act. Dave Jacobs from the Laredo local was our principal witness before the committees.”

The Laborers helped get legislation introduced, persuaded committee chairs to hold hearings and spearheaded the lobbying effort to get the Service Contract Act passed.

“Remember, there was no law covering these workers at the time,” Curran explained. “The only law that governed was the law of the jungle, survival of the fittest. Contractors played the bidding game at the expense of the workers. A lot of the work is Laborers’ work—janitorial services, laundry, cafeteria, gardening, landscaping and so on.”

Thanks to LIUNA’s swift action, this vital new law was enacted setting prevailing wage standards for employees of federal contractors in the service field. The Service Contract Act would not only help protect the wages, jobs and working conditions of current members, such as those in the Laredo local—it would also pave the way for major successes in organizing the employees of other federal contractors across the country.

**NATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA • 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA**

In another sign of LIUNA’s leadership in safety and training, the union hosts three regional 40-hour OSHA “Train the Trainer” classes.

**1973**

- **June 17:** The Watergate scandal starts with the arrests of five men inside Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate office building.
- **President Nixon wins reelection in a landslide over Sen. George McGovern (D-SD).**
- **The Laborers sign a national agreement with the National Constructors Association for large scale projects.**
- **The 1,455-foot tall Sears Tower opens in Chicago, passing the World Trade Center as the world’s tallest building.**
- **March 29:** The U.S. ends its direct involvement in the Vietnam war, as the last troops leave the country. In total, more than 45,000 Americans were killed.

The AFL-CIO organizes the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA) to instill pride and unity among Latino workers and to serve as a vehicle for Latino union members to speak out on issues that affect their lives. LCLAA’s first President is a Laborer, Ray Mendoza, as are more than 10 percent of the founding delegates.
A New Chapter in Laborers’ Political Action

In the 1960s, the Laborers took major new steps at increasing their political involvement and won a series of important victories from the new administration of President John F. Kennedy and from the Congress.

In 1962, as the Laborers were exploring new areas in which to organize workers and increase membership, President Kennedy issued an Executive Order directing federal agencies to bargain collectively with their employees. The union immediately began a concerted effort to organize government workers.

Also that year, Congress passed and the President signed the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), the most significant anti-unemployment initiative in decades. This bill, strongly supported by the Laborers, would prove indispensable to the union’s pioneering work in training members (see the article on page 38.)

Two years later, in the wake of President Kennedy’s assassination, the Laborers played important roles in pushing for passage of President Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Medicare Act, providing federally-funded health insurance for senior citizens.

As the 1964 election approached, the Laborers broke with past practice by endorsing President Johnson over conservative Republican Barry Goldwater. The union had decided that lobbying alone was not sufficient to advocate for members’ interests in government—that it was equally important to get supporters of working families into elected office in the first place.

This signaled additional bold steps immediately thereafter. In 1965, LIUNA established a Legislative Department to increase the union’s political and legislative outreach. This move paid instant dividends when the Laborers, working in coalition with other unions, won a major victory with passage of the Service Contract Act of 1965. (See the sidebar.)
The new Legislative Department also helped make it possible for LIUNA to be directly involved in every authorization and appropriation for federal funding of highways, bridges, tunnels, dams, harbors and rivers, clean air and water, and hazardous waste cleanup from 1965 through today.

**Laborers’ Political League**

But that was only the beginning. Another breakthrough occurred in 1966, when delegates to the International Convention voted to establish the Laborers’ Political League (LPL), the union’s first political action committee. Funded by voluntary donations from members—now mostly generated through checkoffs—LPL increased rank and file Laborers’ ability to influence elections by making contributions to supportive candidates and spearheading greater political participation by members.

Following the International’s lead, many set up their own political action committees, focusing on candidates for governor, state legislature and other state and local offices. Because of the significant impact of state laws and regulations on construction work and organizing, and the critical importance of state and local funding for construction projects and training, this was an essential area for union involvement. LIUNA Regional Offices, District Councils and Local Unions all stepped up their work in this critical area.

In another example of how LIUNA’s move into electoral politics was reflected union-wide, *The Laborer* magazine increasingly emphasized political issues and encouraged members to participate in the elections that shape their lives.

**Victories in the 1970s**

The 1970s started out with one of the greatest victories for working families in the history of the labor movement. After a multi-year, intensive lobbying campaign by the Laborers under the leadership of then-First Vice President W. Vernie Reed, along with the Building and Construction Trades Department and the AFL-CIO, Congress passed and President Nixon signed the Occupational Safety and Health Act. The new law created the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) with the authority to establish and enforce regulations for health and safety in the workplace.
Following this breakthrough, the union set to work improving the Service Contract Act because its prevailing wage protections were not being adequately enforced. The Laborers succeeded in 1972 when Congress passed major improvements that recognized negotiated union wages as a standard in federal contracts.

Two years later, LIUNA played an instrumental role in shaping the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), the law that regulates pension, health insurance and other employee benefits. The union helped ensure that ERISA reduced premiums for multiemployer plans, saving millions of dollars for better benefits to workers, and improved the administration of pensions. In 1980, the Laborers would help amend ERISA to strengthen the solvency of multiemployer pension plans.

Throughout the decade, the union won additional improvements that benefitted Laborers across the U.S. These included amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act covering organizing procedures at non-profit hospitals, permitting collectively bargained group legal services as a fringe benefit to union members, and exempting contractors’ contributions to these plans from federal taxes.

Some of the Laborers’ political battles took place outside Congress and were defensive in nature. Many of these involved fighting off “right-to-work (for less)” ballot initiatives in states such as California and Missouri.

Stopping Reaganomics, Focusing on the Environment

As President Ronald Reagan took office in 1981 and sent the message that it was open season on unions with his mass firing of the striking PATCO air traffic controllers, LIUNA bolstered its political operations both to prevent setbacks and to identify opportunities for progress even in this challenging environment.
Laborers in Public Service

Over the years in which its involvement in political action steadily grew, the Laborers’ Union made another contribution to democracy and to the well-being of working families—many of its own members ran and were elected to public office.

One of the earliest victories occurred in 1948 when Leonard Irving, Business Agent of Local Union 264, won election to Harry Truman’s home congressional seat in Missouri. In 1960, San Rafael, Calif., Local Union 209 member Clem Miller also was elected to the U.S. House. He served one term before dying in a tragic accident.

Local Union 16 in Albuquerque, N.M., had the distinction of electing two members to office in the same year. J.B. McCoy, an International Union Representative, won election to the New Mexico House in 1958, while James Solomon was elected Governor of the Laguna Tribe.

Laborers have served their communities in a variety of important local elected and appointed offices. Fairbanks, Alaska Local Union 942 President Ed Norbeck won a seat on the City Council in 1957. Austin, Texas Local Union 790 Business Agent Charles E. Wright was named to the Texas State Technical Institute in 1971. Ernest Colbert Sr., of New Orleans Local Union 689, was appointed to the Superdome Commission in 1976. His son, Ernest Colbert, Jr., joined the New Orleans City Planning Commission in 1981. Two Laborers Local Union 362 members, Tom Whalen and Mike Matejka, were both elected to the Bloomington, Illinois City Council in 1989. Ammie Murray, Business Agent for Local Union 1293 in Columbia, South Carolina, became the first woman to serve on the Lexington County Board of Education in 1990. And in 2000, Glen Forby, a Southern Illinois Laborer, was elected to the Illinois House.

In addition to Illinois and New Mexico, Laborers have been elected to state legislatures in Alaska, Indiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Rhode Island, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

At the local level, many Laborers have served—and continue to do so—on commissions, boards and committees on both official and volunteer bases, to help set policies and improve their communities. LIUNA continues to nurture rank-and-file candidates for office who understand the issues facing Laborers and all working families, and who are dedicated to using public service to improve people’s lives.

“Throughout [its] 75-year history, the Laborers union has been a source of strength for its members and for the labor movement. It has been a leader in collective bargaining innovations and techniques, all designed to improve the lot of workers.”

General Secretary-Treasurer W. Vernie Reed dies. The General Executive Board elects International Vice President Arthur E. Coia of Providence, R.I., Local Union 271, as the new General Secretary-Treasurer.

George Meany retires as President of the AFL-CIO. He is succeeded as President by Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland.

August: Residents of the Love Canal area near Niagara Falls, N.Y., are evacuated due to health problems resulting from hazardous wastes located under and around their homes.

Congress passes the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978, committing the federal government to reducing unemployment.

Inflation exceeds 13 percent in the U.S. and interest rates skyrocket.

May 22: Conservatives win Canadian parliamentary elections and Joe Clark becomes Prime Minister. However, they will lose a vote of no confidence by the end of the year.
The union became more active in registering voters, turning them out to the polls, and supporting worker-friendly candidates. Working with the building trades, LIUNA succeeded in stopping all threats to the prevailing wage.

Laborers’ leaders also took the offensive in the growing fields of environmental cleanup. At federal hearings, union members testified on the dangers of asbestos and lead, encouraging strong federal regulations to protect workers.

A critical moment took place mid-decade during the reauthorization of the Superfund Act, covering the cleanup of the nation’s worst hazardous waste dumps. As LIUNA leaders and staff reviewed the fine print of the legislation, they found that while it authorized plenty of funding for cleanup and research, it did nothing for the workers who would actually be carrying out the Act’s provisions.

The union drafted an amendment that insisted on the toughest possible training and safety standards for workers doing the cleanup and authorized federal funds to support training. After a two-year fight, the Laborers won and the amendment became law. One year later, the union succeeded again in passing an amendment that extended to its training programs the same liability protections already provided to response-action contractors. LIUNA also helped double the funds for training from $10 million to $20 million per year.

**Gaining New Clout**

In the 1990s, LIUNA worked more aggressively with Local Unions to build a top-to-bottom political operation, with a focus on voter registration, education and get-out-the-vote at
the grassroots level. As these efforts came to fruition, the union gained new clout at all levels of government.

While some of the Laborers’ achievements were small in scale, they were significant in their impact on members. For example, in 1990, the union helped pass an amendment requiring that if asbestos is taken out of any school or other public or commercial building, the work must be performed by trained workers and accredited contractors. The amendment also authorized federal funding for a new program to train asbestos abatement workers. That same year, LIUNA pushed through a $1.7 billion appropriation that included money for a lead abatement worker training program, conducted through the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

The next year, LIUNA strengthened its members’ job security by developing and helping to enact legislation prohibiting the U.S. Department of Labor from using helper regulations to replace Laborers with cheaper, inexperienced workers. The union also played a central role in developing Davis-Bacon reform legislation that eased regulatory burdens on contractors while maintaining tough prevailing wage standards and strong enforcement.

In 1992, the Laborers worked hard for the election of Bill Clinton as the first Democratic President in 12 years. While this victory offered the hope of further gains for working families, it was short-lived, as two years later, the Republicans recaptured control of Congress for the first time in four decades. Speaker Newt Gingrich’s “contract on America” was even more conservative and anti-union than the policies of the Reagan administration. Still, LIUNA fought off challenges in a variety of areas and maintained significant federal support for the union’s pioneering training and health and safety initiatives.

The Reagan era brings with it the most difficult times for unions in a half-century. When President Reagan fires the striking PATCO air traffic controllers, he emboldens many employers to engage in flagrant union-busting tactics and to hire “permanent replacements” when their workers go on strike, undermining longstanding collective bargaining rights. However, despite many threats, the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage law will emerge intact.

In 1998, the Laborers played a central role in another key victory, working with the AFL-CIO to defeat California’s Proposition 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA • 100 YEARS OF THE LABORERS’ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA
The Labourers Union in Canada has a long and vibrant tradition of effective political and legislative advocacy. The union and its members actively support pro-working family candidates and political parties by holding rallies, making contributions and volunteering on campaigns. In one of the most notable signs of the union’s clout, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien holds an honorary LIUNA membership card.

As in the U.S., much of the Labourers’ focus in Canada is on winning legislative and regulatory protections and improvements in the quality of members’ lives. Sometimes, this occurs at the federal level. For example, in the mid-1960s, the Labourers worked with other unions to pass two landmark laws, the National Health Plan, guaranteeing every Canadian comprehensive health insurance, and the Canada Pension Plan, which provides for greater retirement security.

More recently, LIUNA worked extensively with the federal government to win valuable improvements in Employment Insurance that recognize the cyclical nature of construction work. The union has also lobbied to increase infrastructure spending, create a Federal Fair Wage policy for Federally-owned projects, and invest in the workforce.

However, even more of LIUNA’s lobbying efforts are aimed at Canada’s Provinces, because they have jurisdiction over many issues affecting Labourers’ lives, such as labour practices and conditions, health and safety, worker training and apprenticeship, wages and compensation, energy, the environment, and health.

One of the top priorities for Canadian Labourers has long been health and safety. Following a horrific accident at Hogg’s Hollow in 1960, where five young construction workers were killed in a tunnel collapse, LIUNA and Labourers Local Unions worked Province by Province to pass tough health and safety regulations and strong enforcement.

Canadian Labourers have also been in the forefront of the fight for fair wages, working to pass provincial laws bringing overall wage rates in line with union wage rates in order to provide signatory contractors with a level playing field and members with fair pay on government projects.

Over the past three decades, Canadian Labourers’ most significant legislative achievements have involved the establishment and implementation of an apprenticeship program for the Construction Craft Labourer, and mandatory health and safety training for construction workers in various sectors. Among the most notable victories was the creation of provincial recognized training standards in Alberta, Ontario and Prince Edward Island, with other Provinces to follow. This signifies official acknowledgment of the breadth of work that Labourers perform and it provides the union with a vital tool to develop the future workforce.

Other key priorities for Canadian Labourers today include occupational health and safety legislation, pension benefits, health care, training and education, worker mobility, the economy, and the environment.

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**Political/Legislative Action in Canada**

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**April 17:** The Canadian Constitution goes into effect with the signature of Queen Elizabeth II, ending British control over constitutional amendments and adding a Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

**September 4:** Progressive Conservatives win Parliament in a landslide. Brian Mulroney replaces John Turner, who served as Prime Minister for a few months after Pierre Elliott Trudeau resigned.

**1982**

U.S. unemployment nearing 11 percent in the midst of a persistent recession.

**1984**

LIUNA and the Bricklayers sign a joint mutual support agreement to protect each others’ interests.

The first ever Department of Labor grant is provided to the Iowa Laborers Training fund to develop a Hazardous Waste Worker training course and trains 200 Laborers, helping to pioneer a new field in which Laborers can work at the calling.

**1984**

President Reagan wins reelection in a landslide over former Vice President Walter Mondale (D).
226, the “paycheck deception” initiative. By requiring union members to provide annual written approval for the use of dues for any political purposes, this referendum would have forced labor—and only labor—to fight its political battles with one hand tied behind its back.

**A Mean Machine for the 21st Century**

As the Laborers’ centennial neared, the union raised its political operations to unprecedented levels. LIUNA tripled the resources it was investing in electing pro-worker candidates in advance of the 2002 mid-term elections, increasing the number of political coordinators in the field from 12 to 50, targeting 40 swing House contests and 10 Senate races, and mobilizing 5,000 volunteers. In the months leading up to the election, Laborers received three direct mail pieces and three telephone calls from fellow members informing them about the key issues at stake, where the candidates stand and why they should vote.

“This is a golden opportunity for organized labor,” General President Terence M. O’Sullivan told the Associated Press. “We want to make sure this Congress and our statehouses are represented by people that understand working families.”

With a rebirth of rank-and-file activism, LIUNA is empowering its members to take control of their destiny through political action and increasing its ability to make their needs known and voices heard at every level of government.
We hold that all men are created free and equal, and that honor and merit make the man... Together under one grand banner all of those who toil on buildings within our craft and calling...we solemnly bind ourselves (by our most sacred honor into one common Brotherhood of Man).

—Founding Constitution
International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union

For the dispossessed and downtrodden, recent immigrants and the oldest inhabitants of North America, the descendants of slaves and targets of discrimination, the Laborers’ Union has always offered an open door, new opportunity, and a leg up on the economic ladder.

The Laborers’ occasionally challenging but always unyielding embrace of diversity, inclusion and solidarity was indispensable in bringing the American dream within reach of hundreds of thousands of working families for the very first time in their lives.

Inclusiveness from Day One

From the day of its birth, the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers’ Union (IHC+BLU) welcomed all workers. It was the living embodiment of American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers’ admonition to the 1903 founding convention to “unite in one common brotherhood, regardless of nationality, creed or color.”
In 1903, the United States was a divided nation. Segregation laws had returned in the 1890s, denying African Americans access to jobs and the voting booth. Latino workers were limited to low wage work. Native Americans were being herded onto reservations, deprived of their language and culture. Women could not vote and were limited to certain occupations. Asian workers were restricted from U.S. shores. At Ellis Island in New York Harbor, thousands of European immigrants were arriving in the land of freedom only to find prejudice and discrimination. These workers were ethnically divided and quickly exploited, whether in crowded city tenements or isolated mining camps.

Many of these people—members of minority groups and recent immigrants—were only able to find the lowest-paying jobs, which on construction sites in the late 19th and early 20th century belonged to Laborers. They also took these jobs because they were often denied membership in the craft unions. Reflecting society’s divisions, many Laborers’ Local Unions initially organized along ethnic lines, not as a matter of intentional discrimination but as a natural outgrowth of language barriers and the living and working patterns of the time. Often, individual Locals were all-Italian, all-German or all-African American, for example.

However, the IHC+BLU recognized that an effective union must open its doors to every worker. While union leaders sometimes faced difficult choices about chartering competing locals of different ethnic groups, they usually came down solidly against segregation at a time when taking such a position was often unpopular and risky, especially for a new union trying to gain a foothold. (See the sidebar.)
Passing an Early Test

In its first year of existence, IHC+BLU faced a difficult challenge in Omaha, Nebraska. On July 1, 1903, the union chartered Local Union 78, whose membership was predominantly African American, though it allowed whites to join. Local Union 78 had previously been an AFL Federal Union—a special status that allowed independent Local Unions in a craft that had no International Union to affiliate with the AFL.

Shortly thereafter, another AFL Federal Union of laborers in Omaha, #10130, applied for an IHC+BLU charter. However, this Local refused to admit African Americans as members.

An exchange of letters between the leaders of #10130 and IHC+BLU President Hermon Lilien grew increasingly bitter. The segregated white local wrote, “we will never never go down on our knees and ask the consent of #78 for their permission to form an exclusive white Union.” (Emphasis in original.)

But they did more than express their animus. They also waived a carrot, promising to drive rival unions out of the region if they were granted a charter. This made the decision difficult for Lilien, as the fledgling IHC+BLU’s very existence was threatened by competition from other laborers’ unions not affiliated with the AFL.

Lilien knew what side he was on—and he made his decision accordingly, refusing to charter the segregated local. “I believe the men who are eligible to our calling should not be separated,” he told the 1904 IHC+BLU Convention, “in order that no chance would be given for any body of men organized to establish an agreement which would conflict with each other.”

Lilien’s tough choice was principled, but as his statement made clear, it was also practical. It would be problem enough for the IHC+BLU to have two Local Unions in the same city fighting over the same work, but to have this occur in an atmosphere of racial hostility was unacceptable.

While the early Laborers’ Union would allow some cities to have multiple Locals based on national origin—for example, in Rochester, N.Y., Local Union 15 was German, Local Union 16 was Polish, Local Union 65 was Italian and Local Union 84 was English—it drew the line at racial segregation. Years later in 1921, white workers in Cleveland and Kansas City would petition the Laborers’ Union for separate charters from African American workers, and in both cases, the International would only permit one integrated Local Union in each community.
ed his local to join the new Laborers. Of note, it was Littlepage who nominated Domenico d’Alessandro, who had come to the fore by organizing his fellow Italian immigrants in Boston and ending the slave-like Padroni system (see page 10), to be IHC+BLU First Vice President at the 1907 Convention. This might have been coincidental, but it certainly symbolized the fact that the Laborers’ Union was among the most diverse and integrated organizations of the pre-civil rights-era America. D’Alessandro himself strengthened this tradition, speaking out forcefully at the 1920 AFL Convention in support of African American trade unionists who were seeking equality in the labor movement.

In the Southwest, Laborers organized a San Antonio union in 1899 under Lucianto Martinez. He convinced this newly-formed group to affiliate with the IHC+BLU, beginning a long and successful history of organizing Mexican Americans.

The early Laborers made a point of reaching out to their diverse membership by publishing the “Official Journal” in English, German and Italian. Convention resolutions also were offered to publish union materials in Spanish and French.

Supporting Civil Rights

Long before the Civil Rights Movement reached its apex in the 1960s, the Laborers were out in front in support. At the 1941 International Convention, delegates passed numerous resolutions calling for full civil rights for African Americans. They also heard from H.L. Mitchell, President of the Interracial Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

In 1962, when some other Building Trades unions were coming under fire for alleged bias, the Laborers made clear they shunned such practices. Two years later, the union fought for President Lyndon Johnson’s “War on Poverty” and the landmark Civil Rights bills of that era that helped transform American society for the better.
Empowering Latinos, Native Americans and Women

The Laborers made a concerted effort to organize Latino workers in the 1960s, building on the traditions started with the mostly-Hispanic Local Union 93 in San Antonio. When the Laborers began organizing public employees and service contract workers in the South and Southwest, the union had multi-ethnic staff in the field that met with much success. For example, the predominantly Latino workers at Laredo Air Force base joined the newly-chartered Local Union 1057 in 1964. Los Angeles Local Union 300 became an organizing powerhouse among that city’s Mexican Americans and Latin American immigrants, bringing diverse trade workers into the Laborers.

The commitment of the now-renamed Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA) to Latino workers extended beyond the union to the entire labor movement. LIUNA provided both moral and financial support to the United Farm Workers’ Cesar Chavez in his battles to organize California migrant workers. And when the AFL-CIO established the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, its first President was a Laborer, Ray Mendoza. In fact, more than one out of every 10 founding delegates was a Laborer.

During this time, Native Americans also were joining the Laborers in the Southwest, particularly when power and uranium plants were being built. In 1962, Local Union 16 organized more than 100 Navajo workers, who helped build a power plant in Kirkland, N.M. In the next decade, LIUNA started organizing Navajo Health Care workers, employees of Indian Health Services, an effort that spread across the Southwest and to Pine Ridge Hospital in South Dakota. The Laborers also trained Navajos in mine construction.

Women became Laborers in small numbers during World War II, though many left after the war ended. The 1951 convention had three women delegates, Dora Lynn of Metropolis, Ill., Local Union 1455, Ann Denham, Business Agent for Tampa, Fla., Local Union 1207 and Gertrude Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of Shreveport, La., Local Union 229. But as women entered non-traditional fields in the 1970s, their ranks in the Laborers grew swiftly with the encouragement and assistance of the union. For example, LIUNA launched “Women in Construction” programs at various training schools. Today women hold office at Local Unions & District Councils throughout the Local, Regional and National funds and headquarters.

General President Angelo Fosco passes away. The General Executive Board elects General Secretary-Treasurer Arthur A. Coia to succeed him and then elects International Vice President James Norwood of St. Louis Local Union 110 to succeed Coia.

The Northwest LECET Fund is established.

Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton defeats President George H.W. Bush and independent candidate Ross Perot to put the White House under Democratic control for the first time in 12 years.

October 25: The Liberal Party wins Canadian Parliamentary elections in a landslide. Jean Chrétien becomes Prime Minister, succeeding Kim Campbell, who had replaced Brian Mulroney several months previously.
Still in the Forefront of Immigrants’ and Civil Rights

As the Laborers’ Union approaches its centennial, it finds itself in its traditional role as a leader in fighting for human, civil and workers’ rights.

The union’s greatly expanded membership, which has gone well beyond the construction industry to include environmental remediation, health care, manufacturing, service and public employees, has increased LIUNA’s diversity further. Today, one-third of all Laborers are Latinos or immigrants from other countries—and the union advocates for them aggressively.

Much of this work occurs at the state and local level. In New Jersey, for example, immigrant asbestos workers have organized with the Laborers. They receive community-based training in their native languages, and have progressed from poverty wages to middle class pay with safety protections, health insurance and a secure retirement.

At the international level, LIUNA fights for immigration reform that rewards their hard work. In 2000, General President Terence M. O’Sullivan marched with immigrant workers, demanding justice and legal rights.

Clearly, in the years and decades to come, the Laborers’ Union will continue to be a home for all those in the United States and Canada who come from different countries, speak different languages, or look different than others—and more importantly, the union will continue to give them the power to build better lives for themselves and their families.
Laborers do not just work for a paycheck—they work to strengthen their communities and serve their nations.

Just as the union’s mission is to build a better life for its members, Laborers take on the mission of building a better life for their neighbors and all working families. Just as Laborers’ work involves building the great physical structures that define cities and countries, their volunteer efforts involve building the great democratic, social and charitable institutions that define what the United States and Canada are all about.

At every step throughout the union’s 100 year history, Laborers have been pillars of their communities, soldiers in the armed forces, supporters of worthy causes, and leaders of their countries.

On the Front Lines

Every time the United States and Canada have needed to fight for freedom and democracy on the battlefield, Laborers have served their nations with distinction. In World War I, Canadian Labourers served in the armed forces from 1914 through 1918, while American Laborers served after the U.S. declared war in 1917.

They were supported throughout the war by their International Union. The Laborers enacted a policy allowing members in the military to reenter the union within 60 days after their discharge without having to repay initiation fees or lose their seniority. The union also paid death benefits for Laborers killed in the line of duty.

Laborers on the home front did their part by assisting in Liberty Bond drives, engaging in volunteer efforts, and by accepting government control of wages during wartime.

It was the same during World War II. The union supported Canadian Labourers in the military.

LIUNA engages in a comprehensive regional restructuring to ensure that its members’ needs are met in the most effective and efficient manner. As part of this restructuring, the Eastern Region is established, covering New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania. One year later, the Mason Tenders’ District Council in New York would be added.

LIUNA launches the VOICE program—Volunteer Organizer In Community Empowerment—mobilizing rank and file Laborers to join professional staff in organizing, using their daily experiences to show the benefits of unionization.

The Midwest Region Foundation for Fair Contracting is founded to ensure that construction workers on publicly funded projects are paid the wages they are entitled to under the law, to level the playing field among all contractors, to make union contractors more competitive, and to create more jobs for Laborers.

The LIUNA General Executive Board takes action unprecedented in the labor movement to ensure the union’s integrity, enacting a new Ethics and Disciplinary Procedure, including the creation of four independent officers to investigate, prosecute and judge allegations of wrongdoing.

April 19: A terrorist bomb destroys the Oklahoma City federal building, killing 168 people. Timothy McVeigh will be arrested, convicted and executed for mass murder.

A budget impasse between the Republican-controlled Congress and the Clinton administration leads to a series of government shutdowns and plummeting popularity for House Speaker Newt Gingrich.
following that country’s declaration of war in 1939 and U.S. Laborers after America entered the war in 1941. In fact, one year prior, when the U.S. military draft resumed, the Laborers’ Union immediately granted the same recall rights and seniority protections it provided to members in World War I.

Over the course of World War II, more than 100,000 Laborers served in the armed forces of the United States and Canada, playing an instrumental role in the defeat of the Nazis and Japan. Laborers were also central to support of the war effort at home, as they built critical factories, roads and military bases. And once again, they made other sacrifices by accepting a government wage freeze.

Laborers would continue to receive the same unyielding support from their union when called on to fight in subsequent wars, from Korea to Vietnam, from the Persian Gulf to Afghanistan.

In Their Hometowns

Laborers’ members and Local Unions always have gone the extra mile to make their communities better places in which to live and work. Whether helping out in crises and emergencies, coaching youth sports, volunteering for charities or donating labor to enrich the community, Laborers are model citizens.

Coming to the Rescue

Whenever and wherever disasters strike, Laborers have always been there, bringing with them both their incomparable community spirit and unparalleled work skills. Whether large or small in scale, members are ready to help out. For example, in 1950, Effingham, Ill., Local Union 695 built a new home for a fire-ravaged family.

Asa Ray Gillette of

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Kansas City, Mo., Local Union 663 saved an inspection engineer from a bridge fall into the icy Missouri River in 1954. Sam Woodson of Local Union 66 saved a seven-year-old from a well in 1957 and was featured on national television on the Ed Sullivan and the Art Linkletter shows. Two brothers, Joe and Manuel Perez of San Mateo, Calif., Local Union 389, saved Navy crewmen from a downed plane in 1958.

When major earthquakes, floods and other catastrophes happen, Laborers prove themselves especially valuable. After the 1989 earthquake in the San Francisco Bay area, Laborers were among the first volunteers to try to rescue victims when a freeway collapsed.

During the 1993 Mississippi River floods, Laborers along the torrential path helped sandbag their communities. One year later, when a huge earthquake measuring 6.6 on the Richter scale devastated Los Angeles, Laborers took the lead in reconstruction. They rebuilt Interstate 10, the most heavily traveled freeway in America, in record time.

**Supporting Charities**

A longtime beneficiary of Laborers’ support is the American Red Cross. In 1949 Ottawa, Ill., Local Union 911 founded a “Living Blood Bank,” in which members were tested for their blood type and available on call whenever the need would arise. Other locals across the country soon emulated this model, particularly Local Union 66 in Mineola, N.Y. The International Union also was heavily involved. In honor of Joseph Moreschi’s 25th year as Laborers’ President in 1952, the union donated a bloodmobile to the American Red Cross. Christened the “Big Joe,” it was soon cruising the nation’s highways in service.

In the 1960s and ‘70s, the union was heavily involved in raising funds for the “City of Hope.” In the ‘80s and ‘90s, thou-
sands of Laborers went out on busy street corners, bus and subway stops and other locations every Father’s Day to raise funds for Dollars Against Diabetes (DAD’s Day), to help find a cure for this debilitating disease.

**Building a Better Life for Their Children**

Due to their immigrant status, their race or other factors, many Laborers were denied opportunities for upward mobility until they joined the union. But they have always worked hard to open new doors and create new possibilities for their children’s future. One longtime vehicle for doing so has been the creation of scholarship funds for Laborers’ children. Many Local Unions across the United States and Canada have been actively involved in raising money and supporting scholarship funds.

Since the first scholarship fund was established, millions of dollars have been awarded in grants enabling the sons and daughters of Laborers to attend college or post-secondary technical school. Thousands of Laborers’ children have received a higher education thanks to these pioneering efforts.

**Preserving Their Communities’ Unique Character**

Laborers have long utilized their work skills to preserve their communities’ unique character and improve the quality of life. For example, Laborers Local Union 1329 restored the world’s largest steam pump in Iron Mountain, Mich. In 1954, Frank J. Russo of Laborers Local Union 1130 in Modesto, Calif., started that city’s Little League program. Four years later, members of Essex, N.J., Local Union 472 built a new ambulance station for their community. Minneapolis, Minn., Local Union 363 member George Todd built a new city park in 1964, which the community named after him. Trainees from the Kansas City Laborers Training Center helped build the National Farmers Memorial in Bonner Springs, Kans., in 1989. And Laborers Local Union 362 in Bloomington, Ill., won a “Presidential Points of Light” award in 1996 for its numerous community projects, including “Poetry Place,” an outdoor space for a low-income school.
Fighting Hunger, Homelessness and Joblessness

As part of their longstanding commitment to justice, Laborers step up to the plate to assist the poor, the hungry, the homeless and the disabled. A natural focus has been to support affordable housing, a tradition spearheaded, in part, by the Laborers Home Development effort in Illinois, which has built and operated numerous housing projects since the 1970s. Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Local Union 1115 launched the “Cape Breton Labourers Development Company, Ltd.,” in 1985, building homes for members. In Boston that same year, the Laborers and Bricklayers combined to launch the non-profit Bricklayers and Laborers Non-Profit Housing Company, Inc., which rehabilitates and builds new homes. And throughout the 1990s, the Laborers nationally supported Habitat for Humanity, assisting both through contributions and donated labor in building housing for the homeless and low-income families.
In 1995, when the Newt Gingrich-led Republican Congress succeeded in shutting down the federal government, people on the Navajo Indian reservation, where the Laborers represent health services workers, started running out of food. The union persuaded the community services representative in Phoenix to round up 20,000 pounds of canned goods, beans and other foods, and arrange for a utility company to transport these provisions. No one went hungry.

In some cases, Laborers’ efforts have saved jobs. For example, in 1997, Hamilton, Ontario, Local Union 837 and Tradeport International jointly won a bid to operate the city’s airport, protecting thousands of jobs.

**Fighting the War on Terrorism**

On September 11, 2001, the United States faced an unprecedented attack on its home soil when terrorists hijacked four airliners, crashing two into the World Trade Center’s twin towers in New York and one into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C. Tragically, five Laborers lost their lives (see the sidebar), along with more than 3,000 other people in this crime against humanity.

Laborers immediately answered the call, first by volunteering as rescue workers on the crash sites, and then by rebuilding the Pentagon and conducting the recovery and cleanup at the World Trade Center site. Both projects were completed ahead of schedule and under budget, thanks to the hard work of thousands of Laborers.

In the Laborers’ centennial year, the War on Terrorism is ongoing. As always, the union and its members stand at the ready, working to make their communities safer, their countries stronger and their futures brighter.

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**2000**

General President Arthur A. Coia retires.
The General Executive Board elects Vice President Terence M. O’Sullivan, a longtime member of Charleston, West Virginia Local Union 1353, to replace him. O’Sullivan moves swiftly to push for greater market share and outreach to new workers.

The feared “Y2K” bug fails to materialize and the U.S., Canada and the world enter the new millennium without a hitch.

Laborers in the Great Lakes Region collectively work more than 70 million man-hours, a new record. The Midwest Region also reports record work hours and record membership.

The Mid-Atlantic Region—formerly the Headquarters, Charleston and Washington, D.C., regions—adds all of Pennsylvania to its jurisdiction, four years after adding western Pennsylvania, parts of upstate New York, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina.

The former Southeast and South Central Regions are combined, creating the Ohio Valley and Southern States region. It covers Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

December 12: Texas Governor George W. Bush (R) is acknowledged as winner of the most closely contested Presidential election in U.S. history after a 5-4 U.S. Supreme Court ruling stops ballot counting in the disputed Florida Presidential election contest. Vice President Al Gore, who receives more popular votes but narrowly loses the Electoral College, concedes defeat.
American Heroes

It was a bright, sunny, beautiful morning. So when Phil Morelli and Frank Mancini of Laborers Local Union 79 greeted each other in the lobby of the World Trade Center's North Tower, these two friends were in a good mood. They loved their jobs working at two of the world's tallest buildings and Mancini was the proud father of a newborn baby.

Morelli, a Local Union 79 shop steward, and Mancini got their first assignments of the day. Mancini took the express elevator up to one of the top floors of the 110-story tower. Morelli went down to one of the sub-basement levels.

A few short minutes later in floor B4, Morelli was knocked off his feet as the entire building shook violently. He heard elevators falling through the shafts, followed by blasts of intense heat. Pipes were breaking and people were screaming. He did not know that a hijacked jumbo jet had just slammed into the tower—it was September 11, 2001—but he knew everyone needed to get out in a hurry.

Morelli tried to take the stairs up to the lobby of the North Tower, but they were blocked by fallen debris. Fortunately, he knew the World Trade Center complex like a map—he had

May 1: General Secretary-Treasurer Carl Booker retires. The General Executive Board elects International Vice President Armand E. Sabitoni of Providence, R.I., Local Union 271, to succeed him.

LIUNA's longstanding commitment to organizing is strengthened further as the union invests $9 million to hire up to 90 new organizers over the next two years across North America. The International Union also offers financial assistance to Local Unions, District Councils and regions in their organizing efforts.

September 11: In the worst attack on America since the War of 1812, terrorists hijack four airliners, slamming two into the World Trade Center towers, causing their collapse, and one into the Pentagon. The fourth plane crashes in rural Pennsylvania after passengers storm the terrorists. Nearly 3,000 people are killed. Laborers play a critical role in the recovery efforts and the cleanup at the site of the collapsed World Trade Center Towers—skyscrapers which Laborers had helped build more than 30 years earlier—and at the reconstruction of the damaged section of the Pentagon.

The Midwest LECET Fund is established.

The booming economy of the previous eight years ends in recession.

Congress enacts a massive tax cut proposed by President George W. Bush, most of whose benefits flow to the wealthiest Americans.
worked there for many years and was there during the 1993 terrorist bombing. Morelli made his way toward the South Tower, when he felt another violent shudder. So he changed direction again, went into the parking lot underneath the towers and ran the long way up the ramps into daylight. He finally left the complex just as the South Tower was collapsing.

“The things that you saw were really bad,” Morelli recalled. “The same people you see every day, day in, day out, you knew their families, you saw the pictures of their kids on their desks, it was very, very sad.”

Morelli eventually was able to let his family know he was safe. But tragically, Frank Mancini was never seen alive again. He was one of four Laborers who died that day at the World Trade Center, along with Kieran Gorman, Ricknauth Jaggernauth and Amarnauth Lachhman. Unbeknownst to Morelli, dozens of his fellow Laborers were already at the World Trade Center helping to get people out of the building and assisting the authorities in any way possible. They were there not as part of their jobs but as concerned citizen volunteers and committed trade unionists answering the call, as Laborers always do.

Morelli’s old job at the World Trade Center ended that day. But his new job was just starting. For along with more than 3,000 of his fellow Laborers, Morelli worked on the heroic rescue, recovery and cleanup effort at Ground Zero, 12 hours a day, seven days a week for the next eight months.

First, though, he was able to take time out from the rescue and recovery effort to do his duty for his union. He served as a Delegate to the 22nd Convention of the Laborers’ International Union of North America, which started less than a week after the attacks on September 17, 2001.

When Morelli returned to New York, he got right back to work. “This is where I wanted to be,” he said. “Everybody’s like a family down here, everybody looks out for each other and helps each other. It’s all the unions together.”

Local Union 79 President Frank Noviello remembered September 12, 2001, the first day of the rescue effort, when his members went to work amid a massive, burning pile of debris. “You want to talk heroes, everybody who was on that pile was a hero,” he said. “You’re standing on 110 stories of an imploded building not knowing where there is a void or how you were going to go down.

“I was looking at these men,” Noviello said, “and they had no fear. Their mission was to see if they could save somebody and they did a great job.”

At the request of the U.S. Department of Labor, the Laborers-AGC Education and Training Fund prepares an anthrax response curriculum after anthrax is sent by mail to the offices of Sens. Tom Daschle (D-SD) and Patrick Leahy (D-SD). The Fund then trains law enforcement officers, in how to handle anthrax and other potential hazardous materials’ threats from terrorists at the West Virginia Laborers Training Center in Mineral Wells, W. Va.

The organizing funds for the Central and Eastern Canada, Great Lakes and Pacific Southwest Regions are established.

Less than one month after the September 11 terrorist attacks, America is hit with its first bioterrorism attack, as letters containing Anthrax are mailed to members of the media and public officials, causing severe illness and death among several postal workers.
The working conditions were horrific. But the dangers that lurked amid the rubble and from the smoke and toxic materials in the air were nothing compared to the anguish they felt every time they recovered the remains of one of the nearly 3,000 people who lost their lives in the Twin Towers on September 11th.

The members worked all out, never giving in to difficulty or despair. The level of cooperation between all the building trades unions and their contractors was unprecedented. And when all was said and done, the Ground Zero recovery and cleanup was completed three months ahead of schedule and under budget. In total, 3.1 million man-hours were devoted to the effort and 1.6 million tons of debris were removed.

“What I witnessed down here was nothing but incredible,” said Noviello. “When I first looked at this, I thought we were going to be here for years. The members did a fabulous job. They made me proud to be a Laborer.”

On the day the recovery officially ended, May 30, 2002, reporter Mike Sheehan of New York’s Fox News said, “Our hats off to organized labor who really pitched in down here... This would not be happening three months ahead of schedule were it not for their efforts.”

For Morelli, the completion of the recovery was bittersweet. While taking pride in a job well done, he felt deep sadness over the loss of so many friends and regret over the destruction of the buildings that were his home for so many years. “There was a lot of beauty” in the World Trade Center, he said—two great monuments built 30 years ago by hard-working Laborers. “Everything in those buildings worked.” He would like nothing better than to see new skyscrapers just as impressive rebuilt on the site, and to work on the reconstruction. “I’d go work right on the top floor,” he explained, “with no fear at all.”