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Former US Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall **Transcript Summary of video recorded November 29, 2018** **At the Ray Marshall Center – University of Texas, Austin**

Interviewer: Ana Avendano
VP, Labor Engagement, United Way Worldwide

01:00:41

Early years: born in Louisiana in 1928 – lived in the Mississippi Baptist Orphanage from age 11-14, a life-changing experience.

01:05:32

In the Navy, and WWII

01:08:51

How he became a Labor Economist

01:14:15

How he'd met Jimmy Carter: Secretary had been part of a group in the South to change the political climate - L.Q.C. Lamar Society – and focused on Carter.

01:17:00

He helped write for the campaign, and after the election, told Carter *Labor* would be his preference.

01:18:22

Unemployment high in 1976 – '77...so, he created a strong training and public jobs program.

01:23:02

How he saw the role of Secretary of Labor

01:27:55

Fixing OSHA

01:44:25

How he dealt with the transition of women and minorities strongly coming into the segregated labor market.

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Brought in Alexis Herman to help fight “institutionalized discrimination”.

01:54:56

Cultural barriers against women in certain industries, like coal-mining.

02:02:21

Creating outreach apprenticeship programs

02:03:52

“To break down institutional discrimination, you have to do it through affirmative action.”

02:09:04

Labor markets remain highly segregated – even today: for example, *harassment*.

02:14:50

Another big initiative he began in the Labor Department: increase minimum wage.

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International matters in the Carter administration

02:24:02

Belief that you couldn't have a democratic system without free and democratic unions. Wanted an international minimum wage standard.

02:25:45

ILO: Henry Kissinger had threatened to withdraw from the ILO, because they were perverting the process.

02:33:02

COSATU in South Africa - the Council of South African Trade Unions. When he was Secretary of Labor, blacks couldn't join unions there.

02:34:13

Great concern about General Figueiredo in Brazil – and his human rights approach to foreign policy. Secretary Marshall represented the United States at his inauguration.

02:39:15

Value of the Labor Attaché program: Warren Christopher and Cy Vance

02:41:10

Secretary formed a group of economists – The Copenhagen Group – and worked with the OECD.

02:45:12

The International Bureau of Labor Affairs (ILAB) – under Howard Samuels' leadership

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Reflections on the state of the international labor movement right now

02:51:01

Demise of the Soviet Union was interpreted it as a victory for free-market fundamentalism – but Secretary thought it was a testament to the strength of democracy.

02:53:00

“One of the worse things Ronald Reagan ever said is that *the government is the problem*. The debate ought not to be about the size of government – but it ought to be about the competence.”

02:55:38

He set up the Tripartite Industry Committees – to work together and get good information – which they didn’t have.

03:04:18

Immigration policy

03:09:35

The Employers of Undocumented Workers Program

03:11:04

Another outcome: the creation of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy – and the “Amnesty Provision.”

03:12:47

The 2013 bill: “I didn’t call it a good bill, but I called it an acceptable bill.”

03:17:07

Got the 2013 bill through because they got the unions on the same page.

03:19:50

2013 bill dealt with: *what do you do about the unauthorized immigrants who are already here*. “That’s easy to demagogue. We got it because we didn’t pass a good law to start with... we got all these people here, and we ignored it until 9 -11...and all of a sudden if you’re trying to enforce a bad law after you’ve ignored it for years, you’ll make things worse, not better. And that’s pretty much what we have done.”

03:24:42

“US President Trump has been using the issue of immigration as a very divisive tool. What could we have done to prevent that?”

03:29:21

The Secretary's scholarship has reflected one philosophy: *Workers' voices are a key part of policy making...Unless policies reflect the real-life experience of workers, they don't work.*"

03:31:57

"The *free rider* laws, called 'Right to Work' – I don't know why anybody ever let them be called 'Right to Work' – it doesn't have anything to do with the right to work."

03:35:29

Thoughts on the path to union revitalization

03:40:18

1978: breaking the filibuster – couldn't get votes of Jim Sasser of Tennessee, Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, Russell Long of Louisiana.

03:41:51

The National Association of Manufacturers formed a Council for a Union-free Environment – "an abomination!"

03:45:19

Further explanation of Senate Bill 744 - the 2013 Immigration bill – and the "Adjustment of Status."

03:48:29

Words of advice for those contemplating becoming economists, labor lawyers, organizers, or officers within their unions.

03:52:55

Reasons for the decline in union membership

03:56:18

"In a democracy, inequality is not sustainable. You will have a plutocracy before it's over if you don't deal with that."

03:57:20

Strikes – during his time as Labor Secretary (especially the coal strike).
Basic policy: let the parties solve their own problems. Government should stay out, unless it's in the national interest.

03:59:56

Strongest union leadership in the labor movement during the 1930s - John L. Lewis.
"John L. Lewis once told me that democracy almost destroyed his union, and he wasn't going to have any more of it."

04:02:54

Coal strike: threat of violence in the coal fields. “Jay Rockefeller, then Governor of West Virginia, said: *We can't enforce the law in West Virginia, because the law is enforced by local sheriffs and they're elected by these strikers.*”

04:05:04

Strategies to strengthen collective bargaining: “Strike Impact Committee”...tried not to get involved in strikes...appointing good people to FMCS and NLRB...Civil Service Reform Act...Tripartite committees.

04:07:47

More thoughts re: President Trump's policies

04:19:01

Interviewer Ana Avendano re-asks several questions, with camera facing her.

END OF SUMMARY

