

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Policy Development
Series/Staff Member: Lael Brainard
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 20585
FolderID:

Folder Title:
Apparel Industry Partnership

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	100	2	4	3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1999

NOTE TO: GENE SPERLING
FROM: SARAH ROSEN WARTELL
RE: BACKGROUND FOR AIP/FLA MEETING

Attached please find:

1. Miller Letter to President
2. Miller Letter to Students
3. DoL Proposed Outline for Response
4. Posner Proposed Response (*Confidential*)
5. Letter from NGOs to Students (*Confidential* – Invites them to take an NGO seat on board)
6. Response from Princeton's Durkee to Brown University Principles
7. General Thoughts From Princeton's Durkee
8. Legal Times article on the effectiveness of student sweatshop efforts
9. Mother Jones article about the "sweatshops" where DoD uniforms are made

For purposes of the meeting, I recommend we discuss:

- **Long Term Strategy** – Have the students effectively stalled the momentum gained by initial university involvement? If so, what do we do next? How can we get companies to participate? If we're really stalled, should we keep pressing?
- **Let A Thousand Flowers Bloom?** Is this the right time or the wrong time to show support for other efforts – like the Council on Economic Priorities standard? What can we do to rally support for our \$5 million budget initiative to fund FLA and other models? How does the "Global Sullivan Principles" effect this?
- **DoL Commitment** – With Kitty Higgins and Suzanne Seiden gone, we need to know where the ownership and support for this effort will come from? Who will be leading and staffing this from DoL's perspective? Maureen Morrill has been doing yeoman's work coordinating with the effort to enlist universities, but she cannot do it alone. (DoL has a plan.)
- **How to respond to Miller?** See proposed DoL draft – which responds to Miller's specific criticisms. Posner's proposed response could include the same, but the key is a strong statement saying we think FLA is good and urging him to reconsider his criticism. How do we want to proceed. And who signs the letter? What is the significance if the response is not from the President? Do we want to try to get other members of Congress to be supportive of FLA?

Cc: Maria Echaveste
Karen Tramontano
Lael Brainard

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

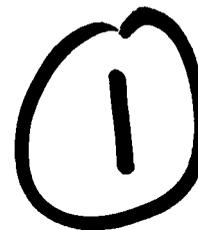
1

Divider Title: _____

GEORGE MILLER
DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA
U.S. HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0507
(202) 225-2065
www.house.gov/georgemiller
DANIEL WEISS
CHIEF OF STAFF
COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES
SENIOR DEMOCRAT
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
AND THE WORKFORCE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0507

March 24, 1999



DISTRICT OFFICE:
1350 WILLOW PARK RD.
SUITE 200
CONCORD, CA 94520
(925) 882-1000
DAVID TUCKER
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

2229 HAWTHORNE DR.
SUITE 201
RICHMOND, CA 94804
(916) 232-6600

1410 GRANDIS ST.
VALLEJO, CA 94590
(707) 445-1057

TTY (202) 225-1804

Hon. William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to urge you to help students ensure that apparel and other items bearing the logo of their colleges and universities are not made under sweatshop conditions. I am concerned that the Administration may be undermining student efforts to create effective codes of conduct for university licensing agreements.

I understand that the Administration is encouraging universities across the country to join the Fair Labor Association (FLA), the monitoring arm of the Apparel Industry Partnership (AIP). I also understand that Labor Secretary Alexis Herman has characterized students as supporting and being responsible for some universities agreeing to participate in the FLA. Secretary Herman's March 15 press release states that "as a result of intelligent college activism, seventeen major universities have signed onto the Fair Labor Association."

However, my understanding is that students have urged universities not to affiliate with the FLA until issues of full public disclosure, living wages, and transparent, credible monitoring are addressed. They believe that until these issues are addressed, the FLA will be an ineffective tool against sweatshop conditions. The United Students Against Sweatshops stated in a March 16 release that schools agreeing to participate in the FLA "went behind the backs of students who have forced universities to stand up for full public disclosure, living wage and women's issues."

Students have organized, worked with school administrators, educated consumers, and peacefully protested to persuade colleges and universities to adopt what students believe will be effective codes of conduct. It would be wrong if your Administration were urging universities to subvert student efforts to ensure that products bearing the logos of their colleges and universities are not made in sweatshops.

I appreciate the Administration's efforts against sweatshops, including your efforts to bring all parties to the table under the Apparel Industry Partnership. But I respectfully remind you that it is the students who are the consumers of university-licensed products and their views should play a role in determining university policy in this area. It is because of students that colleges and universities have adopted anti-sweatshop codes of conduct.

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

Hon. William J. Clinton
March 24, 1999
Page 2

I believe that colleges and universities should work with students to address their concerns before signing onto the FLA. The Administration should refrain from taking any steps that could undercut student efforts to reform university-licencing agreements.

Thank you for your attention to my concerns and the concerns of students across the country.

Sincerely,



GEORGE MILLER
Member of Congress, 7th District

cc: Hon. Alexis Herman, Secretary of Labor

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

2

Divider Title: _____

uzanne Seiden

From: Bruce Siegal [bsiegal@clc.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 24, 1999 12:28 PM
To: 'posnerm@lchr.org'; 'sbs@fenix2.dol-esa.gov'
Subject: FW: Students Fighting Sweatshops

(2)

Help !!

-----Original Message-----

From: David Stewart [SMTP:dls1@cornell.edu]
Sent: Wednesday, February 24, 1999 11:28 AM
To: BSIEGAL@clc.com; WRB@CLC.com; mlcv@U.Arizona.EDU;
jim.wilkerson@duke.edu; fharris@admin.fsu.edu; fairman@ksu.edu;
jrm2@is2.nyu.edu; mcquireb@gunet.georgetown.edu; yevinm@uc.edu;
w-hood1@uiuc.edu; jrw@uiuc.edu; jst@aux-services.unc.edu;
nagy@mail.tascom.wisc.edu; HJD1@BS.PSU.EDU; asundberg@maier.fsu.edu;
jrosenb456@aol.com; leith_molln@angway.ath.umich.edu;
dchellew@email.vill.edu
Subject: FW: Students Fighting Sweatshops
Importance: High

BRUCE, BILL, and Task Force Members: Congressman George Miller of California, who was on the attack late last spring, is at it again and is asking members of the House of Representatives to sign the following letter. DAVID

>> Support Students Fighting Sweatshops
>>
>> Deadline Wednesday, February, 24
>>
>> February 22, 1999
>>
>> Dear Colleague,
>>
>> Please join me in sending the letter below to students who have
>> successfully organized at campuses across the country to pressure their
>> schools to adopt strong codes of conduct - not sham codes - to prevent
>> school merchandise from being made in sweatshops. Your immediate
>> attention to this letter is appreciated. Please contact my staff -
David
>> Madland at 5-2095 - before the close of business on Wednesday if you
would
>> like to sign the letter.
>>
>> Sincerely,
>> /s GEORGE MILLER
>> Member of Congress, 7th District

Miller
Letter
to
Students

>>
>> Thursday, February 25, 1999
>>
>> Dear Students:
>>
>> We are writing to express our strong support for your efforts to ensure
>> that apparel and other products bearing the names of your colleges and
>> universities are not made under sweatshop conditions. We applaud your
>> successes toward establishing effective codes of conduct and strongly
>> support your protests against weak licensing agreements that would
>> undermine the campaign to stop sweatshops.
>>
>> Your recent protests have drawn important attention to the fact that
some
>> codes of conduct, like the one being developed by the Collegiate
Licensing

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

3

Divider Title: _____

Wednesday, May 05, 1999

Draft response bullets – Miller letter of 4/22/99 to University Presidents

3

Previous letters:

- (a) Miller wrote POTUS supporting students on 3/24/99; Secretary Alexis Herman was copied; there were no other signatures on letter;
- (b) Miller wrote a letter to students dated 2/25/99; asked other members for signature, but I only have an email copy and don't know who else signed. Trying to secure a copy.

Background:

Co-signers of the letter:

Donald Payne
Rosa DeLauro
Maurice Hinchey
Lynn Woolsey
Carlos Romero-Barcelo
Tuanita Millender-McDonald
Lane Evans
Marcy Kaptur
George Brown
Sherrod Brown

1. The letter went to a number of presidents of colleges/universities that have affiliated with the FLA. We have not been able to confirm exactly who received the letter.
2. At a rally at UC, Berkeley on April 23 (day after letter is dated), Congressman Miller spoke, apparently strongly, against the FLA.
3. The contact for this issue in Miller's office is David Madland at 202/225-2095.
4. Miller's office was called and sent information on the FLA right after we (DOL) heard about the 3/24/99 POTUS letter. Included in that set of information was a letter signed by four NGOs responding to concerns raised by students at a 3/16/99 meeting held at the Department of Labor.

Response (in a bullet point format):

- We wanted to respond to the criticisms contained in your letter to college presidents

of FLA-affiliated schools and your criticism of the Fair Labor Association.

- On March 26, the four FLA NGOs sent a letter to student leaders, campus newspapers, and college administrators that responded in detail to student concerns and asked for them to join in the fight to protect workers rights. We would be happy to provide you with a copy of the letter.
- The non-profit Fair Labor Association is the product of two-plus years of work by the Apparel Industry Partnership – a working group of industry and human rights groups.
- The first milestone was the adoption of a code of conduct and monitoring principles. (UNITE supported the code but subsequently left the partnership over the implementation and charter.)
- Your letter touches on four major points: disclosure, living wages, reports of violations and complaints from outside groups, and credible monitoring.
- Each of these issues is addressed in the FLA's charter. Here is a brief summary:
 - Disclosure: FLA-affiliated companies are required to fully disclose all their manufacturing facility locations to the FLA's executive director. However, any university can ask their manufacturers of their goods to fully disclose the locations of factories. The FLA is a floor, not a ceiling, and allows for universities to hold their licensees to standards beyond those in the FLA code.
 - Living wage: The FLA is committed to keeping the living wage issue on the table. Several universities and the Department of Labor are completing studies on wages around the world. The DOL study will include minimum wage data and poverty measures in approximately 30 apparel and shoe-exporting countries. The members of the FLA acknowledge the complexities of the living wage issue. However, it would be impractical to mandate a living wage or to apply American living wage standards to developing countries.
 - Monitoring: The FLA charter outlines principles for internal and external monitoring. All external monitoring must be done by FLA-accredited monitors in accordance with the principles enumerated in the charter. The principles call for unannounced as well as announced inspections.
 - Third party complaints: The FLA charter provides for the executive director to investigate all third party complaints. The executive director is required to report back to the complainant on the outcome of the complaint.
- While it is true that student activism over the past year has elevated the issue, it is important to acknowledge that this Administration has been a catalyst for new

initiatives to fight sweatshops both here and abroad better protecting garment workers.

- For over five years, the Department of Labor has pursued its innovative *No Sweat* program to leverage its enforcement resources, to encourage partnerships with industry, to educate those in the industry, and to publish the names of garment shops found with violations. By taking an aggressive stance here -- where the U.S. government has jurisdiction over the domestic garment industry, we have helped to raise awareness of the issue overseas as well.
- Last October, the AIP, universities, and the Department of Labor hosted a two-day *No Sweat* University in Washington, D.C. Of the approximate 200 people who attended the forum, there were forty-seven students. Students participated on each of the three panels. (Congressman Miller also spoke at that event.)
- To our knowledge, the FLA is the only partnership that includes respected human rights groups and companies working together to improve working conditions in an industry.
- By engaging universities, the FLA will be able to focus more public attention on the effort to eradicate sweatshops here and abroad. While the \$2.5 billion college licensing industry is a relatively small piece of the apparel market, its highly visible involvement will encourage more manufacturers and retailers to join our effort.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

4

Divider Title: _____



Justine Nolan <NolanJ@LCHR.ORG>
05/05/99 06:46:44 PM

4

Record Type: Record

To: Sarah Ross - Warten/OF/FOP
cc: Mike Posner <posnerm@LCHR.ORG>
Subject: Draft response to Miller's letter

Sarah

Below is some suggested text to consider in drafting a response from the President to Miller's letter of March 24.

I am writing in response to your letter of March 24, 1999 regarding affiliation by universities and colleges across the country with the Fair Labor Association. First, I appreciate your longstanding interest in these issues and your commitment to protecting the rights of workers worldwide. I value your leadership in this area, and therefore am deeply disappointed that you have taken such a negative view of the Association. The Fair Labor Association is an innovative model that creates an industry-wide code of conduct and monitoring system, and encourages the participation of all sectors of industry. I believe that the Fair Labor Association provides a credible and effective means of working to eliminate sweatshop labor and provide the public with the information it needs to make informed purchasing decisions.

We welcome the participation of universities and colleges in the Fair Labor Association. I believe their involvement will strengthen the Association's efforts and help the universities and colleges address these issues with respect to the companies producing the products bearing the university name. I encourage you to reconsider your position.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

5

Divider Title: _____

Justine Nolan

From: Justine Nolan
Sent: Friday, April 30, 1999 2:51 PM
To: 'taa3@duke.edu'
Cc: pharis.harvey@erols.com; silk@rfkmemorial.org; nclinda@aol.com;
 'justinenolan@yahoo.com'; Mike Posner; 'JRosenb456@aol.com'
Subject: Invitation to USAS

5

April 30, 1999

To United Students Against Sweatshops:

The undersigned organizations write this letter as a formal response to a number of questions raised in informal discussions with students about possible USAS representation on the board of the directors of the Fair Labor Association.

- 1) The nongovernmental organizations participating in the Fair Labor Association--including the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Center, the National Consumers League and the International Labor Rights Fund--are eager to formally involve United Students Against Sweatshops in the FLA process. In that regard, we propose that a representative of USAS join the Board in one of the six board seats delegated to the Labor/NGO group under FLA Charter Section II B. We would welcome your formal participation in the Board process.
- 2) Board member terms are set at three years, with the exception that in the first three years of FLA operation, terms must be staggered, with two members from each side expiring the first year, two the second year, and two the third year.
- 3) The FLA board members' official responsibilities are set out in full in FLA Charter Section II.D.(1-20). The charter is available at www.lchr.org.
- 4) The Board will meet in Washington, D.C. and will meet at least twice a year and probably quarterly. The meeting location has not yet been established. The FLA currently has no provisions to remunerate board members for their work or to reimburse them for their expenses.
- 5) Regarding board member duties and communications, it is the NGOs' view that board members and the organizations they represent must exercise a good faith commitment to making the FLA work in the interest of improving working conditions. That doesn't mean that they shouldn't criticize the FLA or its individual participants, and it doesn't mean that they shouldn't work to change it. On the contrary, written into the FLA Charter, along with the amendment process, are a number of provisions that subject the FLA standards or monitoring provisions to ongoing review (for example, the living wage analyses, and the three-year evaluation of monitoring levels). All of the NGOs are advocates for high standards on these and other issues, and can be expected to say so publicly. At this time, a good faith commitment to making the process work may best be defined by example. A good description of a good faith commitment might be found in the comments of a recently-retired union president and former AFL-CIO vice president who has written to one of the FLA-NGO participants a letter of support, excerpted here:

"The [FLA Charter] agreement is less than a perfect document--but...it is a step in the right direction toward helping the most exploited workers in the world. Will it or should it take the place of all other efforts (especially union organizing)? Of course not. It is, and should be, just one more tool in the tool chest of architects truggling to build a foundation of help against exploitation."

Aside from the good faith commitment to making the FLA work, the only other limitation on FLA board membership concerns confidential information received as part of the FLA process. Each board member will have a legal duty of confidentiality to the FLA and its members, meaning that no confidential information may be communicated outside the FLA board. This is the practice in all boards of directors. Such a duty

would not affect the use of information gained outside the FLA process.

It might also be noted that all non-profit organizations must have by-laws establishing the means of voting in and voting out board members. By-laws have not yet been adopted by the FLA, but it would typically be the case that at least two-thirds of the members of a given board category would be required to remove a board member. A majority vote of the NGOs would be needed to to select future board members.

We hope this letter responds to your concerns. Please do not hesitate to contact any or all of us with questions. We look forward to your decision.

Very truly yours,

Pharis Harvey
Executive Director
International Labor Rights Fund

Michael Posner
Executive Director
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights

Jim Silk
Director
Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights

Linda Golodner
President
National Consumers League

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

6

Divider Title: _____



Maureen Morrill <mmorrill@fenix2.dol-esa.gov>
04/26/99 05:12:25 PM

6

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: FLA update April 26, #2 email of 2

For the second time today -- I am forwarding to all of you an exchange of emails between Bruce Barnard of Colby and Bob Durkee of Princeton.

Bruce is questioning the Brown University "principles." Bob does an excellent job of addressing each of the "principles." Since these "principles" have been widely distributed and if you haven't already, you may hear about them. I think it's very helpful for each of you to have Bob's responses in case you need to craft your own "response" to any of the issues that have been raised by Brown.

I think this is a document you should print and keep handy.

Bob's response comes first, then Bruce's questions.

maureen

Bob Durkee's response to Bruce Barnard's questions:
Bruce,

Rebuttal
to
Brown Principles

The Brown "principles" are a really mixed bag. Let me run through them quickly.

1. I would say impossible to accommodate. I don't think you can expect an organization that has painstakingly negotiated a code and a monitoring system and vested authority in a carefully constructed board is then going to delegate "full decision-making power" to change the code and the monitoring system to an advisory council. (This is not to say that we shouldn't be prepared to press for various changes, but I would think we would do that through the board, and one test for all of us is whether the organization is responsive to proposals for change.) It is important to remember that there is nothing to prevent individual universities from requiring its licensees to adhere to standards that go beyond what the FLA requires (as we will do by requiring full public disclosure).

2. Universities already can insist that their licensees consult with them before selecting their external monitors, and could require that their licensees get their approval or meet their stipulations. I'm not sure the FLA would want to require that universities select the external monitors for all of their licensees, and I'm not sure all universities

would want the responsibility for deciding which monitor ought to be used by each of its licensees. I'm also not sure what happens if different schools that license with the same company select different monitors. There's probably a way to work on this issue, but perhaps not exactly the way Brown has proposed.

3. Through the university liaison member of the staff, universities will be able to influence the choice of factories that are monitored by their licensees and they could add further stipulations to their licensing contracts. The advisory council presumably could adopt risk factors for university licensees that would get added to the risk factors already in the charter. This seems to be one of the most achievable principles.

4. The FLA charter provides that the FLA will produce a public report drawn from the monitoring reports but will not make public the actual monitoring reports themselves. Universities can require these reports from their licensees, but I don't know whether the FLA would agree to make all of the reports public. Similarly, the third party complaint procedure was so thoroughly discussed in creating the charter that I'm not sure the FLA board would be ready to make changes, at least until it has some experience that suggests it is not working properly.

5. The FLA tried to get away from an adversarial model that assumes the companies are trying to avoid compliance and the monitors are trying to catch them at it. One of the reasons to require the monitors to "conduct periodic confidential interviews with employees in their local languages" and to "utilize human rights, labor, religious, or other leading local institutions ... in the conduct of employee interviews and in the reporting of noncompliance" was to get a picture of factory conditions over time, not just on a single day. A core feature of the FLA is an understanding that companies are partners in the process, not adversaries that have to be "surprised." The charter already requires a mix of announced and unannounced visits, and the advisory council ought to look at that mix. But adopting Brown's principle 5 may go further toward an adversarial nature than would be desirable.

6. I believe investigation of all credible complaints is already required, and this will be a major responsibility of the university staff liaison person.

I don't know if this quick sketch is helpful or not, or whether Maureen might want to share our exchange with the larger group. But these are some initial thoughts.

Bob

Text of email from Bruce Barnard, Colby College, Waterville, Maine
Hi Guys,

My question is this -- can these principals be "added" to the FLA bylaws, or are these in direct conflict with provisions already negotiated ? Without these, Brown has said they will pull out of the

FLA -- thoughts ?

The six principals listed by Brown University are:

- An advisory board made up of representatives from the various universities can change factory conduct rules and monitoring procedures.
- Universities can choose some of the monitors who will inspect garment factories.
- Universities can decide when and which factories are inspected.
- All complaints and inspection reports will be made public.
- Garment makers will not get advance warning of inspections
- Monitors must investigate all credible complaints about factory violations

Bruce

Message Sent To: _____

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

7

Divider Title: _____



Maureen Morrill <mmorrill@fenix2.dol-esa.gov>
04/26/99 04:59:04 PM



Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: FLA update April 26 Email #1 of 2

Hi everyone. I am forwarding you an email that Bob Durkee (Princeton) put together to update affiliated colleges and universities on all that is happening with the FLA. The information that he supplies will be helpful as you have discussions about details of the FLA.

I want to repeat something Bob says below: please be sure you have a copy of the FLA charter -- it can be found at the website for the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights:
www.lchr.org/sweatshop

Finally, a date that seems to work for the June meeting is June 22. Location will be in or around Washington, DC. No date is going to be perfect for 57 schools (and hopefully more by then) so I must ask for flexibility. Can folks please let me know if there is a MAJOR conflict with that day? Otherwise, please pencil it in. Thanks. maureen

P.S.. Thanks to Bob for all his work putting this information together.

-----Original Message-----

From: Robert Durkee [SMTP:durkee@Princeton.EDU]
Sent: Friday, April 23, 1999 3:32 PM
To: Maureen Morrill
Subject: Some Thoughts About Where We Are

Maureen,

I know you are out of commission today because of the NATO summit, but I thought I might collect a few thoughts about where things seem to stand with respect to college and university participation in the FLA. I believe you are planning to circulate my response to Bruce Barnard's question about the recent developments at Brown, and perhaps you would circulate these notes as well.

Status of Advisory Council

My understanding is that Mike Posner is convening a small planning committee to begin preparing for the June meeting of the college/university advisory council. This planning committee will propose an agenda for the meeting, a possible structure and set of operating procedures for the advisory council, and possible candidates

for the offices that need to be filled. Any thoughts that anyone has about any of these topics -- and especially about possible candidates for advisory council chair and college/university member of the FLA board -- would be greatly appreciated. I believe you have been zeroing in on June 22 as a possible date for the first advisory council meeting.

Status of FLA

My understanding is that the firm conducting the search for the FLA's first chair and its first executive director is likely to be ready to release the job descriptions either later today or early next week. I assume you will circulate them to all of us for our suggestions. In my conversations with the search firm, they have been very interested in learning about former college and university presidents who might be candidates for FLA chair. (I guess the assumption is that someone who can work effectively with faculty, students, alumni, journalists, and political figures as a college or university president may have the right skills and experiences to take on this set of responsibilities.)

Meanwhile, as you indicated earlier this week, there is drafting currently under way to revise the FLA charter to include college and university affiliation and to prepare articles of incorporation and bylaws. Several of us are watching this process carefully to make sure that the agreements we reached earlier this year are fully and properly recorded in these documents. Once the drafting is completed, the FLA will proceed with incorporation. The hope is that both the process of incorporation and the search for a chair will be completed in time to hold the first meeting of the FLA board this summer. Since that meeting will follow the meeting of the advisory council, there is every expectation that the college/university representative will be present at the first FLA board meeting.

It is hoped that the executive director will also be hired over the summer so that at least some of the staff can be in place by early fall.

Meanwhile several committees are working on certain aspects of the FLA charter that need further definition, such as developing more detailed criteria for the accreditation of independent monitors and formats for monitoring reports to the FLA and the FLA's public reporting.

Pilot Monitoring Project

Some of us have been working on what I believe is a very exciting pilot project to help prepare local NGOs in several countries to participate actively and effectively in the FLA monitoring process. The pilot would be conducted under the auspices of the International Labor Rights Fund and would be funded by as many of the affiliated colleges and universities as are interested. The pilot would provide an opportunity for colleges and universities to demonstrate their commitment to meaningful NGO participation in FLA monitoring, and would enable the FLA (through the ILRF) to take an important step toward a key feature of the FLA (NGO involvement in monitoring) even before the FLA is up and running. I hope to be ready to circulate the proposal and solicit

funding partners early in the coming week.

Recent Developments

In addition to conversations with folks at Brown, I have had conversations with colleagues at a number of other schools over recent days in response to "critiques" or challenges from students. I thought I might conclude this note with a few reflections on those conversations.

First, I hope anyone who does not have a copy of the current version of the FLA charter will get one from Maureen or the Lawyers Committee website (www.lchr.org/sweatshop). We probably should have followed a policy of immediately sending one to every school that affiliates. While some of the discussion with students has focused on areas where we and they might agree that changes (sometimes significant changes) should be sought, much of the discussion has focused on areas where the provisions of the charter have not been accurately or fully presented. I wouldn't try to convince anyone that the crafters of the FLA got everything right or didn't leave ample room for improvement; but a number of the assertions made repeatedly are simply not correct.

Some of the points that I find myself making again and again are:

- * No company can get certified until after 30% of its facilities have been inspected by independent external monitors.

- * This is not a random 30%. It is the 30% that rank highest in the risk factors written into the FLA charter -- the facilities most likely not to be in compliance.

- * Once certified, a company must undergo external monitoring every year. A company with a good record might have 5% of its factories inspected. Companies with less good records could have up to 15% inspected each year. The choice is up to FLA staff, which in the case of university licensees includes the staff member who works on university matters.

- * Again, these are not randomly selected facilities. They are the ones that rank highest on the set of risk factors, or that FLA staff puts on the list for other reasons.

- * Companies do not have final authority to choose the factories that are inspected. If they appropriately apply the risk factors, there is a presumption in favor of their list. But the final authority rests with the FLA staff. There is no reason why universities can't develop additional risk factors to guide FLA staff in ranking factories. Staff would also take into account any other information available from universities, the third party complaint procedure, etc.

- * Companies must choose their external monitors from the list of FLA accredited monitors and the monitors must follow the FLA requirements and principles. The monitoring principles are attached to the charter. Students at one point claimed that external monitors only had to

"establish relationships" with local NGOs. "Establish relationships" is the heading for a section that requires the monitors to "consult regularly" with local NGOs. The next section requires "periodic confidential interviews" with employees "in their local language" and requires the monitors to "utilize" local NGOs "to facilitate communication with company employees and employees of contractors and suppliers, both in the conduct of employee interviews and in the reporting of noncompliance."

- * The monitoring principles call for unannounced as well as announced inspections.

- * Granting, renewing, or suspending the accreditation of external monitors are all done by simple majority vote, which gives universities significant influence over whether an unsatisfactory monitor is removed.

- * Whether a company is certified or not is always determined by a simple majority vote. What requires a supermajority vote is a decision to remove a company from the process of even seeking certification.

- * The public report on each company is approved by a simple majority vote. The charter lists 10 items the public report must contain, including the countries and regions where external monitoring has taken place.

There are others, but let me close with one of my favorites. Students at one school drew up a list of "flaws" in the FLA. One "flaw" was that the companies pay for the monitoring. The next "flaw" was that the companies don't fully pay for the monitoring. (The charter provides for a partial subsidy during the initial qualification period, for the inspection of the first 30% of a company's factories, but only during the FLA's first five years.)

I would be happy to hear from others. And thanks, Maureen, for all your good work in keeping us informed.

Bob Durkee
Princeton

Message Sent To: _____

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

8

Divider Title: _____

LOBBY TALK

A Lesson in Grass-Roots Lobbying

BY SAM LOEWENBERG

At a time when corporate-generated grass-roots lobbying is all the rage on Capitol Hill, an independent grass-roots campaign that has spread to more than 100 college campuses is grabbing official Washington's attention.

In 1997, a handful of student activists—some of whose leaders were tutored by union organizers—set out to keep their schools from contracting with apparel companies whose goods are manufactured in sweatshop conditions. Now the movement's ranks have swelled to thousands of students across the country, and its mission has expanded to include reforming a White House-backed coalition set up to monitor working conditions here and abroad, and improving work conditions for garment workers.

In doing so, the students have become a considerable irritant to some of the nation's largest apparel companies, while attracting the notice—and respect—of current and former high-ranking members of the administration.

Over the past few months, the students' nationwide organization, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), has staged a series of sits-ins, rallies, and marches to protest what they say is collusion by their schools with garment manufacturers who use sweatshop labor. In a development reminiscent of the 1960s, students have



Brown University students held a demonstration march on Feb. 17 to protest against their school doing business with companies that allegedly use sweatshop labor.

"This is real, and we have to start it, and people will see [how it works]," says Roberta Karp, vice president and general counsel of Liz Claiborne Inc. and co-chair of the group. "Anybody who wants to pick it apart can, but those who step back [and look at the big picture] are pretty excited."

As for the student protests, she says,

Monte, Calif., garment factory and continuing with revelations of ill-treatment of the workers who make talk-show host Kathie Lee Gifford's line of clothing just a few blocks from her television studio.

The idea was to bring industry, labor and human rights organizations together to create a voluntary alliance to monitor the

PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

LEGAL TIMES

202 457 0718

P. 02/04



**Liz Claiborne VP-
General Counsel Roberta Karp
(above) says the Fair Labor
Association provides a good
starting point for curbing
sweatshop conditions in the
apparel industry.**

Against Sweatshops (USAS), has staged a series of sit-ins, rallies, and marches to protest what they say is collusion by their schools with garment manufacturers who use sweatshop labor. In a development reminiscent of the 1960s, students have occupied administrative offices on a half-dozen campuses, including Georgetown University; the University of North Carolina; and late last month, the University of Arizona, where as of last week students had spent more than 200 hours at a sit-in outside the school president's office.

"The only way to crack down on sweatshops here and abroad is to keep the pressure on the retailers," says former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, who spent a good part of his term from 1993 to 1997 trying to focus public attention on substandard wages and working conditions in the garment industry. "Right now, I would say that student pressure is just about the only thing that is getting the public's attention" on the issue of sweatshops.

Specifically, the students are working to keep colleges and universities from joining the Fair Labor Association, a nascent organization of apparel manufacturers and retailers and human rights groups that was formed at the impetus of the White House to stop workplace abuses.

FLA members signed a charter last fall under which the companies agreed to permit plant inspections and abide by codes of conduct on the treatment of workers.

The students argue that the group, which does not have the support of organized labor, is dominated by the industry and allows member companies to misrepresent themselves as practitioners of equitable labor policies. Unless specific changes are made to the agreement, they say, the universities should not join the group.

But supporters of the FLA, while acknowledging the organization is not perfect, say its formation was an important step in bringing together companies and labor and human rights groups for the first time on the issue of sweatshops.

Roberta Karp, vice president and general counsel of Liz Claiborne Inc. and co-chair of the group. "Anybody who wants to pick it apart can, but those who step back [and look at the big picture] are pretty excited."

As for the student protests, she says, "You are always going to have a contingent of people who want more and who are not satisfied." Many of the student critiques of the organization are imprecise and fail to consider the context in which the FLA rules are applied, Karp adds.

Currently, the FLA's seven member companies include some of the country's largest clothing retailers, such as Nike Inc., Liz Claiborne, and L.L. Bean. The goal is to induce all U.S. apparel companies to join, but many in the industry find the FLA rules too strict. The American Apparel Manufacturers Association, for example, is establishing its own monitoring protocol.

Privately, administration officials concede they are pleased the students have focused attention on the sweatshop problem and shifted the debate to focus on tougher standards than those negotiated by FLA members.

The students' grass-roots lobbying strategy is sophisticated enough to make D.C. spinmeisters proud. This is not surprising, since about half of the 10 students who founded the USAS received activist training from the AFL-CIO.

While the USAS was initially formed to pressure schools to make sure that clothing bearing school logos is not made in sweatshops, today the group is focusing on the issue of exploitation in the garment industry as a whole, and how manufacturers and the Clinton administration are dealing with it.

Although their goals are global, the students know their effectiveness lies in concentrating their efforts on home turf.

"We sought change by pressuring targets that we have influence over," explains Nora Rosenberg, a Brown University sophomore who is a board member of the USAS. "Our universities have some accountability to us, while companies do not."

The White House first began the FLA initiative in 1996 in the wake of a series of exposés, beginning with the discovery of virtual slave labor conditions in an El

workers who make their shirts from Lee Gifford's line of clothing just a few blocks from her television studio.

The idea was to bring industry, labor, and human rights organizations together to create a voluntary alliance to monitor the wages and working conditions under which clothing is manufactured. The administration wanted the companies to voluntarily regulate themselves because garment manufacturing is particularly difficult to monitor, since it is mostly done through a multi-layered process of subcontracting and much of the work is done abroad.

FLA officials say they expect the bulk of their initial funding to come from the State Department, which is likely to contribute between \$1 million and \$2 million a year.

But the coalition splintered last fall with the departure of the garment workers union, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union; and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a group of religious organizations with a combined investment portfolio of \$50 billion.

The three organizations say they dropped out of the program because it does not provide for independent monitoring and does not guarantee a "living wage," and because it is too easy for member companies to block substantive changes to its code of conduct.

Now the FLA, which also includes four nongovernmental organizations such as the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights and the National Consumers League, has been trying to replace the lost members—and bolster its credibility—by recruiting universities. So far, it has convinced 57 schools to sign up.

Labor Secretary Alexis Herman assisted the FLA cause with a March 15 public statement calling for more universities to join, saying that the schools that already joined had done so as a result of student activism.

The statement was roundly criticized by the USAS and its supporters, who say the FLA and the administration misrepresented the students' position and went behind their backs by putting out its call to schools at a



Inside the Firms and Associations

LOBBY TALK FROM PAGE 4

ne when many colleges were on spring break and students could not respond. For the administration to promote the FLA the name of the students undermines their efforts to combat sweatshops, says Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), a senior member of the House Education and the Workforce Committee, who wrote a letter protesting the move to President Bill Clinton.

A Labor Department spokesman, who requested anonymity, says Herman was erring not just to the anti-FLA students in their appeal, but to all students "who care about this issue and are working on it and do want to see real change."

Clinton adviser Gene Sperling, who helped form the FLA, acknowledges that the agreement is far from perfect. But, he adds, it provides many more protections than the students realize.

"While their activism is admirable and the desire to show their schools to go even further can certainly in cases be positive, I think with better understanding they would understand that the partnership is a positive effort to be built on," says Sperling, head of the National Economic Council.

But the students say they do understand the FLA's provisions.

In a point-by-point critique of the FLA plan, the students assert it has several flaws. One thing, they complain that FLA companies often receive advance notice of

inspections because the companies themselves recommend which factories should be inspected. While the companies note that they can be overridden by the executive director of the FLA, the director must inform them if he does so—thus providing advance notice of which sites will be monitored.

And the students say outside inspections are hindered by the fact that companies do not reveal locations of their manufacturing sites to the public, only to the FLA. Further, monitors are selected and paid by the companies, while the students insist that monitors should be independent third parties. The FLA says monitors are chosen from an FLA-approved list and that the sites are not made public for competitive reasons.

Students also point to the fact that companies do not have to guarantee workers a "living wage" that provides for basic needs of food and shelter. The FLA has agreed to study that issue.

So far, three major universities—New York University, the University of Michigan, and the University of North Carolina—have declined to join the FLA because of student activism. Brown has joined, but only on the condition that the FLA reform its process by October.

The student activists have even had an impact on some of the schools that agreed to sign on to the FLA, such as Princeton University. Robert Durkee, the school's vice president for public affairs, says the students on his own campus pushed the administration to require the companies making goods

with Princeton logos to disclose their factory locations. A rally of 250 students on the small Ivy League school's lawn was the largest such gathering there in a decade, says Durkee.

And last month, sneaker giant Nike initiated a meeting with some of the student leaders. Nike has been particularly sensitive to criticism, due to widespread criticism in recent years of its labor practices in Indonesia. At the meeting, Nike chief lobbyist Brad Figel, the former chief trade counsel for the Senate Committee on Finance, told the students that his company would provide universities that join the FLA with a list of its factories where school products are made.

Tico Almeida, a senior at Duke University and one of the founders of the USAS, says the activists want to leverage this disclosure about university apparel manufacturing sites to force companies to disclose all of their factory locations.

Former Labor Secretary Reich, while impressed with the students' activism, says that keeping the fight against sweatshops in the public eye and maintaining pressure on garment-makers will be a long and difficult struggle. "If students get bored or frustrated or lose interest, then the most recalcitrant parts of the industry win."

—Sam Loewenberg's e-mail address is loewenberg@legaltimes.com.

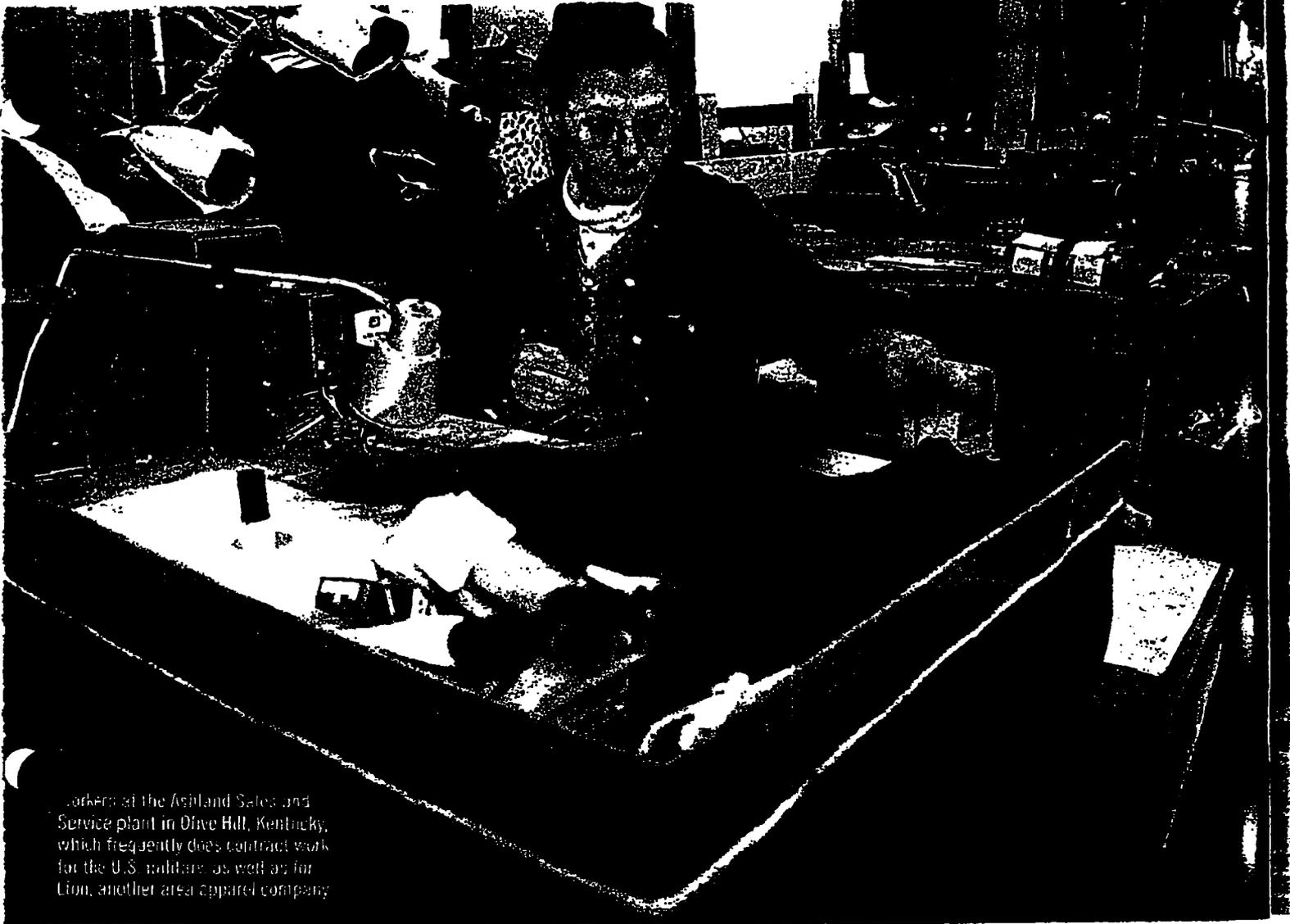


Former Labor Secretary Robert Reich (above) says the students' activism is about the only thing drawing the public's attention to garment industry sweatshops.

LOBBY LOG

Highlights from newly filed lobbying registrations appear on Page 53.

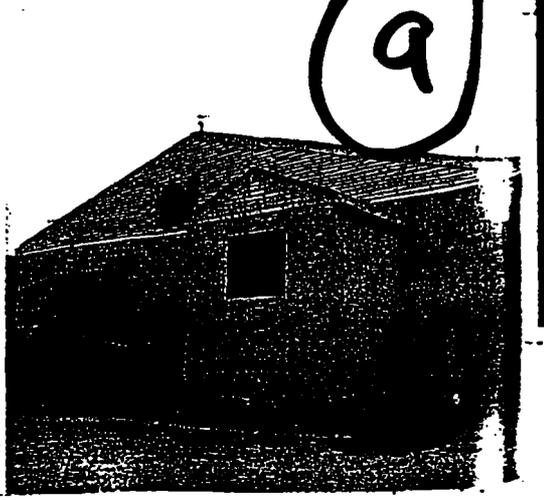
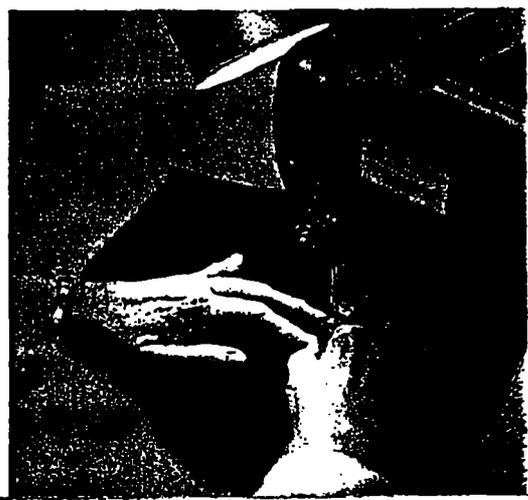
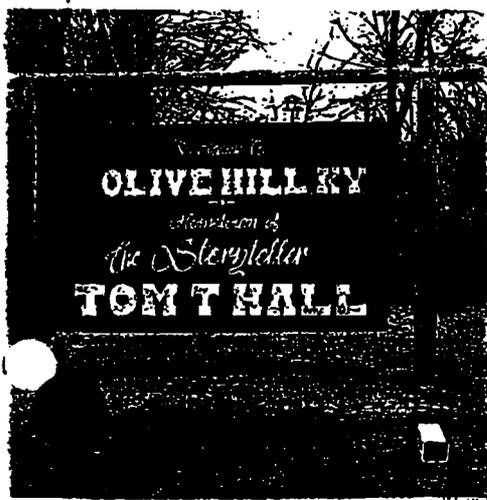
11
a

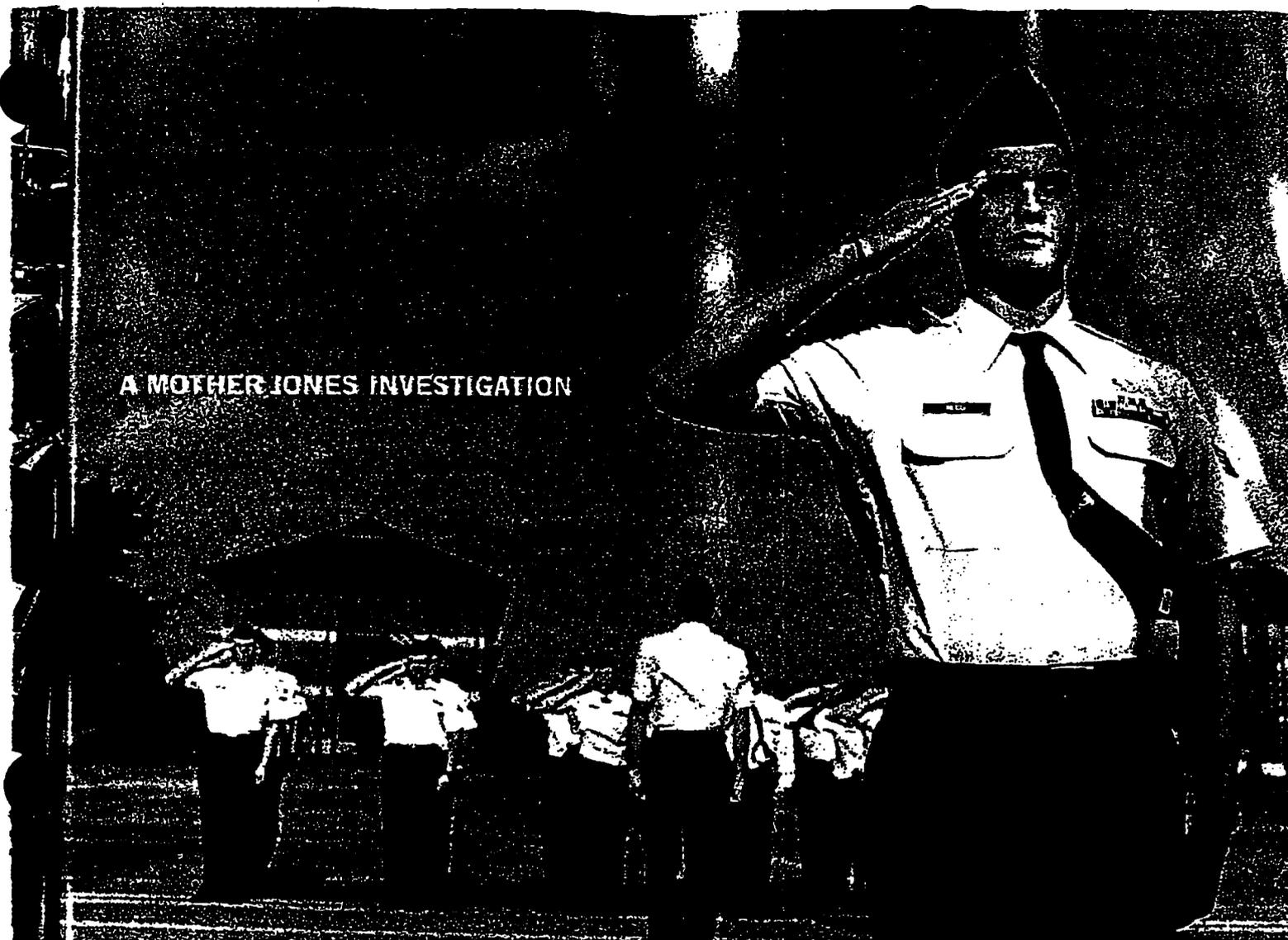


Workers at the Asiland Sales and Service plant in Olive Hill, Kentucky, which frequently does contract work for the U.S. military, as well as for Lion, another area apparel company

an american

a





A MOTHER JONES INVESTIGATION

sweatshop

by Mark Boal

The women at the Lion Apparel factory in Beattyville, Kentucky, are part of a largely female workforce of 15,000 nationwide that sews U.S. military uniforms. The Defense Department keeps costs as low as possible, and these workers ultimately pay the price.

Photographs by Jim Callaway/Black Star

PHOTO BY MARTIN FARR/MAGNUM (SALUTE)

THE TWO-LANE ROAD INTO BEATTYVILLE, KENTUCKY, winds through breathtaking Appalachian foothills, past rusty machinery and heaps of broken coal left over from the last strip-mining boom. Little handmade signs offer acreage for sale. But there is no demand for land like this—too rocky for commercial farming and too remote for development. Beattyville (population 1,800) is less a town than a three-light strip bordered by aluminum shacks and a pine forest.



These days, the chief economic activity in town can be found in the parking lot of the local garage, where teenagers offer a visitor deals on moonshine by the gallon and homegrown marijuana at \$2,500 a pound, about half what it would cost in an urban area. Legitimate work opportunities, after all, remain limited. There's a private prison and a data processing center, but both require a high school education, and since half the population never graduates, most seek jobs elsewhere. Inevitably, many of the women turn to Lion Apparel, which operates a sewing factory on the edge of town.

Lion, meanwhile, takes full advantage of its labor pool. Carol Shelton, 48, friendly but blunt, says that every day for the nine years she worked at Lion she would come home exhausted, her hands swollen from pushing stiff fabric past a moving needle. She had to work fast to meet quotas kept by a timekeeper, and if she slowed down or had to redo a seam, her hourly income dropped to the base rate, which usually hovered around minimum wage. Besides the low pay, the job gave her back pain from hunching over old sewing machines held together with spare parts and electrical tape. Fumes from formaldehyde, a suspected carcinogen used to keep fabric stiff, would cling to her clothes, make her short of breath, give her headaches, and cause rashes on her arms. During the sweltering summers, the plant had no air con-

ditioning. One winter, Shelton says, the water in the toilets froze.

In May 1998, Shelton was fired after refusing to perform a job she feared would hurt her back, and she says a workers' compensation claim is pending. Meanwhile, five former and two current employees corroborate her description of work conditions at Lion. According to their accounts, the factory fits the definition of a sweatshop as specified by the laws of more than a dozen U.S. cities and counties that ban using public funds to buy from such places. Those criteria include wages so low that workers can't meet basic needs, dangerous working conditions, and intimidation when workers try to unionize. Lion, in a written response to questions from *Mother Jones*, categorically denies these conditions exist.

The responsibility for the environment these women endure doesn't rest solely with Lion, but also with its main client: the U.S. government. The 650 employees at Lion's facilities are among an estimated 15,000 apparel workers nationwide who produce uniforms for the military, which spends more than \$800 million annually on clothing for its 1.4 million personnel. (Lion, based in Dayton, Ohio, is among the top three private suppliers, with a \$51 million contract.)

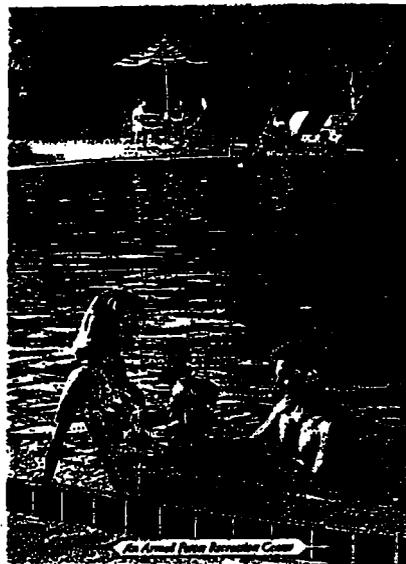
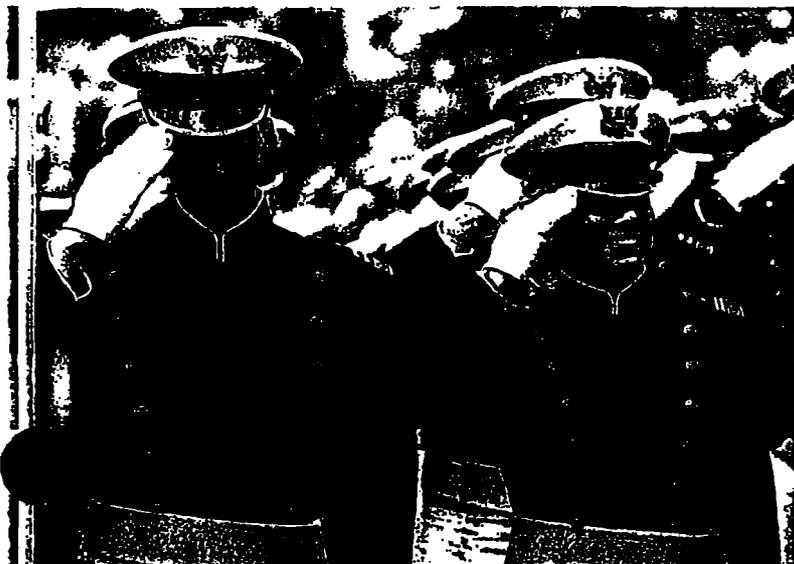
These factories are located in some of the most rural and impoverished communities in America: isolated hamlets in the Appalachian mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee, and small

towns in Louisiana. In many of these communities, the stories are similar to Shelton's. Joyce Bennett, a 58-year-old mother of five, says that in the four years she stitched collars on Navy uniforms at Doyle Shirt Manufacturing in Spencer, Tennessee, she never made more than minimum wage and had to supplement her income with food stamps.

In Beattyville, the drive to Shelton's faded-blue clapboard house (the last home on a gravel road with no sign) follows the route Lyndon Johnson took 35 years ago when he toured the area to announce the War on Poverty, his plan for helping the nation's poor join the Great Society. While the resulting social programs managed to reduce the most extreme poverty in Appalachia, the government's role has since changed dramatically. Even though

denounce such practices. With much fanfare, the Clinton administration launched the "No Sweat" campaign, which pressured retailers and manufacturers to submit to periodic independent audits of their workplace conditions.

This campaign urged manufacturers to sign the Workplace Code of Conduct, a promise to self-regulate that has since been adopted by a handful of retailers and many of the nation's largest manufacturers, including Liz Claiborne, Nicole Miller, Nike, Patagonia, and L.L. Bean. Absent, however, is the Department of Defense, which has a \$1 billion garment business that would make it the country's 14th-largest retail apparel outlet, right behind Talbots and just ahead of Charming Shoppes, whose stores include the Fashion Bug chain.



Workers' pay is based on meeting a daily quota, a task Carol Shelton and her daughter Tamara Sparks (shown with Sparks' two children) performed at Lion Apparel, one of the contractors that makes military uniforms. Through another program, the DOD sells uniforms to troops, using the profits to fund projects like an Army resort at Disney World—all with Al Gore's approval.

the women of Beattyville work for a large Department of Defense contractor, their dismal workplace conditions remain virtually unregulated by the government. And instead of trying to assist them, the U.S. government trades on their labor for the highest possible return.

WHEN KATHIE LEE GIFFORD'S FACE was splashed across the tabloids in 1996 after her line of Wal-Mart clothing was exposed as the work of underpaid laborers in New York City's Chinatown, the Department of Labor and the White House teamed up to

Without the Defense Department's voluntary adherence to the code, the job of stopping public-sector sweatshops falls to the Department of Labor. Federal contractors that violate wage laws or safety and health codes can lose their lucrative taxpayer-financed contracts. But Suzanne Seiden, a deputy administrator at the department, says that to her knowledge the agency has never applied that rule to government apparel manufacturers. "I just assume that they are adhering to safety and health [requirements]," she says. According to records obtained by *Mother Jones* through a Freedom of Information Act request, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has cited Lion 32 times for safety and health violations in the past 12 years. Furthermore, a 1996 General Accounting Office report estimated that 22 percent of all federal contractors had been cited by OSHA for violating safety standards.

In 1997, Arleenna Lawson, a worker at Lion's plant in West Liberty, about a half-hour drive from Beattyville, began waking up with small bumps on her face. At first she thought it was nothing, but in two weeks the bumps grew into large lumps. When she showed a manager at work, she was told not to worry about it. An allergist later determined she was suffering a reaction to the formaldehyde in the permanent-press fabrics she sewed at work, and recommended that Lawson be given an assignment away from the offending chemical. "But they just moved me to another line for a few days, and then I was back doing collars," she remembers. "It got so bad I had to quit."

Before she did, Lawson wrote a letter to OSHA. The agency performed an inspection, concluding that "several women had rashes and were complaining about formaldehyde exposure." OSHA also ruled that Lion should have sent Lawson to the doctor when she complained of illness, and that by not doing so had failed to behave appropriately when "a substantial probability that death or serious physical harm could result." Lion's punishment? A \$975 fine. (Lawson eventually won an unemployment benefits claim against Lion.)

Lawson's case was the most recent in a history of violations. In 1987, Lion was cited for failing to give employees proper face protection. In 1990, it was fined for not training employees how to handle hazardous chemicals. It was fined seven times in 1993 for a variety of violations, and nine times in 1996 for, among other reasons, failing to train employees how to use portable fire extinguishers in a plant loaded with flammable materials.

In the absence of effective enforcement, union leaders have pushed for legislative protection for all workers employed through federal contracts. In February 1997, Vice President Al Gore championed the cause, proposing an executive order that would require companies that do business with the government to maintain clean OSHA records and permit union activity. "If you

want to do business with the federal government, you had better maintain a safe workplace and respect civil, human, and union rights," Gore told an appreciative AFL-CIO audience. But the proposal caused an outcry among Republicans and has remained on the back burner ever since. Chris Lehane, a Gore spokesman, says, "You have to realize these things don't happen overnight."

WHEN MOTHER JONES ASKED LION if it had ever threatened to close the Beattyville plant if workers unionized, the company's president, Richard Lapedes, wrote back: "No, and we have been happy to state clearly and openly that we would never do such a thing." The Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE) tried to organize Lion in 1997 but failed, union leaders claim, because of the management's swift and unyielding opposition. Several memos circulated by Lion to its workers, and obtained by *Mother Jones*, would appear to support UNITE's interpretation; in one case, the company seems to narrowly evade federal labor laws that prohibit employers from threatening plant closings. The memo reads: "Why [is UNITE] trying to get information which they may want to use to hurt Lion's business? If that happens, that could hurt all of our jobs."

The memos did manage to instill fear in some of the workers. "We had to hide this one girl down in the floorboards of the car whenever we went out to talk about the union," says Tamara Sparks, 23, who is Carol Shelton's daughter. Sparks and her mother are very close, celebrating their weddings (Tamara's first, Carol's third) together in 1991, and working side by side at the Lion factory for three years. Sparks was a union supporter at

After the public shaming of Kallie Lee Gifford (right), whose Wal-Mart clothing line was made in sweatshops, the Department of Labor and the White House urged retailers to pledge not to exploit workers. But the Department of Defense has never offered such promises to contract workers such as Connie Outes (holding her daughter, Tiffany, age 2), a former Lion employee.





Lion, and signed a letter, along with seven other employees, that requested outside oversight to prevent the company from retaliating against pro-union workers.

Written with UNITE's help, the letter was sent to Gore, as well as to eight Kentucky congressmen and the state's U.S. senators, telling them: "Some of us have been told point-blank that if we get a union, the plant will close.... They've spied on people to see who took union leaflets, and they've told individuals who work here that if we talk to the union we will be fired. Up 'til now, people here have been too afraid to file any official charges, but we'd like to talk to you or someone from your staff about what can be done."

It's not clear how, but shortly thereafter, the letter was forwarded to Lion's management, which then posted it on the company's bulletin board. Soon after that, the union drive sputtered out.

The drive does appear to have had some benefits. Lion's payroll administrator, Tina Ward, says that last year, when Lion raised the hourly pay 30 cents to \$5.80—65 cents more than the minimum wage—it was in response to the unionizing efforts.

In Lion's written response, Lapedes told *Mother Jones*: "We believe we are one of the most progressive companies, certainly in our industry, if not any industry in the United States." Lapedes

conceded that the plant had no air conditioning, but stated that "investment capital has become available, so that air-conditioning all of our facilities has become a viable option." The same day *Mother Jones* received Lapedes' statement, according to current Lion employees, the company began installing air-conditioning systems at the Beattyville plant.

MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT IS impressed by Lion's efficiency. "We are obviously pleased with them as a vendor," says Lynford Morton, a spokesman for the Defense Logistics Agency (DLA), the Defense Department office responsible for most outside contracts. A recent DLA annual report even goes so far as to highlight Lion as a success story, attributing annual savings of \$4.5 million to the company's finesse.

The DLA has, in turn, received the admiration of Gore, who has honored the agency's efficiency with 51 Hammer Awards, one of the highest honors his office can bestow. The DLA's job is to secure the lowest bid (Continued on page 78)

an american sweatshop

(Continued from page 51) it can for a contract. The agency's officials, proud of their private-sector partners, say they have no desire to revisit the days before Ronald Reagan and, more recently, Bill Clinton, both of whom eased regulations covering government contracts. "We're getting out of the big daddy thing,"

explains Morton. "We have no right to tell our suppliers how to do their business."

In 1997, the DLA spent \$811.8 million on uniforms and textiles for the Defense Department, and ultimately sold them for \$996.9 million, a 22.8 percent markup. Of these uniforms, 97 percent were sold to the U.S. armed services, though the DLA also sells uniforms to foreign governments, including El Salvador (\$1 million

from 1995 to 1999 in coveralls, flight boots, flight jackets, signal flags, and camouflage cloth), and Saudi Arabia (\$17.9 million from 1995 to 1999 in jackets, tents, boots, tarpaulins, helmets, and assorted clothing).

The DLA says that it does not profit from uniform sales, and that the markup is used to cover bureaucratic overhead. But the numbers don't add up. In 1997, the DLA's overhead amounted to 9.3 percent of the cost of purchasing the uniforms, which left an additional \$109.6 million unaccounted for. When an internal Defense Department task force reviewed the DLA's 1997 budget, it reported that profits were slated to fund other Defense Department programs, specifically referring to \$20 million that was budgeted for the military's operations in Bosnia. The

"We're getting out of the big daddy thing," explains one Defense Department spokesman. "We have no right to tell our suppliers how to do their business."

Defense Department has since claimed that the transfer was incorrectly labeled. Members of the task force, meanwhile, are tight-lipped, but stand by their report. "We reported accurately based on the facts we had at the time," says Navy Capt. Barbara Brehm. The Coast Guard's Robert Gitschier says task force members maintain "a level of doubt" about the military's denials.

There are other, more direct ways the military profits from uniform sales. Military clothing stores, for example, which are run by the Army and Air Force Exchange Service (AAFES), sell what they describe as "optional uniform" clothing to its troops. Usually of better quality than the standard uniforms issued to recruits—thicker fabric, better tailoring—optional uniforms are purchased from other outside vendors. A survey of these 40 manufacturers shows that 12 of them have received a total of 207 OSHA violations in the past 10 years.



IF ENABLING WORKERS TO ACHIEVE FAIRNESS ON THE JOB APPEALS TO YOU...

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees — the nation's largest public employee and health workers union — is launching Labor's most dynamic organizing initiative, dedicated to improving the lives of America's working families. A number of positions are now available to women and men who want to fight for justice.

Management Positions:

Area Organizing Director: Direct teams of organizers. Must have union organizing and staff management experience. \$65,640 - \$74,935. Location: regional offices. 9 positions

Assistant Director, Organizing Communications: If you can promote the union message, this position may be for you. The successful candidate will develop the message, PR strategy and activities for major organizing drives, and handle various public relations aspects of the AJM union campaign. Ideal candidate will have union and PR experience. Supervises field staff, vendors, consultants and contractors. \$61,485 - \$70,383. Location: Washington, D.C.

Regional Field Administrator: Responsible for administering and coordinating regional field service and organizing activities. Handles project management, budget tracking, project activities and project communications. \$53,997 - \$81,811. Location: regional offices. 3 positions

Professional Positions:

Labor Economist III: Conducts in-depth research to support union organizing, anti-privatization and contract negotiations and administration efforts. Creates reports from source materials. Presents testimony and provides technical assistance. \$51,444 - \$62,162. Location: Washington, D.C.

Organizing Research Specialist: Conducts or coordinates research efforts to target and support organizing drives and first contract efforts. Develops unique data collection methods and organizes the data collected for analysis. \$61,444 - \$62,162. Location: regional offices. 3 positions

Hazardous Waste Specialist: Plans, organizes and conducts health and safety training programs on worker safety for members. Conducts on-site investigations of potentially unsafe worksites. \$47,533 - \$57,435. Location: regional offices

Organizer: Plans, leads and conducts a wide array of organizing activities including targeting, target reconnaissance, home visits, leader recruitment, training volunteers, rallying workers, running elections, doing card checks and conducting first-contract campaigns. \$28,575 - \$54,545. Location: Regional Offices

General requirements for all positions:

Require degree and minimum 3-10 years experience in the field. Management positions require 6-10 years of experience in management of staff, organizing campaigns, contract negotiations or public relations. All regional positions require a successful organizing campaign track record except for the research positions. Extensive travel required. The regional office locations are: Washington, D.C., Newark, N.J., Indianapolis, Ind., and Oakland, Calif. Headquarters is Washington, D.C. Relocation provided.

Benefits:

AFSCME provides a generous pay and benefits package, including paid family health insurance, life insurance, LTD, tuition assistance, generous leave, 401(k) and pension program offered. Send resume and salary requirements to Marianne Brown, Human Resources at:

AFSCME, AFL-CIO

1625 L St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036-5687
Fax: 202-293-8166
Website: <http://www.afscme.org>
Email: mbrown@afscme.org



Proud to be an Equal Opportunity Employer - M/F/D/V

In 1998, \$3.4 million in profits from optional uniform sales through these stores was allocated to the Army's Morale Welfare and Recreation fund, described by a Defense Department official as a network of programs to improve "productivity, mental and physical fitness, individual growth, positive values, esprit de corps, and family well-being." Among the projects underwritten by the fund are Shades of Green, an Army hotel in Florida that features heated swimming pools and free transportation to Disney World; a beachside resort in Hawaii; and an 18-hole golf course at Fort Knox, Kentucky, not more than 120 miles west of Beattyville.

GOLF ISN'T THE RECREATION of choice in Beattyville. I drove Tamara Sparks and her husband, Cecil (with whom she no longer lives), around one night in my rented car, and we talked about what they do for fun. "We party hard, son," Cecil says. That, according to the couple and their friends, means Xanax trips that last for days and moonshine that'll make you want to walk naked down Main Street. There's also racing old Buicks along the back roads, with pit stops in the woods for a little of what Sparks elusively refers to as "scroggin' and scotchin'."

Sparks is vivacious and talkative, but her insecurity comes out in offhand comments, such as when she refers to herself as "just a hillbilly redneck." She doesn't delude herself about life in Beattyville, and becomes anxious when talk turns to the future of her family. She tells Cecil that a cousin told her that "there's lots of work in Texas and I could find a job, no problem." But Cecil, the father of her children, is hesitant to go. While work remains scarce in Appalachia (unemployment estimates reach 24 percent), outside opportunities are hard to imagine in an area where only 5 percent of the population has college degrees.

Besides, Beattyville is home, and those who live here have grown to rely heavily on one another. One of Sparks' brothers-in-law grows and distributes tomatoes and beans; Carol Shelton's husband, Herbert, hunts rabbit and deer, which she then makes into sausage; people trade

labor for building supplies and staples; and every month, the church hands out 50-pound sacks of potatoes.

At her current job working at a gas station, Sparks doesn't have health insurance, so her mother lends her money for a doctor when one of the children gets sick. Sparks says she prefers the gas station to Lion, except that the pay's not very good. Unemployment, she says,

proved more lucrative. During the time she stayed home after leaving Lion, she explains, she could save the \$50 a week she now spends for a babysitter. Her lower earnings also forced her to give up an apartment with lots of space in a big cement dwelling—low-income housing built with government aid. For now, she has moved back to her mother's little blue house.

SUMMER AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE

June 2 through
 August 19

*Intensive study
 institutes in:*

- Documentary
- Entrepreneurship
- Language (French, Spanish,
 Japanese and Swahili)
- Music
- Peace Studies
- Theater/Dance



IMAGINE
Yourself here

**SUMMER
 INSTITUTES
 & PROGRAMS**

ANTIOCH
 COLLEGE

700 LIVERMORE STREET, YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO 43177

Call us toll-free at 1-800-543-9436
 for more details about the summer
 institutes and courses.

View our website at
<http://antioch-college.edu>

Circle #30 on the reader service card on page #1.