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### the rank and file in action







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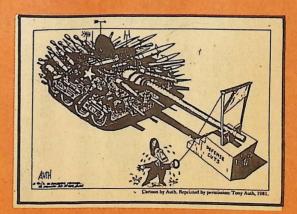
APRIL 1985

VOLUME 24 - NUMBL



STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK

MILITARY BUDGET



### Union leaders charged

### **BLATANT MISUSE** OF HATCH ACT

by Debbie Albano

The presidents of three federal employee unions, Kenneth T. Blaylock of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGU), Vincent R. Sombrotto of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), and Moe years, "stretches the law far beyond Biller of the American Postal Workers Union APWU, have been charged with violating the Hatch Act by the U.S. Office of Special Counsel. All three unions endorsed Walter F. Mondale in the recent presidential election.

The Hatch Act, which places tight limits on the right of fulltime federal workers to take part in political activities, is being invoked against these federal workers, not because of any illegal political activity, but because, in the words of William W. Winpising, President of the Machinists Union, "those trade union presidents dared to oppose Ronald Reagan."

The labor movement has long taken the position that the Hatch Act unfairly limits each citizen's full par-

ticipation — in fact, each citizen's legal right to participate — in public affairs. The Reagan Administration's attempt to apply the Hatch Act to union officers, all of whom have been on unpaid leaves of absence from the federal government for at least ten all rational limits. The obvious intent of these prosecutions is not to protect the integrity of the public service but to limit the right of the leaders of the largest unions in the federal sector to serve their members." So said the AFL - CIO Executive Council in its recent statement from Bal Harbour,

President Blaylock, in response to the prosecutions, said that the initial actions of the Office of Special Counsel were "tantamount to blackmail" and vowed to fight "abusive actions at every step of the proceedings to come. Congress never intended the Hatch Act to apply to individuals like myself. No purpose of the Hatch Act is served by using it as an excuse to interfere with my First Amendment right to freedom of speech, and my responsibilities under laws to represent AFGE members."

AFGE is the largest union of federal workers, representing more than 700,000 workers in the United States and the District of Columbia. Together with NALC and APWU, close to one million civil service and postal workers are represented. And those members have not been silent. "The letters and messages I have received from Federal workers across the country," says Blaylock, "indicate that these charges have strengthened the resolve of AFGE members in seeking legislative reform of this law and preventing any further denigration of the Federal workforce under the current administration."

Reagan fired his first missile against trade unions in the federal sector when he destroyed PATCO. It is obvious that he would like to use another not - so secret weapon — union - busting — to eliminate all of the unions representing federal workers.

These attacks can be stopped. The rank and file can prevent the Heritage Foundation from mapping the strategy for the second Reagan term. This misuse of the Hatch Act is meant to, and if it succeeds, will have a chilling effect on the labor movement's participation in elections. This is of particular importance in the 1986 elections when all of the Reaganite Class of 1980 are up for reelection.

### GREETINGS! APRIL 20 AN UNFORGETTABLE DAY OF PROTEST!

Greetings, sisters and brothers, on this April 20, an unforgettable day of protest!

Our presence here constitutes a mighty people's challenge to Reagan and Reaganism on every crucial front.

We are telling the President and the whole world that we are not going to send the sons of working people to die in Central America or in any other region of the earth.

We are declaring our independence of the Pentagon and its trashing of our national economy.

We are calling for millions of jobs, not billions for Star Wars.

We are telling the world that we will no longer tolerate either the shame of apartheid in South Africa or the stain of racism in the United States.

And we are saying to the President and his team in Geneva: Negotiate! No stalling. No cover - ups. No excuses. We want the arms race frozen without a moment of needless delay, and then we want it reversed.

We're saying, "Where there's a will for peace, there's a way to peace."

Who are we who gather in protest in this springtime of struggle?

We are Black and white; Chicano, Latino and Native American; men, women and children, across all

We represent every assaulted and aggrieved constituency in America.

We are the New Political Majority in the making.

We of the National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy are proud that many of our sisters and brothers of organized labor are in the ranks today.

The major demands placed by the

April Coalition address the most urgent needs of working people.

We are proud, too, that a significant number of important national unions have formally endorsed these demands. And we are confident that other unions will soon follow their example.

The same organized movement that demonstrated half a million strong for Jobs and Justice and against the crimes of Reaganism on Solidarity Day in 1981 will in time assume its rightful leadership role in the fight for a peaceful world.

That is not said in any spirit of disrespect for any other organization or constituency in our all - embracing people's movement.

It simply reflects the reality that labor is the largest, the most powerful, and the most durable among the people's organizations, and that because it unites in its ranks working men and women of all nations, races and creeds, it is the most broadly representative.

It is also the only organization that confronts Reagan's corporate backers where profit is generated, at the point of production.

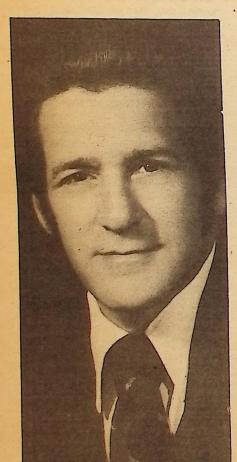
Labor's leading contingents are already represented here today. And if labor in its full power is not yet where many of us would like it to be, it is moving inexorably in the right direction.

In the days ahead, our joint task is to cement the unity of labor and its community allies, each respecting the organizational integrity of the other, and all recognizing that our common needs overwhelm our differences.

Given patience, good will, and confidence in one another, this outpouring on April 20 can be the forerunner of the mighty labor - community alliance that must come into being if Reaganism is to be turned back and jobs, justice and peace secured for our people and the world.

"A President that jailed, fired and broke the Air Traffic Controllers Union surely has no qualms about breaking the remaining trade unions representing workers in the federal sector."

William W. Winpisinger President, Machinists Union



KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK **President AFGU** 



MOE BILLER **President APWU** 

### FIGURES DON'T LIE BUT LIARS FIGURE

# THE FY '86 BUDGET

For months the Federal Budget for Fiscal Year (FY) 1986 has been the subject of many learned — and some not so learned — commentaries in the press and on radio and TV.

The show began in earnest when the President submitted his spending proposals to the Congress on February 4. Congressional action is a two - step process. It first authorizes a budget for each federal agency and then appropriates the money in separate legislation. Congress has until May 15 to exercise its Constitutional authority to approve, modify or reject the proposals contained in Reagan's budget. As the saying goes, "The President proposes but Congress disposes.

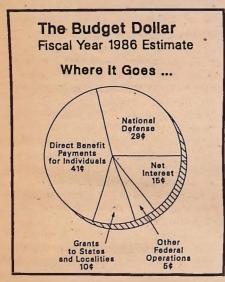
### WHO GETS? WHO PAYS?

The struggle over the FY '86 Budget is a continuation of an age - old struggle: Who gets how much for what — and who pays for it, be that payment now, or in the future?

If Reagan's proposals are approved by Congress without substantial changes, military spending will increase by \$29.7 billion over FY '85 and the rest of us will pay for it in two ways—through \$50.8 billion in cuts in social programs in '86 and increased interest payments on the national debt.

The Administration's campaign to win support for its budget has to rank in the top ten when it comes to using what Will Rogers (or was it Mark Twain?) called "figures, statistics and outright lies."

One does not even get started reading the President's Budget Message before being presented with a graph, THE BUDGET DOLLAR, Where it goes and are told that 41 cents of every



budget dollar goes to "direct payments to individuals" while only 29 cents goes to "national defense."

### REALLY TWO BUDGETS

This is a clever effort to disguise reality by lumping all revenues and expenditures — first done by the Johnson Administration to hide the costs of the Vietnam War — into the same pot. But in reality, the Federal Budget consists of two major — and separate — groups of funds.

The first, known as Federal funds, are derived from taxes or government borrowing. The second, known as trust funds — the Social Security Trust

Fund and the Highway Trust Fund being two of the better known — are financed by specific taxes such as the Social Security tax or the federal gasoline tax. The Reagan Budget lumps them together into a "unified budget."

Any critical examination of the FY '86 budget, must, therefore, begin by looking at the income and expenditures of the Federal Funds Budget and those of the various trust funds:

For the Federal Funds Budget, Reagan anticipates an income of \$493.5 billion in FY '86 and expenditures of \$731.6 billion, leaving a deficit or \$241.4 billion. For the trust funds, anticipated income is \$421.3 billion, expenditures \$359.9 billion, leaving a surplus of \$61.4 billion.

It matters not if there is a surplus in a trust fund income, the money is "earmarked" for specific purposes — social security payments or highway repair, for instance — and cannot be used to finance the general activities of government.

In practice, however, these surpluses are included in calculating the total unified budget. Reagan, by including the anticipated FY '86 trust fund surplus in the unified budget, is able to "reduce" the total deficit from \$241.4 billion to "only" \$180 billion.

#### FIGURES, STATISTICS, AND DAMN LIES

Then there are other deceptions, beginning with the claim that 41 percent of every budget dollar goes for "direct payments for individuals."

It's true, as far as it goes. After all, figures don't lie but liars do figure. Social security, disability payments, veteran's pensions as well as food stamps, student aid, medicare, medicaid and public assistance are "direct payments to individuals."

But if we work with the two - Budgets concept, at least \$219.8 billion — more than half of the "direct payments to individuals" — come from trust funds. (\$203.6 billion from the Social Security and Rail Road Retirement Trust Funds, \$16.3 billion from the Unemployment Trust Fund).

The Reagan budget also includes the \$18.3 billion cost of military retirement in the "direct payments to individuals" category, another example of the sharp pencil boys doing their job.

Instead, the cost of military pensions should be taken out of the "direct payments to individuals" category and added to the military budget.

At best, then, only \$175.4 billion — less than 13 cents of every dollar — of the Federal Funds budget goes for direct payments to individuals in the form of civilian federal retirement and disability payments (Neither are paid from Social Security funds), medical care, student aid, food stamps, nutrition and other public assistance.

### IT COMES TO BIG MONEY

Reagan proposes budget authority of nearly \$314 billion for the Department



TRUST FUND BUDGET

of Defense, an increase of \$29.7 billion over 1985. (Somehow, Reagan portrays this as an \$8.9 billion "cut".) But this figure, too, is an understatement, or, as some would say, a deliberate lie.

In the first place, there's another \$8 billion in the Energy Department budget that Reagan admits goes for the military. There's another half billion for something called "defense-related activities." There's that \$18.3 billion for military retirement and \$26.8 billion more for the Veteran's Administration. Another \$20.3 billion is slated for "international affairs", most going for military aid to prop up the Reagan Administration's favorite dictators in South and Central America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

Add it all up — we aren't charging any of next year's interest payments of \$169.7 to the military even though we would be justified in adding three quarters of it — and we get a grand total of nearly \$388 billion that will be spent for past, present and future wars if Reagan's budget proposals carry the day.

There's a \$75 billion difference between that \$313 billion figure and the \$388 billion that is slated to be poured down the military spending rat hole. As Senator Dirksen once said, "A billion here and billion there — pretty soon you're talking about some pretty big money!"

### IT DON'T MAKE SENSE. . .

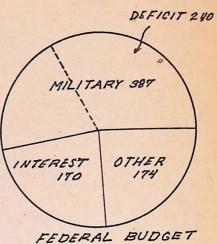
We've got to do some more arithmatic if we're going to make sense out of things: Keep in mind that total anticipated tax receipts for FY '86 are only \$493.5 billion. If General Dynamics, Lockheed, Boeing, General Electric and the rest of the military industrial complex get their \$378 billion and the bankers get their \$170 billion in interest payments, the Federal Funds Budget will already be \$64 billion in the red! A hell of a lot of discretionary social spending would have to be eliminated from the FY '86 budget if things were to be brought in balance!

Although Reagan is not yet prepared to go that far, his budget cuts discretionary spending by \$21.2 billion this year and calls for additional cuts of \$102.8 billion over the next three years. His three - year projections call for cutting entitlement programs by \$13.9 billion this year and \$68.0 billion through 1988.

### ... BUT IT COULD

It doesn't take a genius to figure out where to begin to resolve the budget crisis. A little common sense will do instead.

The need to cut the military budget is



an absolute prerequisite for maintaining, to say nothing of restoring, cuts in social services.

Were Congress to reject any increase in military spending this year, this would make it possible to save 25 programs that are slated to die.

Or better yet, why not declare a 5 - year moratorium on the testing production and deployment of nuclear weapons (we've got more than enough already)?

Such a moratorium would make possible a saving of \$100 billion over the next five years — and that \$100 billion would be enough to restore all of the following programs to pre-Reagan levels and keep them there for five years: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, all child nutrition programs, all cuts in educational programs, community and social services block grants and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

This would mean that 350,000 families could have their welfare benefits restored, one million people could receive food stamps again and tens of millions of students and working people could be given a better chance of securing well-paying jobs with safe working conditions.

### WHAT ABOUT INTEREST PAYMENTS?

The FY '86 Budget includes interest payments of \$142.6 billion, bringing the 10 - year 1977 - 86 total to \$788 billion.

The national debt will increase by 300 percent in the 1977 - 1986 period. Military spending will increase by the same amount during the period.

While both are bad, there's something particularly obscene about the fact that interest payments will increase by 500 percent during those same 10 years. The time has come to say, "Enough!"

After all, neither banks nor bankers do very much to "earn" their money, despite what the E. F. Hutton TV adds tell us.

Banks were established by men who learned that there was more money to be made by owning banks than in robbing them. For those who are concerned about reducing the deficit, we would have Congress declare a 1-year moratorium on interest payments. That would be a sure fire way to eliminate the FY '86 deficit!

## The Military Budget: Profits Plus

Pressure. Pressure by the people. Pressure initiated by union rank - and file workers and their labor publications such as Labor Today for the end to the arms race is having its effect upon our nation's lawmakers. Even the U. S. Defense Department and the Pentagon are beginning to bend — if ever so little — under the pressure of public opinion that too much of tax - payers money is being spent for military purposes — much of it unnecessary, extravagent, and going to waste.

On March 5, the Republican - controlled Senate Budget Committee voted 18-4 to freeze military spending, representing a sharp break with President Reagan's budget proposal. It was a bi - partisan vote with the Republicans splitting 8 - 4 for the freeze while all 10 Democrats supported it. It may well represent the prelude toward cutting Reagan's over - zealous military buildup.

Pressured by findings of a Congressional oversight sub-committee, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger announced recently a cleanup of military procurement procedures. The Defense Department

improper billings of one defense contractor, among many, represents the tip of the iceberg — that American taxpayers may have a long history of paying for the fun and games of corporate executives who already enjoy salaries in six figure amounts and the promotions of corporations whose profits reach into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

Congressmen are finally beginning to view the improper billings and overpricing by military contractor corporations as absolutely scandalous. Apparently the scandal has been going on for years, especially involving the military's \$8.6 billion spare parts contracts.

In June 1983, Pentagon auditors reported a case of spare parts overpricing concerning a tiny white plastic stool cap made from 26 cents worth of nylon, for which the Pentagon was paying the Boeing Corporation \$1,118.26 apiece.

The Pentagon has been paying \$100 for five - cent aircraft - simulator parts, \$511 for 60 - cent lamps, and \$114 for nine - cent batteries.

The military also doesn't mind paying out big bucks derived from taxpayers to provide plush accommodations for

### Tax Payments of Major Defense Contractors 1981-1933

in millions of dollars

Company	Profits	Taxes Paid	Rate
Boeing	\$1,530	\$-267	n.a.
General Dynamics	931	~~~71	n.a.
Grumman Corp.	474	none	0
Lockheed Corp	1,085	none	0
Martin Marietta	965	14	1.5%
Northrop Corp.	177	-42	n.a.
Rockwell International	1,567	206	3.1
TRW	784	52	6.7
United Technologies	1,481	356	24.0
*n.anot applicable negative taxes are refunds		urce: Citizens fo ed on company t	

worth of arms to other countries.

This \$30 billion in arms sales to other countries plus the billions more spent by the U. S. government for its military hardware is testimony to the lucrative business enjoyed by the nation's military contractors. But profits from the business itself are not enough for these corporations. They greedily strive for more profit through improper billings, overpricing, and cost overruns.

But their profit - making doesn't stop there. These huge defense contractor

less in taxes in each of the three years
— General Electric, Boeing, General
Dynamics, Lockheed, and Grumman
— are major Pentagon contractors.
Through skillful use of loopholes inserted in the tax code by the Reagan
Administration and its predecessors,
these five companies, with profits of
\$10.5 billion, have been able to exempt
themselves from contributing one
dime toward the cost of the national
defense buildup from which they stand
to profit so handsomely."

Securities and Exchange Commission

It's plain to see that President Reagan's over - zealous military buildup is being waged on the backs of American workers and their families. They with limited income whose standard of living today can only be maintained by the necessity of obtaining income from more than one family member, are forced to pay the full amount of their taxes on income received. There are no lucrative tax loopholes available for wage earners.

The American people have been very patient with President Reagan. He's seen as a likeable fellow to many. But the reality of the nation's unsolved serious problems is slowly taking hold among level - headed citizens concerned with the nation's ever - growing problems. Lawmakers are beginning to assert their responsibilities toward the American people and their nation. A smile by President Reagan, his one liner jokes or his false promises no longer have the affect they once had to shove the nation along the path of extreme conservative political, social and economic policies. Those policies are not working. Those extremist policies of overwhelming support to big business, irresponsible military buildup, and born - again capitalist programs of 19th century vintage are not achieving stability. The Reagan Administration's policies, instead, are a time bomb ticking away toward catastrophe.

Company	Total 1983 Contracts (\$ billions)	Total 1982	1983 Bales To U.S. Gov't. As Percent	Included in contracts awarded that year.  Principal Defense Froducts
General Dynamica	\$6.8	\$5.9	79%	F-16 and F-11 alporati (F-16 and F-11 11) huclear submarines, missile systems, M-1 tank
McDonnell Douglas	6.1	5.6	68%	F-18, F-15, AV-8 and KC-10 aircraft and Harpoon missile system,
Rockwell international	4.5	2.7	64%	B-1 bomber, space vehicles, various electronics and communications equipment
General Electric	4.5	3.7	17%	Nuclear reactors for submarines, jot engines, space vehicle components, missile subsystems
Boeing	4.4	3.2	37%	C-135 B-52 and E-3A aircraft, Awacs, electronics an communications equipment

suspended some \$40 million in payments to General Dynamics Corporation, pending inquiry into reported improper billings by the nation's biggest defense contractor.

Reports of the corporation's improper billings included the gift of \$1,125 for diamond earrings to the wife of Admiral Hyman Rickover, and their subsequent disguise as 10 retirement watches, in billings to the Pentagon.

Testimony before the Congressional subcommittee revealed that General Dynamics charged the military for liquor, for travel to a company executive's birthday party, for hosting a \$1,000 chili party at a posh country club, for financing a \$4,000 trip by an executive to the Democratic National Convention, and for paying \$18,000 for a country club membership in St. Louis.

It was further revealed that General Dynamics charged the Pentagon \$330,998 for promotional "giveaways" that included 10,000 F - 16 tic tacs, 1,000 Barlow knives, and 200 "special branding irons."

These costs to the American taxpayer are among more than \$4.5 million in General Dynamics overhead expenses being challenged for the year 1982 alone. One observer noted that the

its top brass. A typical example involved the Navy which paid \$18,000 for the purchase of a custom - made leather sectional sofa, a custom - made Chippendale - style sofa and wingback chair as part of outfitting the USS Kidd, a guided missile destroyer. The ship's interior decorating also included plush wool carpeting at a cost of \$41,071.

Then there are the cost overruns for military hardware. Columnist Donald Lambro revealed recently that the cost of a Viper anti - tank weapon soared from \$75 to almost \$800 within 10 years time.

On top of that, it was later proven to be ineffective.

Another example: In the late 1950s it took \$7 billion in 1983 dollars to purchase 6,300 fighter aircraft. By 1983, the expenditure of \$11 billion bought 322 fighter planes.

U. S. arms race production is Big Business. President Reagan has made the business even bigger through his massive military spending policy. According to the Center for Defense Information, a non - partisan research group specializing in military matters, the U. S. will sell over 30 billion dollars corporations are very successful in obtaining tax exemptions from the government — especially Reagan's government. In a 1984 study conducted by the Citizens for Tax Justice, involving 250 companies surveyed between 1981 through 1983, 128 companies or corporations paid no federal income taxes or less in at least one of the three years, while earning profits of \$57.1 billion.

Among the 128 companies, 17 paid zero or less taxes during all three years surveyed. A further analysis revealed by the report:

"Five of the 17 firms paying zero or

\_ \_ \_ \_ ERRATUM \_ \_ \_ \_

We regret and apologize for the error that appeared in Labor Today's March issue in the article entitled "New York," on page 4, column 3, paragraph 3.

It should have read: "Within New York Metro Area Postal Workers union, the CLUW committee, for example, was a catalyst for postal women to organize and then elect militant new leadership — Josie McMillian, president of New York Metro."

We thank Joan Cohen of New York CLUW for calling the error to our attention.

- podani

Ann'l loor

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### Wisconsin Steel Update

# Five Years and Fighting Washington, D. C. The Hot Representatives suspended its

It was Friday night. Frank Lumpkin, a millwright at the Wisconsin Steel Works on Chicago's southside had just come home after a 9 - hour shift. "We'd worked all day repairing equipment. I was dead tired and looking forward to my 13 week vacation that was due in a couple of weeks," he says. "Little did I know that I was going on a permanent vacation the next day."

But he was. On March 28 the furnaces at Wisconsin Steel were banked, the gates closed and some 3,500 workers were added to the ranks of the unemployed. Two years earlier, International Harvester had dumped the plant in a phony sale — all part of Harvester's well - planned scheme to get out of paying pensions and other benefits when the mill closed.

"Things were a nightmare," Florencio Ortega remembers. "There'd been no warning. We were told at the end of the Friday shift that it was all over. Some people who were off on Thursday and Friday were not even notified that the plant was closed. When they came in on their regular turn they were met at the gate by guards who told them to go home — that the plant was closed."

"Can you even imagine what it was like?" John Randall asks. "No one really knew what to do — but we knew we had to do something. The Company had filed for bankruptcy. They owed us vacation pay, severance pay, supplemental unemployment benefits, pensions and insurance premiums."

"Don't forget — they paid us with rubber checks," John Helimovich, a Wisconsin employee of 33 years, added. "And our situation was made even more difficult because Wisconsin Steelworkers were represented by a company union, the Progressive Steel Workers. And I tell you, when you are up against something like a plant shutdown and you don't have a union to represent you, you're in big trouble."

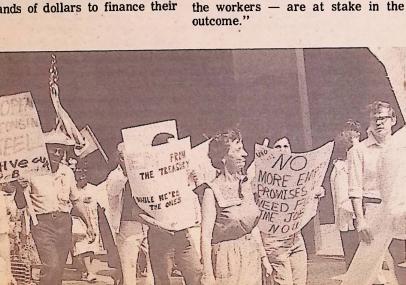
"None of us had any experience in this sort of thing," Felix Vasquez said, his voice rising in anger, "But we'd given years of our lives — I, myself had 38 years — to that company. It didn't take us long to realize that if we were going to get what we had coming we were going to have to get it for ourselves."

### THE WSSOJC

That recognition led to the formation of the Wisconsin Steelworkers Save Our Jobs Committee — and to a struggle that is now entering its sixth year.

In those years, workers, few of whom had even attended a union meeting, ("Why attend meetings where you have no control over things?" Helimovich asks) sent three bus loads of Wisconsin steelworkers to

Washington, D. C. The House of Representatives suspended its rules and, during an hour - long Special Order of Business, heard first - hand of the struggle against the International Harvester / Chase - Manhattan Bank conspiracy. Over the years the Committee has lobbied at the State Legislature, written countless letters, telegrams and resolutions and raised thousands of dollars to finance their work.



the mill.

From its inception the Committee has demanded re - opening of the mill, either by a private owner or, failing that, by the federal government. The workers had demanded a federal works job project at the plant but won only a small 6 - month jobs training program.

The federal government owns Wisconsin Steel as the result of loans which made the U. S. government the biggest creditor in the bankruptcy case.

### WON SOME VICTORIES

"Of course," says Lumpkin, who was elected to Chair the Committee, "We didn't open the plant. So we did the next best thing. When the non - union wrecking crew came to dismantle the mill we blocked the gates until we were removed by injunction. But at least we have been able to prevent them from destroying the most modern rolling mill."

"Those are important fights," Brother Vasquez says. "But, after a while you face a different set of problems. You quit worrying about repossession of your property. Instead, you start selling your television set or your second car. Then you sell your only car. You cash in your little life insurance policy. You withdraw the savings from your bank account—and from your kid's bank accounts, too, if they have them.

"You know why you do this? Because you have to in order to qualify for public assistance. And another thing — we go to a lot of funerals."

But the Committee has won some

### THERE'S A BIGGER FIGHT

important victories: Payment of "Rule 65" pensions to hundreds of workers by the federal Pension

Benefit Guarantee Commission, collecting 44 percent of their last

week's pay, and forcing International Harvester to pick up the tab for some pension benefits due under terms of a

collective bargaining agreement negotiated between Harvester and the

PSWU prior to Harvester's dumping

But, as its most important legal vic-

tory, the Committee has won what

Lumpkin calls "bargaining rights."
"The Save Our Jobs Committee has standing in Court as the legal

representative of more than 2,700

former production employees of Wisconsin Steel," he says. "Although things have been tied up in court for

more than two years, the Committee

estimates that more than \$20,000,000 --

that's twenty million dollars owed to

Important as the battles it has waged on behalf of its own people are, the Wisconsin Steel Workers Save Our Jobs Committee has played what some consider to be an even greater role in the struggle of all unemployed workers.

The Committee provides much of the mass base for the unemployed movement in South Chicago. Its members have marched on the Greyhound picket lines, worked for the election of Harold Washington and supported the struggles of other workers faced with plant closings. And as any member of the Committee will proudly tell you, "Despite all the hell we've been through, no former Wisconsin employee has scabbed!"

The Wisconsin Steelworkers Save Our Jobs Committee was one of the organizations that helped to found the National Congress of Unemployed Organizations (Lumpkin is Chair of the Congress.) They have been among the most active supporters of the national signature campaign in behalf of the Jobs or Income Action Act.

### SALUD!

Labor Today tips its editorial hat to the Wisconsin Steel Workers Save Our Jobs Committee on the occasion of its Fifth Anniversary celebration on March 29. We call upon others to do the same — but put your wishes to action by collecting at least 25 signatures in support of the Jobs or Income Action Act and sending them to the Committee, c/o Labor Today, 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, IL 60617. We'll see that they are delivered.

We the undersigned call for immediate of the undersigned call for immediate of the specifically, we demand enactment charged with the responsibility of proceeding employment and, until such seeking employment and, until such own.

Name

Send fi

For a genuine recovery

### INCOME A

by Sheila Silverstein, Organizer National Congress of Unemployed Organizations

Close to a year has passed since Congressman Charles Hayes of Illinois and Representative John Conyers of Michigan introduced the Income and Jobs Action Act (HR 5814) into Congress, but Congressman Hayes' opening remarks remain just as timely:

"The crisis of unemployment in our society has continued to have a devastating effect on an increasing number of American families... The Income and Jobs Action Act of 1984 is a wide - ranging program to rebuild America by bolstering the mass purchasing power of men and women working at good wages..."

### WHAT'LL IT PROVIDE?

JOBS — The right to a job at decent wages for everyone

"Every adult American able and willing to earn a living through paid work has the right to a free choice among opportunities for useful, productive and fulfilling paid employment (part-time or full-time) at decent wages or for self - employment."

### HR 5814, Section 2 (a)

OR INCOME — Protection for those unable to find work that would provide an adequate income (based on that required to maintain the moderate level of living as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics)

# NGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES ment of the Jobs or Income Action Act. ment of the Jobs or Income Action Act

### JOBS ACTION ACT

ery adult American unable to for pay has the right to an luate standard of living that rises increases in the wealth and luctivity of the society... No adult rican shall be judged unable to k merely because of the vailability of suitable paid emment opportunities at a given time place or because of the lack of vious employment..."

full employment

### HR 5814 Section 3 (a & b)

ACTION — a planned program to y out the right to a decent job or luate income

### AT'S THE PLAN?

st of all, the Act would establish job ceating programs to repair and rove the nation's infrastructure, uding hospitals, schools, bridges roads with guarantees that laws erning working conditions, labor ations and environmental ection would be strictly enforced.

addition, the Act provides for a action of the work week to 35 hours in no cut in pay, (which would ate almost seven and a half million alone), and provisions that would went plant closings and provide job aining programs to cope with the eased use of technology.

insure that those hardest hit by mployment receive an equal opunity to benefit from such jobating programs, the Act also inles forceful — and enforceable mative action standards. And, perhaps most importantly, the Act would initially fund itself by cutting one percent per year from the military budget — obscenely bloated and providing substantially less jobs per dollar than a civilian budget would.

### **OUR OWN ACTION**

As the National Congress of Unemployed Organizations discussed at its founding convention last July, action—all across the nation—is necessary to insure passage of this bill.

Some of the ways to begin are illustrated in this issue of Labor Today—through circulating petitions among co-workers, at unemployment and wefare offices, union meetings, and community-organized events, and by passing resolutions in support of the bill, especially, but not limited to, your local union. Already, the mayors of Chicago, San Francisco, and several Ohio cities, as well as Rainbow Coalition chapters, Peace Councils, and religious groups, following the lead of trade unions, have passed supporting resolutions.

For more suggestions and information, copies of a brochure on the Jobs or Income Action Act, speakers, organizers, and a chance to discuss your successes and difficulties, write or call:

The National Committee of Unemployed Organizations 9273. South Chicago Ave. Chicago, IL 60617 (312) 721-1679

### Chicago study measures

# The high cost of unemployment

In South Chicago, within a five mile area alone, and within the last five years alone, there have been over 11,000 jobs lost in the steel industry due to the shutdown at Wisconsin Steel, cutbacks at Republic Steel and the tremendous layoffs at U. S. Steel's South Works.

Similar statistics could be cited from any of the steel - producting states — Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana.

In a recent report entitled, Chicago Steelworkers: The Cost of Unemployment, steelworkers themselves tell what the worst effects of being unemployed have been on them and their families.

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Many steelworkers, along with others in heavy industry, have faced temporary unemployment in the past. But what is different at this time is that it is longer temporary. These workers are faced with permanent job losses, massive and prolonged unemployment, and a government uncommitted to creating new jobs or revitalizing crumbling industries.

The Department of Labor defines long - term unemployment as that lasting over six months. All of the workers in the study qualify — having been unemployed, sometimes employed, or semi - employed for at least three years.

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### EXTENT OF CRISIS

The data contained in the study clearly documents the tremendous financial setbacks suffered by the great majority of workers who lost their jobs at South Works. No one group, placed together by race, ethnicity, occupation, sex, education or seniority, escaped the economic disaster triggered by their losing their jobs. Layoffs and plant closings hurt everyone.

In 1979, while employed at South Works, for example, the average wage for all employees was \$10.50 an hour. Black and white workers both earned \$10.58 an hour, with Hispanics earning .34 less.

By 1983, everyone had fallen significantly on the household income scale, to an average of \$8.70 an hour.

However, the wage differentials between white workers and minority

workers grew substantially. Large differences between for example, Black and white journeymen were seen in the post - layoff period with Black journeymen averaging \$9.00 per hour at new employment and white journeymen \$10.20 per hour.

The women in the study did not fare well, either. In 1979, 21% of the women had household incomes under \$10,000 while only 11% of the men were in that category. By 1983, however, those percentages became 63% of women and 47% of men. Unemployment as of June, 1984 was 61% for women and 45% for men.

From the statistics presented in the report, minorities and women slipped most quickly. The gains made during the '60s and '70s, when affirmative action requirements mandated by the Federal government allowed minorities and women to gain entry into apprenticeships in the skilled trades, were easily erased.

Financial losses are, obviously, not the only problems facing the long - term unemployed. The data suggests that while health of the unemployed and their families is gravely threatened, few are receiving the care they need. 81% of the respondents lost their health insurance due to layoffs and almost half, three years later, still had no insurance.

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There is a tremendous sense of anger at the U. S. Steel Corporation and at "government." Many workers described their loyalty to the company, the years of hard work and sacrifice to maintain their jobs. Many described learning lessons about just how important their labor is to the interest of capital. And almost all worry about the future of their children.

As the authors of the study concluded, "The costs of unemployment are not limited to individuals and their families, but are borne by entire communities, cities, states and our country as a whole . . . Job retraining may make a contribution to the employment of some without work, but a full employment policy and guaranteed health care for all are the guarantors of a productive, healthy American workforce. If the private sector is remiss in providing jobs, the federal government itself must create meaningful work for the unemployed . . ."

Towards that end, we encourage those who compiled this important research to also join in the campaign to pass the Jobs or Income Action Act and to remain staunch advocates of the rights of the unemployed.

## New directions for AFL-CIO?

The February meeting of the AFL - CIO Executive Council adopted a report, THE CHANGING SITUATION OF WORKERS AND THEIR UNIONS. We consider it a serious study of a serious situation, deserving serious study by every serious trade unionist. With all it's cuts and bruises, we've only got one labor movement — and



Fred Gaboury

every trade unionist, every worker, organized or unorganized, has a stake in it's future.

The Report begins with a hard look at the facts — the relative decline in trade union membership, changing work patterns, the impact of the economic crisis and governmental policies. It presents the results of studies prepared for the AFL - CIO by HarvardUniversity, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Louis Harris and Associates that analyses the attitudes of workers toward unions.

### HOPE AND RESURGENCE

After saying that the situation facing the labor movement is "grounds for the most serious concern," the Report adds, "But the data we have studied, as well as our own common sense, provides grounds for hope as well and, indeed, suggests the seeds for a resurgence of the labor movement."

We agree. There are not only "seeds of a resurgence", there are indications that a resurgence is already underway:

\* \* The militancy in the ranks as measured by the role of secondary union leadership in resisting concessions, and the "hang tough" attitude of the rank and file when met with company demands that would destroy their union.

\*\*\* The grass roots groping for means of expressing solidarity and the stepped - up independent activity by the labor movement in electoral politics.

\*\*\* The development of organizations like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, of TUAD and other organizations on the Left, as well as the Coalition of Labor Union Women that bring new leadership and strength to the labor movement.

\*\*\* The emergence of groups like the Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, the participation from labor in the campaign against South Africa, the growth of trade union support for a nuclear freeze — all important steps away from the anti - communism and anti - Sovietism that have characterized the foreign policy positions of most of the U. S. labor movement for nearly 40 years.

### THE PROPOSALS

The Report begins its recommendations — they fall into five

general categories — by calling for new methods of advancing the interests of workers. We think the use of the term "workers" instead of "union members" is more than a matter of words.

Throughout its stormy history, our labor movement has had many of its share of ups and downs. But it has reached its peaks in both membership and influence when it clearly and deliberately placed itself in the leadership of all the struggles facing working people.

The most controversial of the proposals in the Report would establish "new categories of membership for workers not employed in an organized bargaining unit." But we think it has real possibilities.

How better to maintain contact with the 27 million former union members who may have lost membership rights in their own unions because of plant closings or lay off and are now unemployed or forced to work at substandard wages in unorganized plants? Couldn't these "new categories" evolve into unemployed committees, or provide a base for

recruiting "soldiers" for electoral work, for solidarity picket lines and, even, the rank and file organizers for the new organizing drives that the Report envisions?

When combined with the call for AFL-CIO affiliates to provide additional opportunities for members to participate in union affairs," the door is thrown wide open for renewed struggles to establish community based political action committees and to reestablish a shop steward system — the works.

The Report concludes with a section on structural changes to "enhance the labor movement's overall evectiveness", and calls for "both active AFL - CIO encouragement of mergers and guidelines as to appropriate and inappropriate mergers. . "

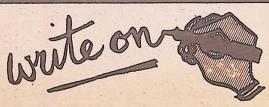
While based upon a demonstrated need — some 35 international unions share jurisdictions in the metal, machine and electrical industry and at least 12 different international unions had members at Phelps Dodge — his section of the Report also makes it possible to examine its weaknesses.

One need look no further than to the raids that took place against the unions expelled from the CIO to see the root cause of today's fractionized labor movement. The report is silent on this question as it is on two others, all of which weakens its present potential and sets limits on the resurgence we need.

If the trends and tendencies toward resurgence are to be strengthened — if as the AFL - CIO says, "(A period) of sustained growth is within our grasp" there is going to have to be a struggle. Employers never have and never will accept a militant labor movement.

We do not think that all of the members of the AFL - CIO Executive Council who helped prepare the Report yet fully accept that fact. Nor do they seem to recognize the harmful impact of some of the leadership's policies in shaping the conflicting attitudes in the ranks of the U. S. working class: Did I.W. Able's advocacy of compulsory arbitration do anything to protect the interests of steel workers, to say nothing of whether or not it helped win the hearts and minds of either union members or unorganized workers.

And the same could be said of any of the other "we're all in this together" schemes advocated by all too many in Continued On Page Seven



Dear Labor Today

As a regular reader — I subscribe to a bundle of Labor Today — I urge that you publish some information on the upcoming World Festival of Youth and Students, scheduled for Moscow, USSR in July.

In 1973 I had the opportunity to attend the 10th Festival in Berlin and found it to be an eye - opening experience. I was especially impressed by the discussions that I had with young workers from different countries.

Fraternally, David Stalf Local 1014, USWA

### THE EDITORS RESPOND. . .

In 1947 more than 17,000 young people from 71 countries attended the 1st Festival of Youth and Students in Prague, Czecheslovakia.

One of the highlights of the First Festival was a visit to Lidice, a town burned to the ground, its male inhabitants murdered, and all women and children deported by the Nazis in retaliation for the assasination of Reinhard Heydrich, the Hitlerite in charge of the German occupation of Czecheslovakia.

There, on the ashes of the city, delegations of young people from around the world, including many from the United States, solemnly pledged that "never again would humanity suffer so."

Since the 1st Festival, others have been organized at regular intervals in Vienna, Helsinki, Havana, Sofia, Bucharest and Berlin.

As Brother Stalf says in his letter, these Festivals afford young people from all walks of life and of every political persuasion an opportunity to cement friendships — friendships that can and do strengthen the common struggle for peace.

Festival organizers in the United States are working to send a U. S. delegation of 400 young people to the 12th Festival in Moscow from July 27 to August 3. There they will join their counterparts from more than 150 countries, gathered under a banner that reads: "The Friendship of Young Generations Can Bring Peace Among Nations."



Although Festival organizers in the United States are working to guarantee a representative delegation, they — as do we at Labor Today — place special emphasis on an effort to guarantee that substantial numbers of the U. S. Delegation are young workers and, more importantly, young trade unionists, Black, white, and Hispanic; men and women.

Transportation costs are in the neighborhood of \$1,000 per delegate. The host country provides all other necessities — food, lodging and transportation within the country.

There are several ways for trade unionists to help:

—First, a local union can send an official representative(s).

Second, local unions can donate money to the Prepatory Committee and, if they wish, specify the money be used to help trade unionists.

-Third, local unions or labor leaders can endorse the Festival.

Where none of these are possible, a group of trade unionists — or Labor Today readers — can get together and do any or all of the above.

True, there is "business" conducted at the Festivals. But each Festival is truly that — a festival. They are known for their cultural activities and sports events as well as the important friendships that are made there. Who knows — some of those who gather in Moscow this summer may be negotiating treaties twenty years from now!

It is particularly important that there be a large delegation from the United States at the 12th Festival. After all, it is our government that is providing billions of dollars in arms that are killing young people in Angola, South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon and Chile. It is the policies of the Reagan administration that, more than any other, threaten the world with nuclear annihilation.

U. S. youth have a particular responsibility to attend the Moscow Festival where the coming together of U. S. and Soviet youth at this critical juncture in history will be particularly worthwhile.

Inquiries (in some areas speakers are available), application form requests, or donations to help send young Americans to the 12th Festival of Youth and Students should be sent to:

U.S.N.P.C. 130 E. 16th Street New York, NY 10003 (212) 505-5543

# The State of Black America 1985

y Denice Miles

the National Urban League recently sued its 1985 report on the State of Black America. Unlike in previous eports, emphasis was placed more on he analysis of social issues and policy lebates than on income differentials and statistics of poverty. Though we would disagree with some of their conclusions, the articles discussing the 1984 elections, the Afro - American amily, and Afro - American workers in the U.S. labor movement have particular importance in light of the onslaught of Reaganism II.

### 1984 ELECTIONS

The State of Black America includes an article that analyzes the reasons for the re-election of Ronald Reagan and the Jessie Jackson campaign. Although one might disagree with many aspects of this analysis, the writer of this section of the report does conclude that Reagan did not receive a mandate to continue his policies and that the fight of the Afro - American inch be given to those who attempt to paint a picture of defeat. Yet, he does, in effect, develop his analysis in such a way that the unity of the Afro - American people with the labor movement is disregarded.

The report restates that:

- Reagan did not carry Reaganite candidates to victory. Throughout the country, Reaganite candidates were defeated in Congressional, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial races
- A huge mass of eligible voters did not vote
- The campaign of Jesse Jackson showed that a vast reservoir of voters can be brought enthusiastically back into the electoral arena in support of candidates who represent "people policies" versus those of the corporations

The candidacy of Jessie Jackson for president is hailed in the report. "Jackson's candidacy was seen as serving at least four objectives: to increase black political participation; to change Democratic party rules and state laws in order to increase the effectivness of the black vote; to raise issues of concern to minorities; and to create a "rainbow coalition" of liberal progressive forces within the Democratic Party that would possibly serve as a countervailing influence to the perceived rightward drift of that party."

### BLACK VOTERS UNITED

The response of Afro - Americans to the 1984 election overall was historic.

"... the percentage of black registration throughout the country equalled that of whites for the first time — 73% and 72% respectively. In 1980, the figures were 67% of blacks registered and 70% of whites." In

addition, the absolute number of registered Blacks who voted in 1984 was greater than in 1980, even though the rate of those actually voting declined slightly, from 64% in 1980 to 62.7% in 1984. It should be mentioned that there was a similar trend in the general electorate.

Yet, the most significant figure has to be that 91% of the Black community who voted cast their ballots against Reagan. Reagan was rightfully perceived as being anti - Black, anti union, and pro - big business.

Reality has already shown, only 5 months beyond the elections, that Reaganism II will force many who voted for Reagan to join with millions in the fight against his life -threatening policies.

### THE AFRO-AMERICAN FAMILY

Over the years, the Afro - American family has been the topic of researchers who had wide - ranging intentions. The Moynihan report issued that the harshness of slavery totally destroyed the family as a unit of social organization in the Afro - American community. Moynihan argued that under inhuman conditions of slavery, the family was replaced by promiscuity and general dehumanization. This heritage is said to be the root cause of large numbers of female - headed households. Unstable Afro - American families are said to be a product of a pathological life cycle acquired under slavery.

Urban League scholars, and others, have contributed greatly to destroying the myth that there are inherent pathological peculiarities in the lifestyle of Afro - Americans in general, or the families of Afro - Americans in particular. (In fact, attacks on the lifestyle of Afro - Americans, which is working class in content, have an intent, though sometimes hidden, of visciously attacking the lifestyles of working people as a whole.)

Part of the tragedy of slavery is that members of families sold apart had to exert great effort to relocate loved ones. Data reveal that even under the harshness of slavery, families fought to remain together; and that out of the harshness of slavery, relationships based on equality developed between Afro-American men and women.

### UNEMPLOYMENT GRAVEST FAMILY PROBLEM

The 1985 report cites that a devastating effect on the community, the family, and the individual is caused by high unemployment. "... non-employment and unemployment... are the most serious of all problems faced by black families because they are the primary reasons for their poverty." In 1982 29% of the

Black male population between 20 and 64 years of age were not employed. "More than 53% of all black families maintained by women and 63% of similar families with children under eighteen years of age had no employed person in the family as of October 1984 . . . Nearly one out of every five married couple families had no employed person in October of 1984 and, of similar families with children under 18 years of age, nearly 16% had no employed person. Clearly, such levels of unemployment are a major factor in the poverty that many black families endure and any effort to address the problems of the black family must have employment as its ultimate goal."

### AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

This section of the report presents a discussion of the role of Afro - American workers in the fight for equality both as a part of the labor movement — for example, winning the labor movement firmly to the side of affirmative action — and within their own unions — fighting for representation in leadership and policy making bodies. As an organizational, political, and economic force, the article states that the labor movement's importance to Afro - Americans is indisputable.

The historical overview reveals that slavery enchained both Black and white. The growth of labor unions was hampered by slavery and when workers struck, slaves were forced to replace them. Under the slavocracy, many courts declared strikes illegal.

Afro - American workers were very important in initiating and supporting the fight of Afro - Americans for equality, from the early efforts to gain entry into the emerging labor organizations, to providing the back-bone of the civil rights movement. "The most crucial challenge blacks now face in the labor movement is the viability of the movement itself . . Union membership has become one of the surest routes to economic improvement for black blue - collar workers, despite formidable resistance from some old - line craft unions." The fight of labor against the decline of wages, anti - unionism, give - back bargaining, and to organize the non - unionized and less unionized work places has special significance for Afro - American workers.

Increased participation of Afro -American workers in the rank and file and leadership of labor unions is also especially important to the direction of the labor movement.

"Statistically, more black workers than ever belong to unions, a greater

proportion of total union membership is black and black union leaders are increasing in number . . . the percentage of black workers who are union members, 29%, is higher than that for whites, 22% . . . black workers have been among the most vocal supporters of occupational health and safety regulations, stronger environmental safeguards for the population as a whole . . . ; minimum wage law; job training and development . . . ; affirmative action, including revisions of seniority practices in numerous industries, and continued organizing of workers, particularly in 'right - to - work' states. They have supported the emergence of the United Farm Workers of America ... and ... comparable worth and pay equity for women."

Afro - American labor leaders have played an important role in moving the whole of labor to support actions against South African apartheid, for peace, and for increased Black and labor representation in government. "It is clear that the fate of the labor movement and the fate of black workers cannot be separated . . . labor unions, determined to rebuild membership, increase revenues, and restore political efficacy . . . will be recruiting more black workers."

The most positive and unifying aspects of the report reveal that the progress of the Afro-American community as a political force, the Afro-American family as a strong unit, the Afro-American worker as the backbone of the community is intertwined with strengthening the fight for jobs, peace, equality, and trade unions.

In concluding, the Urban League makes twenty - four proposals, six of which are of particular importance in the fight against Reaganism II:

- 1. No budget cuts in social and human service programs; restoration of funding to Fiscal Year '82 level; cutting the defense budget
- 2. A Universal Employment and Training System to rebuild the cities; jobs and job training for youth
- 3. Federalization of the welfare system to bring all families above the poverty level
- 4. Increased funding for recreation, child care, vocational and health related initiatives
- 5. Enforcement of affirmative action; reintroduction of an passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1984
- 6. Abandonment of the policy of "constructive engagement" toward the Union of South Africa

### New directions for AFL - CIO?

Continued From Page Six

the leadership over the years: Labor management participation teams, QWL circles, the participation by the AFL - CIO leadership in various tripartate boards and agencies of recent years.

To be effective, to regain its ability to represent and organize workers, the labor movement will have to draw clear lines of distinction between itself and employers who make millions off the brawn and brains of working people.

But, even with these criticism — and the fact that the Report seems to accept the inevitable de - industrialization of the United States — we welcome it as an opportunity for further discussion, more effective action and victory.

the leadership over the years: Labor management participation teams, QWL circles, the participation by the Wirkland:

The Report concludes with a quote from Eugene Debbs, added by Lane Kirkland:

"Ten thousand times has the labor movement stumbled and bruised itself. We have been enjoined in the courts, assaulted by thugs, charged by the militia, traduced by the press, frowned upon in public opinion, and deceived by politicians.

But not withstanding all of this and all these, labor is today the most vital and potential power this planet has ever known, and its historic mission is as certain of ultimate realization as is the setting of the sun."

Just who in hell can disagree with that combination!

### Juan Chacon

Juan Chacon, a militant and celebrated labor leader, retired president of USWA Local 890, star of the film "Salt of the Earth", and participant in the founding conference of TUAD, died February 16 in Deming, New Mexico, leaving a legacy of rank and file fightback against the mining corporations of the Southwest.

When Juan Chacon first worked in the copper mines near Silver City, New Mexico, Hispanic workers were relegated to their own lunch and change rooms, and had to stand in their own payroll line when picking up their checks.

It was this discrimination, as well as the slum - like housing conditions of the company - owned, one - room shacks that led to a bitter strike against Empire Zinc in 1950, and subsequently to the filming of "Salt of the Earth".

Chacon was an outspoken defender of rank and file control of unions, and fought hard to maintain the right to strike over grievances in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. He also participated in the 1970 founding conference of the National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD).



Labor Today extends its deepest sympathy to Juan's wife and children and joins in singing the chorus of "El Corrido de Juan Chancon", composed and sung in his honor:

En los minerales de cobre vivio un hombre de valor; Quien peleo today su vida defendiendo al trabajador.

Translation:
In the copper mines
Lived a courageous man
Who fought his whole life
Defending his fellow workers.

