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the rank and file in action





VOLUME 25, NUMBER 9/10

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1986



Locked out steelworkers rally to demand unemployment comp.



Volume 25, Number 9/10

OCT/NOV 1986

TUAD PROGRAM

JOBS

Stop plant closings No forced overtime

Renew the struggle for shorter hours

Organize the unorganized and the unemployed

WORKING CLASS UNITY

Outlaw racist practices by companies on the shop floor end accommodation to racism on the union floor End all discrimination against women and youth

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Elect workers and trade unionists to public office
Initiate labor-community electoral and legislative coalitions
Build a labor-led party

PEACE

End the arms race—build homes, schools and hospitals

Expand peaceful trade with all nations

Establish relations with the entire world labor movement

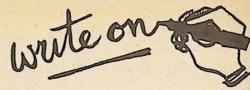
MILITANT DEMOCRATIC UNIONS

Protect and extend the right to vote on all contracts

Establish the right to elect stewards, bargaining and grievance committees, officers and conventions delegates

Guarantee the right of all members to participate in the conduct of union affairs—remove all clauses from union constitutions that discriminate on the basis of political belief or affiliation.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR



Dear Editor,

I just finished reading the September issue of Labor Today. I liked it very much. I did see one "error," however, which is quite common. In the Labor History column, 1919, you wrote that Foster "and others from the Chicago Federation of Labor" launched the Great Steel Strike. This was actually an AFL undertaking as evidenced from the enclosed letter from Foster to Frank Hayes, president of the UMW. The UMW responded to this appeal, providing such organizers as Mother Jones and Fannie Sellens, who was murdered on a picket line in W. Pennsylvania.

On the letterhead, note that Samuel Gompers, then President of the AFL, is the Chair of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.

Best regards, Melvin George Baltimore, MD

Notable Quotes

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 34th U.S. President April 16, 1953

ANNOUNCEMENT

Edward Durkin, former Vice-President of the International Fire Fighters Association, and retired Fire Chief of Madison, Wisconsin will speak on US-Soviet relations and world peace in Chicago, November 16, Midland Hotel, 2:00 PM under the auspices of the USA-USSR Friendship Council.

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Editorials

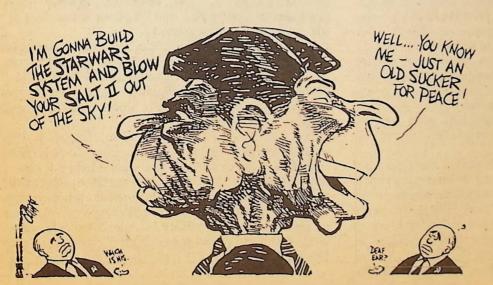
Elections represent new start for labor

There is unprecedented unity in the labor movement around the November 4 elections. The union-busting policies of the Reagan Administration and its supporters in the Republican-controlled Senate have been devastating not only to union members across the nation, but also to unorganized workers, the unemployed, and the poor. The possibility for ending such anti-worker policies has never been greater than in this off-year election.

The Senate races are the key to turning around the nation's economic life. The 1986 Reagan budget, calling for the largest cut in human-needs spending in U.S. history, was passed by only one vote. The recent victory over the Reagan veto of sanctions against South Africa, and the House's resolutions aimed at curbing the obscenely bloated military budget and promoting meaningful arms agreements are but small indications of what could be possible in a Democratically-controlled Senate, and in a House with a stronger partisan backbone.

The ultra-right stands to lose the chairmanships of a number of powerful Committees, as well. For example, a Republican defeat would mean that the Labor and Human Resources Committee now chaired by union-basher Orrin Hatch would be headed by Ted Kennedy.

Now is truly the time to "reward our friends and punish our enemies." Even after November 4, the coalitions forged by labor and its allies, the independent political action and COPE committees, the political participation of thousands of rank and file trade unionists are solidly in place to keep the pressure on for a "worker-friendly 100th Congress." Vote November 4 and prepare for the work that starts November 5. We can't wait 'til '88!



op/ed

Pick up the phone

From an Editorial in *The Mountain Eagle*, Whitesburg, Kentucky, October 15, 1986

President Reagan has just blown what may have been the best... opportunity for the United States and the Soviet Union to cool it on this business of both nations going all out to build the biggest, fastest and deadliest atomic weapons and ballistic missiles.

President Reagan has left the world little room for hope.

We listened to his Monday night TV address in which he attempted to explain his failure in his negotiations in Iceland over the week end with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The President was full of rhetoric—no one does a better job of waving the American flag—but he was short on sound and convincing logic.

The Russians proposed a disarmament program that would have cut strategic weapons by 50 per cent in five years, would eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe, and would cut the number of warheads on Soviet medium-range missiles in Asia to 100. Further, the Soviets agreed to permit whatever inspections the Americans might want in order to assure compliance with the proposed agreement.

President Reagan refused becasue the Soviets also wanted a 10-year ban on testing weapons developed by the U.S. under President Reagan's controversial "Star Wars" weapons system which the President likes to call the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The practical effect of the week-end developments is that President Reagan has turned down an unprecedented chance for disarmament—the world's best chance for peace—because he wants to spend countless billions of dollars on a Star Wars scheme which has yet to be developed and which many of

the world's leading scientists say can never work. Even the staunchest Star Wars advocates admit that the system probably would not be more than 90 or 95 per cent effective. The Russians are said to have 10 thousand missiles. If we knocked out 90 or 95 per cent of them in a Star Wars endeavor, that still would leave 500 to 1,000 missiles to come storming down on the United States—far more than enough to destroy us all.

Mr. Reagan needs to pick up his telephone and arrange another meeting with Mr. Gorbachev while talking is still possible.

Congressman Charles Hayes—Labor's True Representative

Congressman Charles A. Hayes, Representative of Chicago's First Congressional District of Illinois, is running for re-election on November 4. He is the only member of Congress to previously serve as an international union officer (International President of the United Food and Commerical Workers) with a lifetime history of struggle in the labor movement. He has a 100% AFL-CIO voting record and leads the nation in a determined, resolute fight to guarantee jobs and a decent income for all Americans.

He is also a leader in the peace movement, consistently linking the Reagan Administration's "wild military spending" to the economic crisis that pervades the lives of our poor and working class citizens. Staunchly opposed to Star Wars, the MX missile, nerve gas and chemical weapons, Congressman Hayes has worked for a mutually verifiable U.S.-Soviet freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons, for total comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, and a prohibition of aid to rebels in Angola and contras in Central America.

While Charles Hayes is the newest member of the Congressional Black Caucus, he is veteran in the fight against racism at home and across the seas. The entire Black Caucus has been arrested, along with many other Congressional and labor leaders, in the struggle against apartheid South Africa, and are the most consistently progressive force in the U.S. Congress on any number of issues, including national health care legislation and jobs with affirmative action that include goals and timetables.

Labor Today is confident that Congressman Hayes will be returned to the 100th Congress of the United States and will be one of the hardest workers in the fight to repair the damages of Reaganomics. His district pulled no punches when they elected him overwhelmingly in 1984 and at the same time turned out the highest vote percentage in the United States against the re-election of Ronald Reagan! With Congressman Hayes, the labor movement has more than a friend in Congress—we have one of our own. And his re-election will make it possible to have more.

Congressman Charles Hayes on the '86 Elections

We cannot leave the fate of the nation to those who allow 15 million people to remain unemployed, who ignore and forget about thousands upon thousands, who have put the whole public education system into jeopardy.

The crisis of unemployment deserves to be put on the top of everyone's political agenda. We must pass legislation, such as HR-1398, the

Income and Jobs Action Act, that combats the rising unemployment and subsequent poverty of millions of people.

It comes down to changing the priorities of this government. We've got to stop spending money on "Star Wars"—a project that I'm not at all convinced will work, nor are the experts—stop spending money on all kinds of nuclear weapons at the expense of programs that help people live.

This business of Star Wars diverts us from our own needs, our own priorities in this country. I don't believe "Star Wars" can protect us—or the world—especially when we have millions of jobless and homeless people in our cities and countryside.

Certainly, priorities can be changed if the Democrats maintain control of the House in the '86 elections and gain control of the Senate, whose main interest has been to protect the wealthy. But, the Democratic Party itself has to change course. To ensure our re-election and our ability to unseat Reaganites, we must hit hard on the economic issues, let people know what we think about the present spending priorities, about the scourge of unemployment and poverty,



and this will motivate people to get out to vote.

The Congressional Black Caucus is looking to increase our numbers by 4 seats—in Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia and New York. The Democratic Party is giving all out support to those races. If Ms. Williams is elected in Louisiana it will increase Black female representation in the Congress by 100%. Obviously,

we need the support of white voters, too. Ever since Blacks have had the right to vote, they have supported white candidates throughout the country. Now, we have a situation where the reverse must prevail.

In Chicago, these elections can be the impetus to re-elect Mayor Harold Washington in 1987. We're not about to give the city back to those who ran it at the behest of and for the benefit of a few. Mayor Washington has opened up the benefits of the city to all—Black, brown, white, men and women.

The trade union PAC committees are helping in this election. And they should give the maximum allowable under federal law to those candidates who support labor's demands. But even incumbants demand scrutiny and labor cannot afford to back candidates who do nothing about unemployment, who do nothing to bolster our educational system, who insist on spending more on military hardware. If people cannot work, if children cannot get a decent education, if we may lose it all in a nuclear "error", where is our future?

CLUW Convention Highlight

Economic issues still key to Women's Equality

by Debbie Albano, Editor, Labor Today Chicago Newspaper Guild, Local 71

Since its founding in 1974, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has grown from 10 chapters and 5,000 members to 75 chapters and more than 18,000 members. It is clearly an organization at the heart of the labor movement—seeking to abolish sexual and racial discrimination in the workplace, within women's own unions, encouraging political and legislative action and organizing unorganized women.

At its founding convention, Addie Wyatt, then Director of the Women's Department of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, and a current member of the CLUW National Executive Board emphasized the bread and butter needs of women in her keynote address, saying, "Women work for the same reason that men work—we have to." Pointing to the lower wages received by women, she declared, "We cannot afford the luxury of a discriminatory paycheck."

Today, her words are even more meaningful. Since CLUW's founding, the U.S. work force has grown 21 percent, with working women making up 62 percent of the total growth. In 1985, 70 percent of women in the prime working age group, aged 25 to 54 years, were in the workforce.

Recent government reports confirm that real income has dropped over 10% in the last 10 years and it now takes two incomes to support a family. However, the number of working women who are the sole providers for their families has grown by more than 84 percent between 1970 and 1984.

Even though women workers made considerable gains through legislative efforts before the Reagan Administration, including the passage of the pregnancy disability law and aggressive federal affirmative action programs, progress on the issue of pay equity has been "painfully slow." As the words of a popular song of the '70's said: "59 cents for every man's dollar," has only increased to "64 cents for every man's dollar," today. In the face of Reaganite cutbacks in child care, medicaid, Aid to Dependent Families, food stamps, etc., this wage gap is in many instances an unbearable reality for millions of working women.

The slashing of federal programs are not the acts of a self-proclaimed "pro-family" government. While the Reagan Administration appropriates billions of dollars for its pet military projects, including the illusory and insatiable "Star Wars" scheme, children go without school lunches, critical innoculations, decent education programs and quality childcare; parents remain jobless and unable to provide even the basic necessities of life.

CLUW, working in conjunction with the AFL-CIO, unaffiliated unions such as NEA and UMWA, the women's movement and civil rights organizations has done tremendous work and has much more to do. That CLUW's numbers continue to grow and the issues continue to expand lead one to the old saying, "A woman's work is never done." The task of organizing and lobbying on behalf of working women and men—working for a better future for all—is the unceasing concern of CLUW.

Family and Medical Leave Act - HR 4300

by Kay Tillow, President Pittsburgh Chapter CLUW

The Pittsburgh Chapter of CLUW, along with other CLUW chapters, the UMWA, the AFL-CIO, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and many other groups, is waging a campaign to win Congressional support and passage of a parental and medical-leave bill, HR 4300, introduced by Representatives Pat Schroeder and William Clay.

This legislation would guarantee the right of working parents to take up to four months of unpaid leave on the birth, adoption or serious illness of a child. This AFL-CIO-supported bill would also allow up to six months of unpaid medical leave to cover the serious illness of a worker.

Parental leave would be available to employees of either sex. Workers who take parental or medical leave would have any company health insurance benefits continued during the leave period and a guarantee of returning to the same or a comparable job.

We are aware that this bill does nothing to solve the problem of continued income during the leave—an area in which our country lags behind most of the industrialized world. (For instance, West Germany provides for 14 weeks of maternity leave at 100 percent of earnings, and France provides 16 weeks of leave at 90 percent of earnings.)

However, HR 4300 represents a major advance for working parents who should have the right to spend time with a new child without risking their jobs. The ending of job loss for pregnancy is an absolutely essential step in achieving equality for women.

For further information, contact CLUW's Center for Education and Research, 2000 P Street NW, Suite 615, Washington, DC 20036 or Coal Employment Project, UMWA, P.O. Box 3403, Oak Ridge, TN 37831 and write your Congressional Representatives urging them to vote for HR 4300.

TRADE UNIONIST KEEPS MARCHING FOR PEACE

Mauricio Terrazas, retired member of Teamsters Local 208, has been on the Great Peace March since it left California over seven months ago. "I'm here because we are living in a dangerous world. With hundreds of nuclear weapons pointed at every possible target, we can't sit by and leave the control of our lives in someone else's hands."

Terrazas received financial aid and solidarity from East Los Angeles College as well as the Teamsters Joint Council of L.A. "Our union locals came together on this in a way seldom seen before." Emphasizing that the arms race cannot provide the number of jobs needed, and that the "products were useless, piling up dangerously around the world," Terrazas said, "Converting the present military economy to peaceful production is the only answer. Our security is in jobs—that's our future."

When asked about the '86 elections, Brother Terrazas said they were critical in determining the future direction of our country. "We cannot tolerate a President whose posture is so clearly against nuclear disarmament. His policies may live or die with this election."

In his many months of traveling across the country, Terrazas along with the 700-plus marchers, have spoken in community centers, churches, on picketlines, at rallies, emphasizing the March's four point program: An end to nuclear tests; a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons development and deployment; a negotiated reduction of all nuclear weapons and stockpiles; and the economic conversion of our military economy to one of peaceful production.

"Our country does not belong to someone else. It does not belong to the politicians, the industrialists, the wealthy. This is our country and, like all of us on the March, trade unionists, seniors, children, unemployed, we must join together and demand a guarantee to a future. There can only be a guarantee if we proceed with farreaching agreements on nuclear disarmament."

Arms Control Resolution

Excerpts from Arms Control Resolution Adopted by the Industrial Union Department (IUD), AFL-CIO, October 10, Florida

There is no issue of greater importance to survival of human life on our planet than meaningful progress on arms control.

Under Ronald Reagan, our military establishment has enjoyed more than a \$1 trillion buildup—a pattern in spending that the President wants to continue for years to come, even in this age of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings when sharp limitations are imposed on almost all other kinds of spending. Record military spending during the first six years of the Reagan Administration has had questionable impact on our security, and it has not reduced the danger of nuclear or conventional war

Although the Reagan Administration and its spokesmen have wisely cooled their anti-Soviet rhetoric somewhat in recent months, the Administration still has not negotiated a single nuclear arms control treaty. Its record stands in stark contrast with the arms control records of the previous six Presidents.

Adoption of a nuclear weapons freeze, on a mutually verifiable basis, would constitute a positive step toward arms control. The United States should propose that step in the current talks at Geneva and then seek additional steps toward actual dismantling of nuclear arsenals in the two countries. That is the way toward true mutual security. We must direct our energies toward achievement of arms control and disarmament, objectives that the people of America and the Soviet Union both seek.

With respect to the President's costly Strategic Defense Initiative, not enough is known at this point to determine whether the project would be viable or not. There is widespread concern, however, that SDI could destabilize nuclear deterrence and actually increase the risk of global nuclear war. Before moving into full-scale production, which will cost billions of dollars, there is a need to establish whether "Star Wars"

will fulfill its intended purposes and not represent yet another escalation in the arms race that does little or nothing to increase our security.

We are encouraged that the Congress has mounted a challenge—still somewhat tentative, but nontheless a challenge—to the Administration on arms control policy. The IUD also welcomes the new attitude of skepticism about defense spending displayed on Capitol Hill. In our view, it is refreshing and long overdue. For too long, the Congress obligingly has gone along with the bloated military spending recommendations of Ronald Reagan. It is time for a pause in the rate of growth in military spending; that can be done without job loss.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

Though we welcome these recent developments in Congress, far more must be done to achieve a safer world, free from nuclear war. The IUD therefore supports:

- Reciprocal reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States.
- Continuation of the policy of not undercutting SALT offensive arms limitations so long as the Soviets also follow such a policy.
- Abiding by the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty limits.
- A negotiated ban on Anti-Satellite (ASAT) weapons.
- A negoitated ban on all nuclear weapons testing.
- A treaty to ban production and stockpiling of lethal chemical weapons.
- Avoiding escalation of the arms race into outer space.
- A mutually-verifiable bilateral freeze on the production of nuclear weapons.

(Submitted by: United Auto Workers)

U.S. workers attend 11th World Trade Union Conference



In the following interview, Labor Today turned the tables on its former editor, Fred Gaboury, now Permanent Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions at the United Nations. This time, we asked the questions! Gaboury's responses show a keen understanding of the issues confronting the international trade union movement today.

Please give our readers some facts about the Congress.

Delegates from 147 countries, representing 296 million workers, attended the 11th World Trade Union Congress. There were 1014 delegates, 11% of which were women.

For the first time in the history of the Congress, there were fewer representatives of WFTU affiliates than non-affiliates—452 representatives of WFTU affiliates were in attendance while 562 representatives of non-affiliates were also present.

In terms of international solidarity, for the first time since the early 1950s, the Yugoslavians participated and for the first time since 1964, there was a small group from Italy.

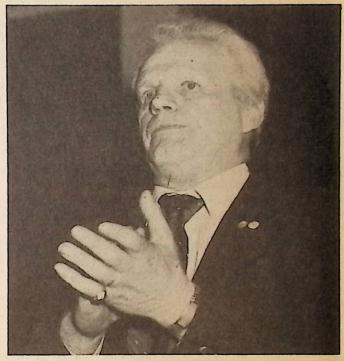
What was the main theme, or the main conclusions of the Congress?

The estimate of the Congress was that its main themes, Peace and Disarmament, Trade Union Rights and Economic and Social Development are essentially the same as the entire world labor movement. While the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and the WCL (World Confederation of Labor) may word them differently, these are the same three questions all working people around the world are concerned with.

The tendency toward unity is an almost spontaneous thing in the working class. Workers understand the need for concerted, united action. Those who would keep that from happening have to stay awake nights dreaming up new ways to keep workers divided. In the U.S. they use racism, sexism, somewhat artificial divisions and jurisdictions.

On the international scene they use, chiefly, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, with the main focus being on whether or not unions in the socialist countries are, in fact, unions. That seems to be the shibolleth behind which people hide. Perhaps the best quote on that is from Pres. Winpisinger of the Int'l Association of Machinists when he returned from visiting the Soviet Union. He said, "If unions had as much horsepower here as they have there, perhaps we could get some things done, too."

What one has to understand is that unions in socialist countries operate in a completely different environment than in



capitalist countries. They administer funds given them from the State, in the amount equal to, or sometimes greater than, the amount spent on defense! They have, or are trying to develop, real quality of work life teams—QWL's with an essential difference: the greater profits and production achieved through qualitative and quantitative improvements go to the society as a whole—to build new day care centers, pay for worker's holidays, build a new road, repair railway lines, retool an enterprise, pay for medical treatments, etc. There is no one there who is allowed to rake off those profits.

I would say that unions in the socialist countries have hellatious power. Rather than say they are an arm of the state, it would be more accurate to say that they run the state.

In the German Democratic Republic, particularly, the second largest group in the national parliament are those representing the labor movement. In fact, they are guaranteed a certain number of seats. The government of the GDR is run by a coalition of 5 political parties, 4 of them in the labor movement.

What proposals did the Congress make that are particularly important to the U.S. labor movement?

The idea that stuck in my mind was the 'need for workers to join in a "Coalition of Realism." Realism meaning this:

that the world is divided at this stage in history into two competing social systems—socialism and capitalism. And that anyone who thinks they're going to change socialist societies are fooling themselves. And that workers in Latin America, Africa, and Asia are no longer going to accept the dominance of U.S. transnational corporations; that their unions are as concerned with national liberation as they are with wages, hours, and working conditions.

You said that there were more unaffiliated observers and participants at this Congress than actual WFTU affiliates for the first time in the Congress' history. Why? What is the value of non-affiliates attending?

If you believe that the barriers that keep us (the ICFTU and the WFTU) apart are artificial, that they've been imposed by others with narrow self-interests, then it helps to come and see for yourself to be able to straighten all that out.

Secondly, for people to come as observers as we did, and as did those from Australia, Canada, and Britain, then it gives the affiliated unions confidence that the policies of the Reagan Administration and the hopes and aspirations of the American workers are not the same. SACTU understood this. President Daniel Ortega from Nicaragua spoke to this in his address to the Congress. So, it not only gives us an opportunity to learn, but it gives others the opportunity to draw strength from the fact that in the U.S., there are numbers of trade unionists and others who recognize the justice of their struggles.

The U.S. observer group, composed of members of 13 different unions, rank and filers as well as elected officials. men and women of varied political, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, were able to add to the other delegates' understanding of the U.S. labor movement in a very important way. There are some in the world labor movement who consider U.S. trade unionists to be a monolithic entity. That we've been bought off by the society's (heretofore ability) to provide a relatively high standard of living and that there is no struggle. This has never been true. In addition, there are those who feel the AFL-CIO's International Department reflects the policies and wishes of the entire labor movement here. Even in the coldest days of McCarthyism, there was dissent and opposition to certain AFL-CIO foreign policy decisions, and this is certainly a growing trend today. And, of course, we also represented unions that are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, yet are vital components of organized labor.

For the other delegates, listening to the real life experiences of the U.S. observer group helped dispell some rather simplistic views they might have previously held about the labor movement in the United States.

Now that the delegates have gone and come back, is there a special responsibility that they have here in the U.S.?

I think that responsibility is twofold. One, to continue to enhance the struggle against the policies of the Reagan

Administration toward comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, intervention in Central America, and the whole question of the Third World debt. We've got to begin to understand more clearly this debt question because that is where the struggle against the multinationals can take place.

Secondly, that ways must be found to build participation in these kinds of meetings. If we truly believe in the need for international solidarity and trade union unity, then the task is to begin to break down the barriers by action, by participating and at the same time to struggle within the labor movement to fight those policies that keep us divided.

What are the possibilies for nuclear disarmament?

Only the blind can ignore the fact that the overwhelming majority of the world lives in mortal fear of a nuclear holocaust. This was particularly apparent being in the GDR. There is not a thing they can do, except hope, that there will be progress towards a nuclear test ban, towards the elimination of Star Wars, towards an agreement of some kind that will offer them real security. They know they're going to die if there's a war.

They're also convinced that the Reagan Administration has been the roadblock in that process. But they also recognize that those policies do not necessarily speak for the American people. The desire for peace was overwhelming and spoken to by people who may die in the struggle for national liberation tomorrow. Che Guevarra said, "A love of life does not entail a fear of death." While many of the trade unionists we met and spoke with are prepared to die in their struggles for union rights, for the right to determine their own destinies, they as sure as hell do not want to die in a nuclear war.



U.S. observers on 11th World Trade Union Conference



• "My allegiance and my love is for the labor movement. To have had the opportunity to attend the World Trade Union Congress as an observer bolstered my belief that the labor movement is the one structure that we can all work in regardless of our political, religious, or patriotic persuasions.

"When the labor movement of all countries recognize our

common bonds that oceans cannot sever, then we will have that thunderous voice that will demand world peace, demand trade union rights and demand that all workers of the world be treated with the dignity and respect to which we are entitled.

"World peace and trade union rights were the main themes of the Congress. I am sure that I and millions of Americans would agree that such dialog can only be applauded."

> Dennis Boyle, Chairman Public Relations Committee Tribune Strikers Unity Council Chicago

O "The Congress, being in Berlin, brought home for the first time in my life the sense of resolution of the European countries for peace, especially in light of their WWII experience. We are able to trivialize war, with Rambo dolls and the like, only because we as a generation have not been touched by its horrors. We cannot escalate the arms race forever without destruction for all. This was the central theme of the Congress none of us could ignore.

"In the GDR, free medical care and guaranteed employment are Constitutional rights. On returning home, it was more difficult because of this experience to see someone lying on a street in downtown Pittsburg with big sores on his leg, or to see a line of 150 unemployed and old people lining up for a hot meal in my own hometown of Homestead, where once proud ethnic workers carried thousands of meals into the mills for a couple of generations.

"However, I believe there is hope because the American observer group of 29 trade unionists, involved as they are in their own unions and people's struggles, represent the willingness not to despair but to fightback. That fightback demands that jobs, health care, and peace are a birthright."

Ed Cloonan, President State Store Employees Pennsylvania



experience in Berlin was one revelation after another concerning international solidarity, life in a socialist country, and the power of the labor movement. It's difficult to single out one impression, but I found the desire for peace to be overwhelming. From young people in the streets wearing

'No cruise missiles' buttons, to the commitment of the Congress towards abolishing the threat of nuclear war, the peace sentiment was everywhere.

"There is an expression I heard over and over in the German Democratic Republic, 'Never again must war start on German soil.' After the Congress I felt that trade unionists worldwide have been empowered to declare, 'Never again must war start on this planet.'"

Sue Mauren, Steward Local 320, IBT Minneapolis

"Aside from being an observer at the World Trade Union Congress, I arranged to speak to my fellow Baptist church members in Berlin. It was a well-attended service, with people of all ages, and after the service, I was invited to continue the discussion informally with about 45 members of the Church—whoever wanted to



stay. Later, I visited the home of the pastor, which was a large, warm, well-furnished, spotless 2-bedroom apartment. Mostly we talked about how I as a trade unionist and a church member 'could help our fellow men and women.' No matter where you are in the world, people do have problems and the church there was involved in helping people sort them out.

"The message of the WFTU unions and other non-affiliated groups at the Congress was, 'Please don't develop Star Wars. We don't need it and we certainly don't want to destroy the world.' This is no reflection on us, the U.S. trade unionists, but rather a message we must get back to President Reagan. In my mind, the SDI project's only accomplishment will be to create big bucks for someone else."

Mary Anne Petersen, Vice President Local 58, GCIU San Francisco



"This Congress was valuable if for no other reason than to talk to trade unionists from around the world, to learn about their concerns, and to answer the questions that they have about the American labor movement. And there were many concerns and questions. The main one being how we are engaged in the struggle for peace. And related to that, questions about the role of certain departments of the AFL-CIO in other areas of the world, particularly in Central America and South Africa.

"Clearly, the arms race doesn't benefit workers anywhere. And in the third world countries, where the trade union movements are just emerging, the arms race is literally starving people to death. Just as the International Monetary Fund is—expecting these countries to pay more on their national debt than they are able to earn from their gross national product.

"Since I've been home, there have been two major plant closings in my area. This is not just a problem here, but all over the developing and capitalist world. Our labor movement has got to take a good hard look at the role the multinationals are playing worldwide in their union-busting offensive. The idea of an International Trade Union Rights Center discussed at the Congress is a very good one—one that the U.S. trade unions can get behind no matter what our affiliation.

"In our meeting with the delegation from South Africa, we were able to discuss the need for dialog with SACTU and COSATU. Hopefully this meeting will result in further contacts between U.S. trade unionists and their South African counterparts, especially at the shop floor level.

While "Star Wars" is clearly a "sticking point" to the rest of the world, I don't think its uselessness has really sunk in here at home. But when we fully understand the cost of the thing—billions of dollars, for what?—the devastation of beneficial social programs—and the idiotic notion that to see if it really works we really have to test it!—there will be a similar groundswell of opposition to it as there is on the question of apartheid South Africa or U.S. involvement in Central America."

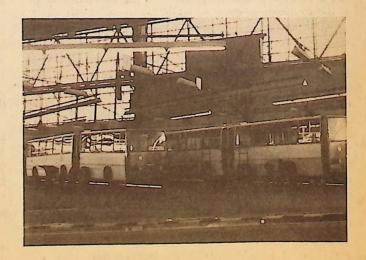
Leo Robinson, Steward Local 10, ILWU U.S. Delegation's plenary speaker Oakland



• "Being a Teamster, one of the most interesting opportunities we had was to visit a Bus Transit Barn in Berlin. Instead of the usual coin-operated machines our drivers frequent for their meals and snacks, this depot ran a 24-hour cafeteria where any union member could buy a nice, freshly prepared hot meal, at any time of the day or night, for about 50 cents. There were union meeting rooms on the premises, a bus repair shop, bus-washing area (all their vehicles are kept so clean—they were all spotless when they were running on the streets), even a library for the workers that had about 40,000 books. It's run the same way a public library is here. Most of the books are in German, of course, but I did see books in other languages, too, including English.

"Bus fare is very cheap—about 10 cents a ride. I don't know the fare exactly because I never paid it! All of the guests at the Congress were allowed to use the buses, subways and trains for free."

> Jack Canzoneri, Recording Secretary and Business Agent Local 375, IBT Buffalo, New York



A steelworker's impressions: 12,000 people on the job!

by Roosevelt DuVall
Picket Captain and Assistant Griever
USWA Local 1014, Gary Works

The visit to the steel mill in Eisenhuddenstadt? I could never forget it! Generally, it was very similar to the mill where I work—it's a modern mill with a coke plant and blast furnace. Coke gas is used to run the generators. Pretty much the same type of equipment is used. But the biggest difference to me was that there were 12,000 people working.

The union committee served lunch to the U.S. delegates in their hall, located on the property. Their offices were the size of the USX corporate offices here. I spoke with the union representatives about the USX lockout and the number of concessions our union has been forced to accept. It was almost impossible for those steelworkers to understand what a lockout was! What concessions were or what kind of conditions exist that produce concession-type agreements. There is no unemployment in the GDR and steelworkers are kept very busy producing what's needed to build roads, hospitals, and schools.

Before we left, their union presented me with a resolution of solidarity, expressing support for our members locked out at home. During the course of our visit, hundreds of steelworkers were able to leave their jobs and come talk to us.

Inside the mill, I noticed that every crane had two operators and one or two workers monitoring safety. Many women were working the cranes, driving fork lift trucks, etc. There are 10 doctors and 10 dentists on duty at the mill. Union members are given extensive training in first aid and medical emergencies and the workers are monitored often for jobrelated illnesses. The union decides whether or not a worker should be transferred to a less hazardous job or be sent for recuperation to a sanitorium.

I didn't see any foremen or supervisors around, but there is a shop steward for every 23 workers. They run their mills 24 hours a day, like here. There's a 120 hour limit on overtime hours per year, anything over 40 hours is overtime. Besides a shift differential, overtime hours are paid at time and a quarter, Sundays, time and a half, and holidays, double time. Each steelworker has a 30-day vacation, free medical care and rents are frozen at 3% of their income. On the average, steelworkers in the GDR make 900-2000 marks per month. There was also a sports complex at the plant site that included a full indoor track and soccer field.

Since I've been home, I've talked to a lot of my fellow rank and filers about this experience. While most have been very interested and eager to hear about it, there are some who keep trying to convince me that I didn't see what I saw. That I was brainwashed. I tell them, 'Look, what do you think I am, a robot? I was there! And besides, after the





Roosevelt DuVall, far left, with steelworkers and U.S. observers in Eisenhuddenstadt, GDR.

Congress, after the tours that were arranged for us, we could do anything, go anywhere we wanted in Berlin.' And I did. What I saw was that they've got everything we've got, maybe more.

The people were so warm-hearted and glad to have us there. And for those two weeks, I didn't have any worries—no wondering about health insurance, how the gas and light bills were going to get paid, when my phone might be cut off. The Congress participants, and the people of the GDR, expressed time and again their wish for peace and solidarity throughout the world, their concern over "Star Wars", that it was not for the future, the future must be without it. It's an experience I'll always treasure."



An unfamiliar sight to German workers—locked out steelworkers.

Tale of two cities—two

by Norm Roth
UAW Local 6, Retired
Contributing Editor

On July 18, 1985, approximately 950 printers, typographers and mailers employed by the Chicago Tribune went on strike. They were forced out by the union-busting demands and provocations of the newspaper's publishers. Now, fifteen months later, they are still on strike as the workers struggle to save their unions. Due to a 1975 agreement involving lifetime job tenure and some NLRB rulings against the Tribune, 60 members of the Typographical Union have returned to work, seeking to protect their rights to their jobs, while the remaining Typos, and members of the GCIU and Mailers and Pressmen are essentially locked out. It is a confused and difficult situation to say the least.

In another city, some 1000 miles away, 4,800 union members in nine separate unions were forced to "hit the bricks" on September 7, 1985, when their negotiations broke down. They are employed by the Knight-Ridder publishing chain's Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News. The publishers, hyped up by the nation's Reaganized union-busting climate, joined the crowd in demanding wage and benefit cuts and work rule changes that would seriously weaken the nine unions involved in the strike.

After a very hard fought 45-day struggle, severely testing the solidarity of the unions, the workers returned to work victorious. They had repulsed Knight-Ridder's attempts to weaken their unions and won an average weekly pay and benefit increase of \$155 per worker over the life of the new contract.

A line in labor's national anthem, "Solidarity," states, "In our hands we hold a power greater than their hoarded gold." Why then has the Committee for a Union Free Environment and the Conference Board, the Reagan Administration and its NLRB and court apppointees, confidently, and too often successfully, proceeded with plans they hope will bring about the demise of the U.S. labor movement?

In the story of these two strikes, a tale of two cities and two struggles, we find some answers to the question of how to affect the turn around in the attacks against labor. We find a key to the resurgence of labor strength and growth necessary to meet the economic and political challenges brought about by the unprecedented power of the transnational corporations.

In the case of the Tribune strike, the owners were well-prepared for the strike. They had replaced Chicago's nationally prominent union consulting firm, Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson, with the publishing industry's most notorious union-busting firm, King, Ballow and Little, of Nashville, Tennessee. Scab printers, many of them professional strike breakers, were brought in from other states and housed in nearby high-priced hotels. The publisher's hiring policies changed drastically. The Trib had never



distinguished itself in hiring Blacks and other minorities. Now it turned to those groups heaviest hit by unemployment and offered them jobs where they formerly would not have been considered. In this area, the unions involved in the strike were themselves open to the employer's attempts at division, by not having carried out a stronger fight for the hiring of minority workers.

With but very few exceptions, Tribune workers who were members of other non-striking unions, crossed the picket lines from the first day of the strike. They had been warned by the leaders of their unions that they must either obey the "no-strike" clause in their contracts or be discharged for refusing to go to work. Chicago's unionized police opened the picket lines for scabs who replaced the strikers and for union teamsters who picked up and delivered the scab papers. The nation's anti-labor legislation tied the strikers hands and legs while they struggled against the greedy, profiteering corporate money managers and owners.

Unable to stop the scabbing and the publishing and distribution of the paper by their picket lines, the striking unions focused on a campaign to win public support for the strike through a boycott. Subscribers were urged to cancel their subscriptions and advertisers were asked to switch to another paper. In spite of sizeable losses in sales and advertising, the union-busting crew in the corporate offices have resisted all pressures to mediate the strike or negotiate with the unions in any meaningful way. The Tribune has not missed a single day of publication and distribution since the strike began. Its owners feel confident of victory, and all efforts to bring them to the negotiating table for bona fide bargaining have failed-even the Chicago Federation of Labor's support rally that brought 17,000 union workers to the Tribune's gates. Chicago's Mayor Harold Washington offered his services as mediator, only to be refused by the Tribune management, as was Cardinal Joseph Bernardin and

strikes

the Federal Mediation Service. The Tribune demands complete surrender... a union with no power at all.

The importance of the victory of the nine unions that struck the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News cannot be understated. Labor victories under the Reagan Administration have been all too few, with many retreats and far too many broken strikes.

Along with the tremendous concentration of capital in the past 15 years through mergers and buy-outs, we have had revisions of the tax laws and the internationalization of capital. This has led to sharply enhanced political power for the owners of wealth. This increase in their economic and political strength has been turned into greater leverage against the trade unions as the owners strive to maximize their profits.

The nine unions that fought off the attack of their employer and chalked up a victory for labor assessed the situation correctly and did those things that were necessary to win. They formed a joint leadership of the nine unions and, in the words of James O'Conner, Vice President of the Unity Council, "We forgot our egos and represented our people. Three years earlier only three of the nine unions involved had common expiration dates for their contracts. We had a lot of differences, but we worked them out. It took us two sets of contract negotiations before we were able to win a common expiration date of August 31 for our contracts. The Teamsters still had a separate date of expiration, but we all waited and went out together on September 7. It didn't just happen overnight. We had to straighten out our differences."

In the Philadelphia strike, everybody went out, from the reporters to the teamsters. The paper was tied up. It couldn't publish and it couldn't deliver. The strike also had the complete support of the Philadelphia Central Labor Council. The publisher did its best to drive wedges between the different unions, but they were rebuffed and defeated by the

solidarity of the workers.

Another noteworthy point in the Philadelphia Inquirer strike victory is the essence of their unity that made victory possible. The nine unions chose Teamster Drivers Local President, Bill Gulifer as President and chief spokesman for the Unity Council. This, in spite of the fact that the Teamsters are an independent union and have not been affiliated with the AFL-CIO for many years.

When a tentative settlement was reached in the Philadelphia strike on the 39th day it was rejected by the Teamsters. It was only after the Teamsters reconsidered the contract several days later and accepted it that the other unions, acting in unity, voted on the contract and accepted it, ending the strike.

The Philadelphia strike clearly shows that when the common need is greater than the differences that divide us, we can only win by uniting around that common need in solidarity.

The last point to be learned in the lesson from Philadelphia is that when the nine unions involved in that strike worked out their common strategy, those craft unions banded together in a form closely representing industrial unionism-which was based on the idea of one union, one industry, one contract. The Philadelphia unions had one leadership, the Unity Council, one set of negotiations, a common expiration date, and the greatest strength possible through unified action. It was enough to defeat a formidable foe even during a time when the laws are stacked against us and the corporations have pulled out every stop in their intense unionbusting campaigns. As Typographical Union President Bob McMichen said after walking the picket lines in Philadelphia, "The Unity Council is a fine example of what can be accomplished by union members working together and sticking together. It should be the goal of all unions."

The vast, unprecedented political and economic power of the owners of wealth today is the challenge we must face. The power greater than their hoarded gold is in our hands if we will but put it together.



IFFA SEEKS SUPPORT

A message from Vicki Frankovich President IFFA

Over the past several years, airline workers of all kinds have been taking a beating. The airlines have used every trick in the book—from bankruptcy to wage blackmail—to force their pilots, flight attendants, machinists and others to take concessions. It was just such a situation that forced the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants' 6,800 TWA flight attendant members out on strike on March 7. And months later, we are as determined as ever to resist company demands for a 44% concessionary package that includes work rule changes and a permanent 22% wage cut.

Recently IFFA's members voted to reject TWA's demands by a 98% majority. We are now waging a two-pronged campaign against TWA. Those few workers who were recalled to work will return, working without a contract in order to continue the struggle from within and to stop the company's replacement of union members with strike-breakers. Those who remain locked out will continue the campaign in the streets, with the boycott, in the courts and in the halls of Congress. In a sense our struggle has been re-born, and we are bringing to that struggle new strategies and a new determination to win.

The Flight Attendants realize that this may be a long process, but are willing to fight the hard fight for as long as it takes. And we know that the labor movement and its allies will be right there with us.

The airline's management, under its new chairman Carl Icahn, the corporate takeover artist, seems to believe that he can walk all over our union. Company negotiators have been intransigent and insulting. A few weeks ago, IFFA suggested a compromise package that, according to two independent industry analysts, would provide TWA with flight attendant costs less than or equivalent to those of the majority of the 12 largest airlines. But TWA's chief negotiator said, without further comment, that the offer wasn't good enough. "Go away and think up something else," he said, "and we'll let you know whether or not we like that at our next meeting."

IFFA says that such guessing games don't constitute real bargaining. And we are determined that TWA will not break our union. Our ranks have remained solid. Many unions, including the Pilots Association, Machinists and Autoworkers have come to our assistance. We need everyone's help to enable us to continue fighting and to assist those members facing hardships. The courageous Flight Attendants are fighting not only for themselves and their union, but for all of us in organized labor.

Don't Fly TWA! Contributions to the IFFA Fight Back Fund can be sent to 630 3rd Ave., 5th Floor, New York, NY 10017.



TWA tried to force huge concessions on its Flight Attendants, stating that the primarily female work group were not really "breadwinners."

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FUND DRIVE AT HALFWAY MARK

Dear Friends,

In response to Labor Today's August fund drive appeal, we have received over \$850.00 in cash donations, a Tandy personal computer and modum (\$800.00), 5 new bundle subscriptions (\$125.00), and 15 new individual subscriptions (\$75.00). We also sold \$475.00 worth of raffle tickets for the October 4 Open House, for a grand total of: \$2325.00, just short of the half-way mark.

Our deepest thanks to all of our readers and supporters across the country who dug deep for their labor publication. We appreciate the \$5.00 contributors and the new subscribers as much as those who were able to donate up to \$100.00. We know the meaning of those hard-earned dollars and cents.

Raffle winners were: Marcia Davis, Chicago, 3rd prize (\$25.00); Bruce Samuels, Oak Park, Il, 2nd prize (\$50.00); Gabriel Lopez, Chicago, 1st prize (\$100.00).

We appeal to the rest of our friends to help us meet our \$5000.00 goal by December 3lst. As an added incentive, we now have holiday greeting cards available. All proceeds from the sale of the cards will go toward the Labor Today fund drive. In addition, we have 10 of Pete Seeger's new songbook Carry it on remaining, which will be given to the first 10 readers to donate \$25.00 or more.

Life under Reaganomics has not been easy for working people. Even in the best of times, working folks have had to struggle to make ends meet. But, we also know from experience that working people are the most generous, the most supportive, the only ones we can count on in a crunch.

Please help us keep up the good fight by filling out the form on the back page and returning it to our office. Many, many thanks for your past and future contributions.

In solidarity,
Debbie Albano
Editor

Lady Beth: the steelworkers' play

by Jim Williams Contributing Editor

The crisis that laid to waste the milltowns and factories of the Midwest also swept into the Sun Belt—idling, among others, Bethlehem Steel's big mill in southern California. When Bethlehem began to bank its fires, Local 1845 of the Steelworkers turned up the heat. But, in addition to the marches, demonstrations and setting up of food banks, something new and different happened.

Steelworkers got together to talk about their lives and experiences—and in talking, began to write it down. With the help of local writers and theater people, a play began to take shape. Songwriter and singer Bruce Springstein dropped by the hall to discuss how he wrote songs.

The end result is the play "Lady Beth" which is now touring the country. Its cast is the real-life cast of unemployed steelworkers—Black, Hispanic, white,

New Rates to Start Jan. 1, 1987

Due to the exhorbitant rise in mailing costs, Labor Today, along with scores of other labor publications and second class mailers, has been forced to reevaluate its subscription rates. As of the first of the year, our new rates will be:

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men, women, young and old. It is their story they are telling. They just have to "act naturally" as the song goes.

Lady Beth is not a play in the usual sense. It is a dramatic reading which projects the emotions and experiences of the thousands of workers who passed through the gates.

I sat, sideways in my seat, uncomfortable and disturbed. The heartbreak, the gut-wrenching experience of long-term unemployment was still too close to home after three years of layoff from U.S. Steel. The things they were saying were the things we were feeling.

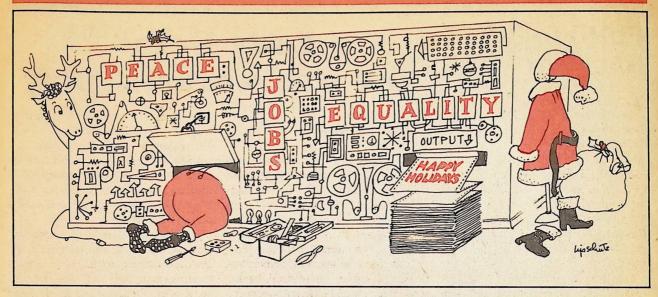
The "second-act" is an interchange between the cast and the audience. In our case, the discussion went in various ways. The performance I saw was downtown in the rather elegant Chicago Cultural Center. It was jointly sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the city Cultural Department.

Some people got up to blame imports for steelworkers' problems. Then, Frank Lumpkin, head of the Wisconsin Steelworkers' Save Our Jobs Committee, took the floor. Frank is a Millwright who looks like he could take the whole mill apart barehanded. He talked about nationalizing the mills, producing the steel the country needs, and putting everyone back to work. It sounded good to hear some solutions—after all that gloom.

If you can see "Lady Beth"—see it by all means. It says a lot about work and unemployment. If you're lucky, maybe you'll be part of a good discussion, too.

A big hand to the Bethlehem workers, the USWA, the Steelworker's Old Timers Foundation and the many progressive theater people who made this happen.





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