

7917 S. Exchange,
Room 202
Chicago, IL 60617

2nd class postage paid
at Chicago, Illinois

Labor today

the rank and file in action

\$175



VOLUME 26, NUMBER 1

SPRING 1987

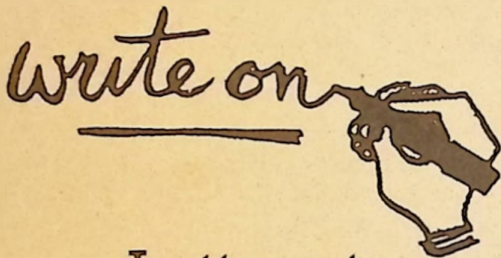


6 We want no more of these ill-conceived policies that denigrate our national image and destroy our economy 9

see page 6

Labor Today

Volume 26, Number 1 SPRING 1987



Letters to the Editor

DON'T FLY TWA

Dear Editor:

Thank you for providing the space for my message in the October/November 1986 issue of *Labor Today*. Your support is very much appreciated.

To update you on our situation here at IFFA, last week we won a significant Appellate Court victory which upholds the status quo of our contract which became amendable on March 7, 1986. What this means to us is that TWA may not unilaterally change work rules which were not the subject of collective bargaining prior to the amendable date of our contract. Also, union dues must be paid by all "replacement" new hire Flight Attendants and all cross over Flight Attendants. This victory goes a long way toward ensuring our survivability. TWA has vigorously worked to bankrupt our union and tried to ignore our existence as the certified bargaining agent for *all* TWA Flight Attendants. At this time we are pursuing our bad

faith bargaining case in the Eighth District Court in Kansas City. There are 5,000 Flight Attendants who have an average seniority of 15 years with TWA and who have not been allowed to return to work since our unconditional offer to return was made on May 17, 1986. TWA maintains that these 5,000 employees have been "permanently replaced."

We are still actively urging a Boycott of TWA until the time that TWA and its Chairman Carl Icahn recognize the contribution of these dedicated individuals and bargain with the union in good faith to reach an acceptable contract.

Thank you again for your support.

Sincerely,

Vicki Frankovich
President, Independent
Federation of Flight Attendants

UNITE FOR PEACE

Dear Labor Today,

I have been arrested twice protesting nuclear tests at the Nevada desert test site. My experiences with the American Peace Test confirmed that organization's dedication to purpose, discipline, comradeship, education, influence, etc. However, it seems that too many peace organizations follow independent actions on the peace front. Additionally, we need a good working relationship with the trade unions.

Sincerely,
Robert Friberg
California

Editor's note:

The April 25 demonstration in Washington, DC called for by labor and clergy to protest U.S. policies in Central America and in South Africa is an opportunity for all the voices of peace and democracy to come together. See pages 6, 7 and 8.

BIBLE DEBATE IN CHECK CASHING LINE

Dear Editor,

Here's a typical conversation from my shop I turned into a little poem. Thought it was relevant.

Pete Leki

Int'l Association of Machnists

Lupe, "you're so full of sh--," I said.
"By the year 2,000 we'll all be dead.
The old folks said that since you were small.

So there's no need to fightback or struggle at all.

The good go to heaven, the bad go to hell.

It all sounds so simple and easy to tell.

But how do your kids look when you tell them that line?

Don't you ever try to sell it to mine!"

"It's the *old* way of reading the words of the Book,
To the poor and the ignorant," said Roberto,

"But look—
The Church is now changing, the people are learning,
There are priests who are willing to speak out concerning Justice and peace."

"Oye, Lupe," said Jose,
"Since you're gonna die, can I have your pay?"

Labor Today—The Rank and File in Action! ISSN 0023-6640. An independent labor journal. Established 1962 in Detroit, Michigan. Published quarterly by the National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) a not-for-profit Illinois corporation. 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, IL 60617. Phone (312)933-4900.

Editor, Debbie Albano. Contributing Editors, John Kailin, Norman Roth, Jim Williams.
Art Director, Peggy Lipschutz. Office Manager, Carmen Figueroa Cohn.

Production, AD&T-CTU16-No.704.
Cover design by: Peg Lipschutz

Second Class Postage Paid at Chicago, IL, 60617. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes to LABOR TODAY, 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, Illinois 60617

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: 1 year \$6.50; 2 years \$12.50;
3 years \$18.00; FOREIGN \$15.00—Air Mail Only

Editorials

Threat to Democracy

While the Tower Commission Report has further revealed the slimy underbelly of White House corruption and dirty deals, it has tentatively sidestepped the role of President Reagan and replaced condemnation of the Administration's policies with individual finger-pointing. Those right-wing conspirators who have taken the law into their own hands should be prosecuted and punished. But the policies themselves, along with the policy makers, must be fully exposed. Otherwise, what is to prevent the same deception from occurring again, only this time with a Baker in the White House instead of a Regan?

At the root of the Iran-Contragate crisis is the ultra-right's attempt to gain control both in the U.S. and abroad by using whatever means necessary—including gun running, terrorism, drug pushing and outright circumvention of democratic institutions, including the U.S. Congress—to secure power and profits.

Through the National Security Council, the Pentagon and the military industries have been operating a secretly-run State Department purposefully designed to privatize our government's foreign policy and exempt itself from public pressures.

The Reagan Administration has trampled on our own nation's principles of democracy and continues to threaten the security of entire nations and the most basic right of peoples to determine their own destinies.

At a recent press conference, one reporter asked the President about his failed Central America policy. The Congress had just voted down the continued \$100 million appropriation to the Contras. Reagan spoke for his whole fascist-minded clique when he looked the nation in the eyes and dripped these conspiratorial words off his arrogant lips, "That's all right. We've got other ways of getting this done."

Gravely concerned about these developments, Ken Germanson, Director of Communications of the Allied Industrial Workers wrote in the March issue of the *AI Worker*, "It's important that we all understand that the Iran-Contra fuss cannot be dismissed as a temporary flaw in the Reagan Administration. It is instead a warning sign that our very democracy is threatened. No President or his staff should have the right to override the laws of the nations, just as no corporation should be permitted to have license to rape its workers and their communities."

The National Security Council is a potential staging ground for even greater and more devastating private foreign policy initiatives and must, therefore, be disbanded. Congress, the elected representatives and watchdogs of the interests of the American people, must be in charge. **LT**

op/ed

Why workers don't trust their boss

by Jim Gogolak, Griever, Area 24

Excerpted and reprinted with permission from *Local 1010 Steelworker*, East Chicago, Indiana.

More and more frequently supervisors are asking me why, after all they have done to improve relations, workers still don't trust them. While I am admittedly not an expert on this subject, I do have a theory.

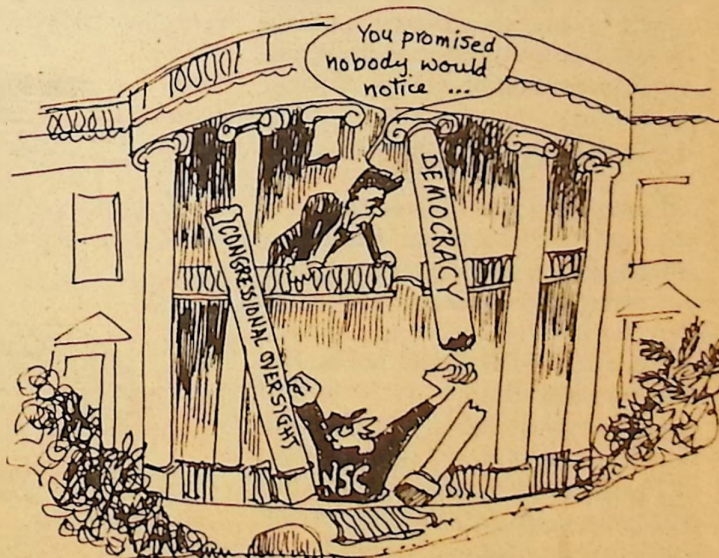
My theory is this: it's not that workers don't trust their supervisors personally. Rather, workers don't trust the economic system and they transfer this mistrust to their supervisors who are agents of that system.

In the first place, it's hard to trust a system that tolerates double-digit inflation, remedies this with double-digit unemployment, and tops it all off with Chapter 11 bankruptcies and the devastation of basic manufacturing. Steelworkers in particular have a hard time believing that things are going to work out for the best.

Then, whenever some hardship is inflicted on them, the "system" gets the blame. For example, a worker gets his layoff papers and is told by the boss, "If it was up to me I'd keep you at work, but we have to cut capacity to survive. We have to be competitive to survive within the 'system.'"

The system I've been talking about is the (free) market economy. In the 1700s, the famous Scottish economist, Adam Smith, explained the market economy as an economic system in which individual entrepreneurs, **motivated by the quest**

(Continued on page 20)



Iran-Contra Mess In Labor's Basement, Too?

by Debbie Albano
Editor

There is growing concern that the agents of Reagan's secret foreign policy apparatus may also be found in a decrepit tunnel leading from the basement of the White House to the basement of the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO.

The actual conduit may be the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a private organization set up in 1983 that receives partial funding from Congress. Its purpose is "to fund private initiatives aimed at strengthening democratic groups and institutions in other countries." American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland sit on the Board of the National Endowment along with such well-known ultra-right strategists as Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), an outspoken lifelong foe of labor and Jay Van Andel, Chairman of Amway Corporation, a notorious right-wing unionbusting firm.

The Iran-Contragate Affair has raised many disturbing questions, including: What relationship does the National Endowment for Democracy have with the covert operations of the National Security Council? With Colonel Oliver North, Robert McFarlane, George Bush and the CIA? Was NED created to escape Congressional oversight, like the National Security Council itself, and avoid the mitigating effects of public opinion?

NED SECRETS

Controversy has surrounded The National Endowment for Democracy since its inception. Congressional suspicions were partially assuaged when CIA Director William Casey publically pledged that NED would not receive funds from the CIA.

As early as 1984, The National Endowment for Democracy was caught in a scandal when it was revealed that NED channeled \$200,000 to a right-wing, military-backed candidate for

Panama's Presidential election. The funds were dispensed through the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. Even the U.S. embassy called this an "embarrassing and compromising" discovery.

Another secret NED operation was uncovered last year in France. First, NED had entered into a secret agreement with the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. This agreement was referred to in a memo sent to Tom Gershman, Director of NED, by Eugenia Kemble, executive director of the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. The FTUI funneled \$830,000 to a right-wing French labor group, called Force Ouvriere, opposed to Socialist President Mitterand's policies. Force Ouvriere didn't want the source of its funding revealed. When confronted with the revelation on the secrecy memo, Gershman told reporters, "prior promises of secrecy had been made to NED's subgrantees" and that "publicity would pose danger or embarrassment to them or the United States."

Other known NED projects have included the anti-Sandinista opposition newspaper, La Prensa, which President Daniel Ortega closed down after accusing its publishers of receiving foreign and CIA funds, and

PRODEMCA, a U.S.-based organization that actively solicits support for the Contras.

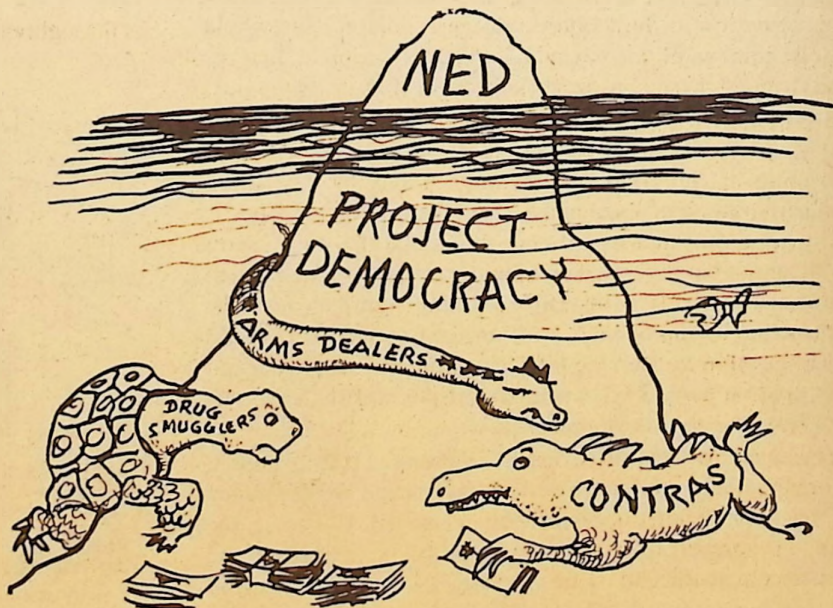
For four years, the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department (IAD) has consistently received the lion's share (70%) of NED's funding.

Tom Kahn, the Director of the International Affairs Department and Carl Gershman, President of NED, along with Teacher's Union President and NED Board member Albert Shanker are also linked through their membership and activities in the anti-communist Social Democrats USA.

THE PLOT THICKENS

On February 15, 1987, a front-page, 5-column New York Times article repeatedly referred to the National Endowment for Democracy as the public arm of Project Democracy. "Project Democracy began as the secret side of an otherwise open, well-publicized initiative, now known as the National Endowment for Democracy, that started life under the same name. Project Democracy's covert side was intended to carry out foreign policy tasks that other Government agencies were unable or unwilling to pursue."

Continuing, Joel Brinkley writes, "Although the project's open and secret



parts were born as twins in 1982, the two grew up on such divergent tracks that today many officials do not remember they were ever related. While the project's public arm, NED, was openly granting Federal money to foreign book publishers, labor unions and other insitutions, the secret side was sending privately raised covert aid to the Nicaraguan rebels and . . . arms sales to Iran."

The New York Times has since refuted the accuracy of that charge in a March editorial.

Colonel Oliver North, head of Project Democracy and key operative and "fundraiser" for the National Security Council, was also the Reagan Administration's director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. This Comission has close ties to the National Security Council and the National Endowment for Democracy and meets regularly with representatives of both

organizations. In fact, Olin Robinson, a former member of the Commission, now sits on the Board of NED.

Tom Gershman and Presidents Shanker and Kirkland have denied any knowledge of Project Democracy.

Too many questions surrounding the links between the National Security Council, the National Endowment for Democracy, Project Democracy, and the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department, remain unanswered, however, and beg further investigation.

The *AFL-CIO News*, a leading voice in the struggle for union democracy and against Reagan's anti-labor offensive have remained silent on the White House conspiracy.

OUT OF STEP

This is contrary to the general trend in the labor movement today where there is massive sentiment for an end to Reaganism; for greater participation in

the democratic process; for peace and arms control; for greater unity in the face of the multinational corporations' attacks; for international cooperation and dialog.

Any labor leader or union department that considers the global picture must be in step with these developments. To pursue any other direction betrays the interests of the U.S. labor movement and all the world's working people.

If the National Endowment for Democracy and its labor channels, along with those running the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department, either wittingly or not, have been part of the covert Reaganite anti-worker, pro-corporate, militaristic foreign policy, then they, too, must be held accountable for their actions. The labor movement will be strengthened through its efforts to sweep out all its closets, basements, and secret tunnels. **LT**

'Combatting multinationals requires new kind of union'

by Joseph Misbrenner
Int'l President OCAW
Excerpt reprinted from *OCAW Reporter*, Dec. 1986

The multinational corporations (MNC's) dominate the world economy—at least in those countries where they are allowed to operate, which is most of the world. Most of those MNC's are U.S.-based. The immense profits generated from their global operations give them tremendous political and economic strength. Of course they exercise that power in ways designed to guarantee more profits in the future, leading in turn to ever greater power.

Plant closings are an inevitable result of the fierce global competition for profits among the giant MNCs. Instead of upgrading or modernizing existing facilities, it is more profitable for them to scrap the older plants and move the operations to low wage areas of the world.

The MNCs are successfully playing off workers in one country against workers in another. It used to be that our

brothers and sisters across the seas looked at the standard of living of U.S. workers as a model to strive for. But nowadays, the MNCs are reversing the model. Now, we are supposed to fall back to the level of the lowest paid workers in the world.

We must not let that happen. The only way to prevent it is to effectively join with workers and unions throughout the world to combat the MNCs wherever they operate.

What happens to the workers in the moly mines in Bolivia and South Africa or to refinery workers in Trinidad, directly impacts on us here.

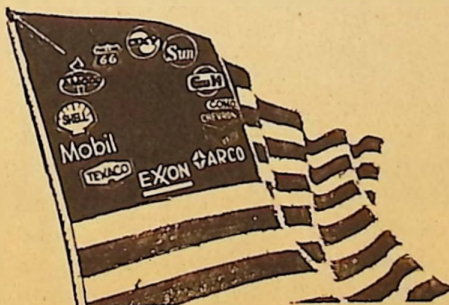
The lessons of the Chernobyl accident and the need for international coopera-

tion were articulated clearly at the first World Nuclear Energy Workers Conference, jointly sponsored by OCAW and the Canadian Energy and Chemical Workers Union. Problems that transcend national boundaries require international solutions.

We need to take the lessons of industrial unionism to a new level and create effective, truly international labor organizations, to match the way the multinational companies are organized.

OCAW will continue to participate internationally. We will do our part to hold the multinational corporations accountable for their actions wherever they operate, in cooperation with unionists the world over. Maybe we also can make a contribution toward the development of some new organizational forms in the process.

Finally, it's important that we have direct participation in world labor affairs at every level of our union. Therefore, we'll be working more and more to open up avenues whereby rank-and-file members of OCAW can meaningfully join in. **LT**



Why We March . . .

Together with the very flower of the nation's religious community, 21 international union presidents have undertaken a bold initiative to challenge Ronald Reagan's covert, subversion-ridden foreign policy at two of its most vulnerable points.

Therein lies the historic significance of the April 25 Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa.

The Call is out. Now it is up to the rest of us—to those who work at the local union and central council level.

It is our job to fill the buses—to organize tens of thousands of trade union members to converge on Washington, DC and San Francisco.

Every people's demonstration is important. But this is something more than just another demonstration.

April 25 is Solidarity Day all over again, but with a difference. It is different both in being more broadly based and in being pitched at a higher political level.

It is an expression of the mass outrage of a people in the seventh year of

6 The April 25th Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and South Africa is an important step in the struggle against the Reagan Administration's support of Somoza-like dictatorships and the suppression of labor unions in those areas. Our military must not be allowed to prop up Reagan's failed policies.

The horrible brutality and injustice of apartheid is contrary to the basic principles of our labor movement and we can make no compromise with it. Apartheid must be abolished and replaced by justice which denies superiority based on the color of one's skin, religion, or nationality.

Working with the area organizers and our local union leaders we will do our best to send a message to the political leaders in Washington, D.C. that we want no more of these ill-conceived policies that denigrate our national image and destroy our economy. 9

Charlie Williams

Grand Lodge Representative, IAM District 8

6 The same transnational corporations that are exporting our jobs and abandoning our factories, mines and mills here are responsible for our political and military intervention in Central America and Southern Africa in violation of our own and international laws.

The trade union brothers and sisters in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and South Africa are leading the struggles in those countries for political self-determination and economic progress, against poverty, disease and ignorance. They deserve our fullest support. 9

Charlene Griffen

Organizer, SEIU Local 372

Reaganism—the seventh year of union busting, budget cuts and racism—a shameful epoch crowned with the disgusting criminality of Iran and Conragate.

April 25 is a mainstream movement that draws sustenance from the deep

righteousness of our people. It declares that the policies of Reaganism in Central America and southern Africa “are morally wrong and violate our nation’s

democratic ideals.”

And it delivers a ringing bill of particulars:

In Central America, the ruthless escalation of terrorism and war against Nicaragua by the CIA-directed Contras. In El Salvador, the provision over the

last seven years of \$2 billion in aid to a tyrannical regime that bombs its own villages. The transformation of sovereign Guatemala into an armed staging area for military adventures. And everywhere in those impoverished lands, U.S. responsibility for the scattered corpses of innocent men, women and children, victims of the sophisticated weapons our tax dollars supply.

In southern Africa, the refusal to abandon Reagan's bankrupt policy of “constructive engagement” with the brutal Botha apartheid regime. The rejection of the mandatory, comprehensive sanctions demanded by the United Nations. Continued U.S. cooperation with the very South African military, security and intelligence forces responsible for the mass roundup, torture and slaughter of 34,000 of the best sons and daughters of the freedom movement. Collaboration in South Africa's economic strangulation of its neighbor nations. Funding the mercenary Contras of UNITA in their war against the people and government of Angola.

(Continued on page 8)

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.

Our government's policies in Central America and southern Africa are morally wrong and violate our nation's democratic ideals. They violate fundamental rights to self-determination, liberty, and justice. They betray our own democratic ideals. They risk deeper U.S. involvement in bloody and costly foreign wars while the needs of our unemployed, homeless, farmers, and children go unmet. They reflect a militarization of our foreign policy that increases the risk of nuclear war.

These policies must be changed. But these policies will be changed only if our policy makers in Washington know the depth of our opposition to them.

So we must show them. Nonviolently. Forcefully. With passion. Together. In a united witness by tens of thousands of citizens.

JOIN US IN A MOBILIZATION ^{FOR} JUSTICE & PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA & SOUTHERN AFRICA

Washington, D.C.

Sunday,
April 26, 1987
■ Interfaith Worship Service
■ Training in Non-violence

Saturday,
April 25, 1987
March and Rally

Monday,
April 27, 1987
■ An Event in which some will
engage in Non-violent Civil
Disobedience

Labor Leaders support April 25 March for Justice and Peace

MORTON BAHR
President, Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

OWEN BIEBER
President, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)

KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK
President, American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO)

BERNARD BUTSAVAGE
President, International Molders and Allied Workers Union (AFL-CIO)

WILLIAM H. BYWATER
President, International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine Workers and Furniture Workers (AFL-CIO)

CESAR CHAVEZ
President, United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL
President, National Education Association

JAMES HERMAN
President, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

DOLORES HUERTA
Vice President, United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

KEITH W. JOHNSON
President, International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO)

JAMES M. KANE
President, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE)

DAVID LIVINGSTON
President, District 65, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)

FRANK D. MARTINO
President, International Chemical Workers Union (AFL-CIO)

GERALD W. MCENTEE
President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)

JOSEPH MISBRENER
President, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)

HENRY NICHOLAS
President, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO)

JAMES J. NORTON
President, Graphic Communications International Union (AFL-CIO)

CHARLES A. PERLIK
President, The Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO)

CLEVELAND ROBINSON
Secretary-Treasurer, District 65, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)

JACK SHEINKMAN
Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO)

JOHN J. SWEENEY
President, Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)

WILLIAM WINPISINGER
President, International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO)

WILLIAM WYNN
President, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)

(Continued from page 6)

These are policies that daily skirt the danger of a more direct U.S. involvement in a new and bloody Vietnam, while the needs of our jobless, homeless, heatless hopeless millions are ignored.

These are policies tailored to the bottom-line interests of the multinational corporations responsible for the plague of plant closures, mergers, mass layoffs, lockouts and union-busting campaigns here in the U.S.

These are policies representative of the dirty work of the Reagan Administration's secret junta that plotted to run our country's foreign policy hidden from public scrutiny deep in the White House basement.

But these policies now stand bankrupt and exposed in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal.

The Reagan Administration today confronts a different Congress than that it confronted a year ago.

Already, legislation has been introduced to toughen the sanctions against South Africa and to block Reagan's request for

\$105 million in new Contra aid funds. April 25 can win immediate turning-point victories in the struggle for peace and justice in southern Africa and Central America.

It can do more. It can help set the tone and shape the entire agenda for the crucial political struggles leading to the 1988 presidential election.

April 25 can be a broad stepping stone to cuts in the Pentagon budget. To an end to Star Wars funding. To a nuclear test ban. To significant arms agreements with the Soviet Union.

All this is "union business" of the highest priority. It is "union business" because organized labor has throughout our entire history been the staunch defender of the nation's fundamental interests. It is "union business" because we cannot win the fight for jobs and justice at home while our substance is being wasted—on a scale of trillions of dollars—in suppressing the aspirations of our sisters and brothers elsewhere in the world.

On April 25, the picketlines for peace,

jobs and justice will assemble in Washington, DC and San Francisco.

We are confident that union people will contribute in full measure to the history that is made there. **LT**



WASSERMAN FOR THE BOSTON GLOBE

Questions surround new Immigration Bill

Hope or Harassment?

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 has been signed into law by President Reagan. Does it "reform" immigration? Will it "control" the massive influx of workers desperate for a job?

The new law has yet to take effect. But a consensus as to its ultimate impact is emerging among those organizations and activists concerned with the rights of undocumented workers.

Through penalties imposed on employers who hire illegal aliens, the goals of the legislation, according to the *AFL-CIO News* are "to reduce the flow of illegal immigration that has depressed wages in many parts of the U.S., and . . . [to] absorb hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers—mostly from Mexico and other Western Hemisphere nations—into the economic mainstream."

It is not likely to achieve either objective.

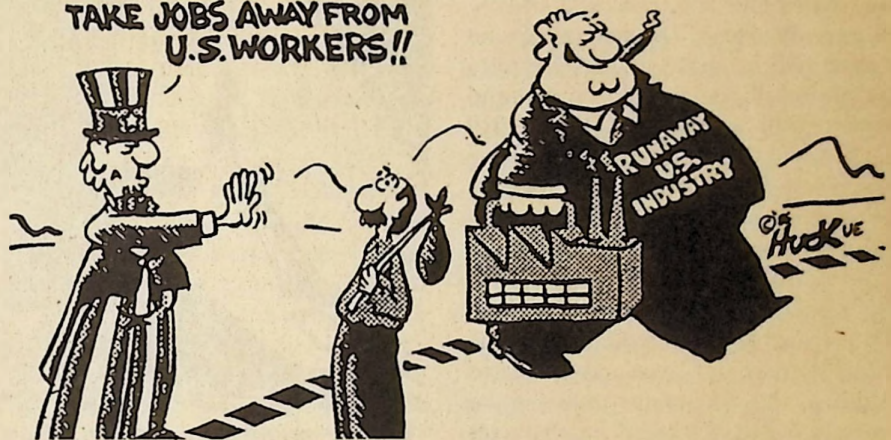
The new law provides \$841 million in supplemental funding over two years for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, much of it earmarked for more border patrol. But those closest to the struggles of the undocumented say no number of dollars or guards can seal off the penniless thousands to the south of the 2,000 mile border.

"The economy in the U.S. is such that nobody is going to stop illegal workers from coming. They will keep employing them. So the cost of this legislation is that for the illegal workers the salaries and working conditions will go down as the risk the employer takes becomes higher," said Mexican economist Rogelio Ramirez de la O (*N.Y. Times*, Nov. 6).

And Juan Bocanegra of Seattle, chair of the Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights, told *Labor Today* that the new law doesn't address the real problem.

"The basic contradiction lies with the international debt and the conflicts that have been instigated in Central

STOP! I CAN'T
ALLOW YOU TO CROSS
THE BORDER AND
TAKE JOBS AWAY FROM
U.S. WORKERS!!



America," Bocanegra said. "As long as the exploitation of these countries continues, the (immigration) problem will continue. The only answer is an end to the militarization of Latin American countries and a moratorium on their debt to the IMF."

For workers without documents in the U.S., the law provides a path to amnesty and legalization that is certainly long, may be tricky and seems likely to be costly.

All undocumented workers, regardless of occupation or national origin, who have resided in the U.S. since before January 1, 1982, may apply for amnesty.

For undocumented farm workers (overwhelmingly Mexicanos and other Latinos) who can establish a work history in U.S. agriculture, the law sets forth a separate route to temporary—and ultimately to permanent—legal status.

Each undocumented worker must dig up work records and supporting documentation to get the precious "green card" that employers will demand. Finding the necessary papers will be difficult for most and impossible for many.

For the undocumented, free legal assistance is hard to find. Bocanegra says attorneys are quoting fees of \$1,500 to \$2,000 per worker to acquire the

necessary papers. The immensity of the problem is pulling unions and Latino advocacy groups together to pool their modest resources for outreach and counselling.

Despite these efforts, it seems inevitable that many thousands of workers will continue to be vulnerable to employer and INS harassment and deportation.

Lydia Bracamonte, a Midwest organizer for ACTWU, sees a number of very serious ways this bill could be used to weaken unions and organizing efforts. "What's to stop employers from asking for citizenship verification selectively? When there is a strike on, for example, or an organizing drive?"

"It also opens the door for increased racial and ethnic discrimination against both aliens and American citizens. Employers and landlords who think someone "looks" foreign or speaks with an accent may begin asking for documents, or worse, turn people away from a job or an apartment. All people of color, all people who speak English as a second language, whether documented or not, may face increased harassment and difficulties finding a job or a place to live."

Congress recognized this possibility and wrote a provision into the law which prohibits discrimination against a citizen

or legal resident alien "with respect to the hiring or recruitment or discharging such a person because of the person's national origin or because of the person's citizenship status."

How would such prohibitions be enforced when even after the passage of the Civil Rights Act thousands of U.S. citizens of African, Hispanic, Arab and Asian origin have been brutally discriminated against and continue to fight for full equality in U.S. society?

Through a new administrative structure to be established in Meese's Department of Justice, modeled on the Reagan-gutted NLRB procedures!

There are at least 30 clauses in the law which could disqualify an applicant even if he or she has lived in the U.S. for the required length of time and is able to assemble the documents necessary to prove it. Some are based on character considerations—whether one has the necessary requirements to be a good citizen. "If someone has been arrested on a picketline, active in union organizing or in providing sanctuary for workers from other countries, will the INS rule them ineligible for amnesty?" asked Bracamonte.

Another clause states that if there is a likelihood that the applicant will become dependent on public assistance, he or she will be disqualified. Again, Bracamonte asks, "In the era of massive plant closings and lockouts, what worker might not have to apply for unemployment compensation or food stamps? This is public assistance and would be enough to disqualify someone from the limited amnesty program."

UNION HOTLINES

The immigration law is so complex that scores of union offices have set up hot lines and trained legal counselors to answer the flood of questions surrounding it. Ricardo F. Icaza, President of UFCW Local 770 in California said, "We have been besieged by calls."

Icaza stressed, "Labor has historically been in the forefront of civil rights and equal opportunity battles. The union feels a duty to the entire community, to all workers with or without papers, union members or not."



Also historically, immigration reform efforts have been used to divide the workingclass, break unions and strikes, and to perpetuate the notion that social and economic problems in the U.S. can be solved by persecuting certain minorities who are "getting too big a slice of the American pie." This notion is as false today as it was in the past.

Immigrant workers in the main receive low wages and few, if any, benefits. As workers and as consumers they are major contributors to the economic well-being of the country.

While the trade unions educate themselves, their members, and their

communities about the new immigration law and its impact on working people, they must answer the bottom line question posed by Bracamonte, "Is this really the way to a healthier economy? To providing more jobs for American workers?"

"Instead of imposing penalties on employers who hire foreign workers in the U.S., shouldn't we be passing legislation that imposes penalties on U.S. corporations that close down factories here and move to foreign lands where they employ workers at slave wages and under sweat shop conditions? That, I think, is really the heart of the matter." **LT**

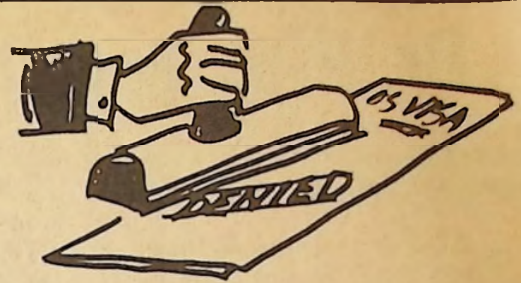
NOTABLE QUOTES

by Tony Michaels

New immigrant labor reform legislation may seriously hinder the rights of immigrant workers and will most certainly further strain the relationship between management and labor. Management has always tried to use new immigrant groups to circumvent organizing efforts and already unionized workers. William Sylvis of the National Labor Union, reminds us of what the bottom line is in this quote from 1869:

"What is wanted is for every union to help inculcate the grand ennobling idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile; Christian or infidel; that there is one dividing line, that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labor."

Foreign trade unionist?



The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has also prohibited foreign workers from visiting the U.S. and speaking to their union brothers and sisters here.

Most recently, the International Association of Machinists sat in "visa purgatory" for many months while it awaited word from the State Department regarding eleven Soviet trade unionists they had invited to their annual Health and Safety Conference in Washington, DC, March 9 and 10. Just days before the conference, all eleven visas were denied, including that of an expert on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

News of the denial of visas for Soviet trade unionists brought an angry response from the delegates to the Machinist's conference.

Two resolutions condemning the denial of visas were presented to the delegates and passed unanimously. The first condemned the State Department and the second the AFL-CIO for its collaboration with the State Department's policy.

William Winpisinger, President of the IAM and twice an invited guest of the All Unions Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) of the Soviet Union, had begun work on this reciprocal visit over a year ago. In his speech to the conference entitled, "Safeguarding Human Life," President Winpisinger explained the ultimate need for a global approach to health and safety. "The achievement of peace and prevention of war are issues of such paramount importance that they transcend all geopolitical boundaries."

"We were very disappointed about the denials," said Machinist Health and Safety Director George Robinson, who has also visited the USSR. "They have some very fine workplace standards and we could have learned a great deal from their participation."

Robinson also told Labor Today, "It is very ironic that as I am speaking to you, 27 Soviet crewmen (rescued by U.S. Coast Guard) were invited into the White House, but the same Administra-

tion insisted on denying our guests their visas."

In May, 1986, a tourist group of 40 autoworkers from the USSR were denied their visas. They also received word just days before they were scheduled to depart. Similarly, two Soviet rank & filers and their translator were denied visas to visit the U.S. in April, 1986 as guests of *Labor Today*. Even though *Labor Today* has invited Soviet trade unionists for many years, only two delegations, one in 1977 and one in 1984, succeeded in obtaining the necessary visas.

In a separate but related case, involving Thomas Borge, Nicaragua's Interior Minister; Nino Pasti, a former NATO General, Italian Senator and officer of the World Peace Council; and Olga Finlay and Leonor Rodriguez Lezcano of the Cuban Women's Federation, a Federal Court of Appeals has ruled the State Department must ordinarily recommend that a visa be granted if there is no reason other than Communist affiliation for excluding an alien. However, the Reagan Administration has appealed this ruling and it appears that the spirit of the lower court's decision will not prevail as yet.

In a letter to the State Department requesting that our Soviet guests be granted visas "under the same conditions that normally apply to trade union visitors from allied nations," James R. Herman, President of the ILWU also wrote, "We believe that peaceful relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are of the utmost importance, and that visits by trade union officials between our two nations play an important part in achieving that goal."

Referring to similar visa denials, a January 1986 *New York Times* editorial stated, ". . . There is no way of reconciling such exclusions with American tradition or with the spirit of the 1975 Helsinki accords. . ."

Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) is planning to introduce legislation this year that

would repeal the McCarren-Walter Act and put an end to exclusions based on political affiliation. Carol Lizarro, Constitutional Aide to Senator Simon called the obligatory question on visa applications—"Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"—ridiculous. "And if someone is, and they are denied entry to our country based on this alone, what does that say about our system of democracy?"

The labor movement, as well as peace groups and cultural exchange organizations, should ask Congress for some basic changes in INS policy. First, that the spirit and intent of the appeals court rulings be complied with in matters pertaining to visas. Second, that the anti-communist McCarren-Walter Act be repealed. And, third, that our government comply fully with the Helsinki Accords, which encourages "tourism . . . and other exchanges which contribute to the growth of understanding among peoples."

LT



Dr. King and the Negro-Labor Alliance

By Will Parry
AP&PWU, retired

As this is written, it is mid-January, and once again millions of words are being uttered and printed in tribute to the life and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Too many of these expressions—Reagan's for example—are hypocritical. But even those that come from the heart rarely draw attention to one of the core themes of Dr. King's thought and action: The building of what he termed "the Negro-Labor Alliance."

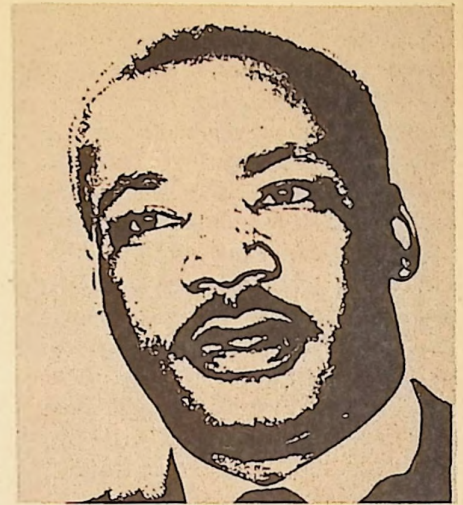
The historic August 28, 1963 March on Washington was an expression of this alliance. Initiated and planned largely by Black trade unionists, it linked the civil rights movement under Dr. King's leadership with the movement for jobs for Black workers, headed by the Negro-American Labor Council. Although a majority of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, under pressure from George Meany, voted to condemn the March, the Federation's Industrial Union Department strongly supported it. Of the 200,000 marchers, an estimated 40,000

were union members, making it the largest assembly of unionists in U.S. history at the time.

Thus union labor, in concert with the Black people's movement under Dr. King, provided the political muscle that compelled Congress in 1964 to pass the most comprehensive civil rights bill ever enacted in this country: The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The famous Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965 marked a further development of the alliance. There the issue was the right of Black people to register and vote. Nearly the entire U.S. labor movement was represented in that march. Among those who addressed the throng in Montgomery were Cleveland Robinson of the Negro American Labor Council and Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Throughout the voter-registration drive, Dr. King received union assistance. Auto Workers' shop stewards took up collections for the movement. In response to an appeal from Dr. King, the West Coast Longshoremens voted not to handle Alabama-made products, and



William Chester of that union declared that "the Marines in Vietnam could be better used here at home to bring democracy to the deep South."

Hundreds of union bodies, including the AFL-CIO itself, denounced the brutality that cost the lives of voter-registration workers in Alabama. Once again, the power of the mighty alliance yielded a signal victory: Congressional approval of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.



Freedom March, Washington, DC, Aug. 28, 1963. Dr. King third from left, front row.

But the enactment of civil rights laws, sweeping and historic as they were, did almost nothing to improve the lives of Black people massed in the big city ghettos. No one saw this more clearly than Dr. King. Many Black leaders concluded that the alliance with labor had no meaning for the ghetto millions. Dr. King disagreed. Philip S. Foner wrote:

"King was convinced that the 'invincible power' of the 'grand alliance of organized labor and the Negro people,' so important in the victories achieved in the civil rights struggles, could be utilized to solve the problem the movement had failed to touch. Nor did he doubt that this 'grand alliance' could be maintained and strengthened even in the face of the rising role of Black separatism. For it was his firm belief that organized labor and the Black people had many 'mutual interests and concerns' that made the alliance essential to both groups. Both had an interest in organizing the unemployed and in waging the war on poverty, for the existence of large-scale joblessness among Blacks, especially among Black youth, was at once a threat to the living standards of the employed and a major underpinning for the continued existence of the slum ghetto."

For this reason, Foner continues, "King urged a joint struggle by organized labor and the Black people to open a new road for the whole nation that would lead to gains not encompassed in the civil rights victories."

From the time of the 1955-56 Montgomery bus boycott until his death on April 4, 1968, Dr. King drew upon union strength in his crusade against the evil fruits of racism. And in turn he was always ready to lend his eloquent voice and his marching feet to the union cause.

It was from a hospital workers' picketline in Newark that Dr. King left for Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. And upon his return he joined another picketline, that of 700 Black women members of the Chemical Workers Union, on strike at the Scripto Pen plant in Atlanta.

He saw a living expression of the alliance in such democratic and inter-

*Leaders of DC
Freedom March.*

L to R sitting:

Whitney M.

Young, Jr.,

Cleveland

Robinson, A.

Phillip Randolph,

Rev. Dr. Martin

Luther King, Jr.

Back row

standing:

Mathew Ahmann,

Joachim Prinz,

John Lewis,

Eugene Carson

Blake, Floyd

McKissick,

Walter P. Reuther,

Roy Wilkins.



racial unions as Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199. Three weeks before his assassination, he told an 1199 "Salute to Freedom" rally: "You have provided concrete and visible proof that when Black and white workers unite in a democratic organization...they can move mountains."

Determined to demonstrate the potential of the alliance in the northern ghettos, Dr. King launched the Chicago Freedom Movement in 1965. He called upon labor, whose support had been so crucial in the civil rights victories, to join in the war against slum poverty in Chicago. The city's major industrial unions responded in strength. Throughout 1966, the movement organized weekly marches and rallies directed against the racism symbolized by the administration of Mayor Richard Daley.

The demonstrators encountered savage brutality at the hands of racist elements. In the end, the movement disintegrated.

Dr. King was driven to the grim conclusion that "it is more difficult to eradicate a slum than it is to integrate a bus." Yet he never lost his faith in the power of the alliance to do just that.

No struggle is without enduring results. The election of Harold Washington more than a decade later has its roots in the Chicago Freedom Movement.

With all this history in mind, it was in a sense inevitable that Dr. King's conscience and his convictions would take him in 1968 to the struggle for union recognition and human dignity in Memphis. There he fell, labor's martyr. The observance of his birthday is less than complete—the references to "the Dream" are less than fully meaningful—unless his magnificent role as advocate and architect of the alliance between his marching people and the organized labor movement is given the recognition it deserves.

LT

Labor unity great for Chicago's Mayor Washington

The Labor/Afro-American alliance in Chicago's recent mayoral primary led to Mayor Washington's 75,000 vote victory over former mayor and democratic challenger Jane Byrne.

Following the lead of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Chicago Federation of Labor, by a two-thirds vote of the delegates to the February meeting, had registered its hearty endorsement of the reelection of Mayor Harold Washington.

Together with individual AFL-CIO union locals, regions, and councils and a number of unaffiliated unions such as Teamsters 743 and UE District 11, the CFL endorsement significantly strengthened the unity of the labor movement around the Mayor's re-election.

Lou Montenegro, Chairman of the Labor for Washington '87 Committee and Director of ILGWU Midwest Region, put it this way, "The CFL endorsement made it clear that Mayor Washington is supported by the overwhelming majority of working people and their families."

Since the primary victory, the Chicago Federation of Labor has decided to continue to work for its endorsed candidates. CFL President Bob Healey reported receiving a letter from AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland which said, "Congratulations on your primary victory with AFL-CIO endorsed Mayorality candidate Harold Washington. Your efforts played a significant role in the outcome. I hope the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Industrial Union Council will continue its active participation in support of the re-election of Mayor Washington in the General Election."

Mayor Washington now faces a Republican challenger and two "turn coat independents." Both Tom Hynes, Cook County Assessor and "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, Chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, slithered out of their Democratic Party costumes to run on the

Chicago First and Solidarity Party tickets respectively. This move is generally viewed as the Machine's desperate attempt to regain control over lucrative city contracts and halt the growth of Washington's reform agenda.

At the February endorsement session, LTV Steel's Local 1033 President Maurice Richards told of the Mayor's offer of support to steelworkers affected by LTV layoffs and contrasted this with the broken promises of former Mayor Byrne and Alderman Vrdolyak, then attorney for the Wisconsin Steel workers. "They promised them that they would be back at work in the mill by Thanksgiving with a turkey for every family. But those workers never got either from Jane or Eddie."

Steve Culen of AFSCME spoke of how Harold Washington had fought for the rights of city employees to join

unions and work under a union contract when Washington was in the General Assembly. "The Mayor kept his promise soon after taking office and now 20,000 city workers are covered by contracts."

Jackie Vaughn, President of the Chicago Teachers Union and Board member of the CFL, spoke for Mayor Washington's open door policy toward labor saying, "He's done more for labor in four years than any other mayor in our city's history."

Following the endorsement session, Brother Healey declared his full support for the decision of the CFL meeting, telling the press that he was "very happy about the action of the delegates. It came about after a free and democratic discussion and the CFL will give its all out support, including funds and other resources, to assure the reelection of the Mayor." **LT**



Mayor Washington with Int'l IAM Pres. Winpisinger at Solidarity Day rally.

"I'm working for the Mayor because he's the best candidate. He balanced the budget and he would have been able to do even more if Byrne hadn't left the city with that \$130 million deficit. Support in the shop is good. The Mayor has the support of all people of all colors."

Dave Lewis, Machinist
IAM Lodge 48

"Why do I support the Mayor? Because he has made it possible for anyone, no matter what color or nationality, to participate in running the city. Before, he was blocked by certain people in city council. You know who. He has invited labor in to the government and he has fought Reagan. That's why, buddy."

George Gonzalez, Machinist
IAM Lodge 48

"Our union backs the Mayor and we've fought side by side with him against Reagan and all the lousy anti-union policies of Reaganism. The pump company we work for has made use of many city programs to renovate and make improvements in our plant. Washington is working to keep manufacturing alive in Chicago. Plus, I ride a bike to work and those newly paved streets are smooth!"

Pete Leki, Maintenance Mechanic
IAM Lodge 48



"I used to be against unions. As a city employee, I thought I was protected because I was a precinct captain. And I paid for that protection with my political contributions and election work. Then Washington was elected and granted city workers the right to have a union. Once AFSCME got in, I found out real job security and dignity on the job came from a union contract. No more patronage. No more favoritism. No more political work to keep my job. And city workers can thank Harold Washington for that."

Barbara Ireczek
Human Services Worker III
Dept of Human Services, City of Chicago
AFSCME Local 1669

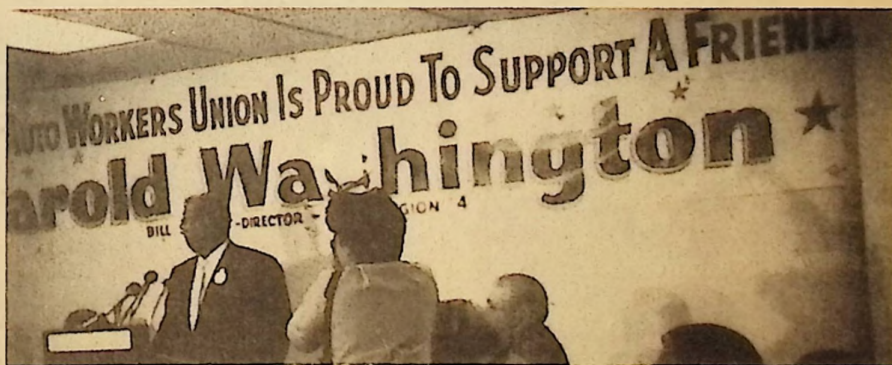
Autoworkers chant:

"Harold, Harold, Four More Years!"

More than 250 Chicago Area UAW local union leaders and activists filled the seats and lined the auditorium walls of the Union's headquarters in a breakfast rally for Mayor Harold Washington March 18.

When UAW President Owen Bieber and Region 4 Director Bill Stewart entered the room with Washington, the spontaneous calls of "Harold, Harold!" and "Four more years!" filled the room.

President Bieber opened his remarks by stating that the re-election of Mayor Washington is the chief task facing Chicago's workers, but that it was not just a local concern. "A Washington victory in Chicago on April 7 is important to the nation as a whole. It is directly related to the struggle to put a Democrat in the White House in 1988." He blasted the Reagan Administration's callous attitude that "the jobless and



hungry are that way because they want it that way. Mayor Washington is working against great odds to solve such problems as unemployment and hunger."

In response to questions from the press and union members, Harold Washington stated that he would not cut any deals with opposition forces. "The patronage system has been replaced by collective bargaining."

On the relationship between the military budget and jobs, Washington said, "There can be no jobs or money for the cities unless the mayors of the major cities demand the excessive military budget be cut and the funds be diverted to meet the needs of the cities. A large majority (of mayors) agree with that position and are making those demands." **LT**

Dr. King's Agenda unfinished—but closer in Queens than on Wall Street

By Reverend Jesse Jackson
Reprinted from *The New York Times*,
January 28, 1987

Howard Beach, NY, Forsyth County, GA. The Citadel in South Carolina. The University of Massachusetts at Amherst. These are new place names on the map of racial violence. As symbols, they remind us that the agenda of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is still unfinished, that race-conscious behavior continues to endanger our society.

But there is another danger: that these incidents will be seen as isolated episodes—as substitutes for the King agenda—and not as broad reminders that much work remains to be done to complete that agenda.

The white working people who live in Queens County and in Forsyth County did not design the economic policy that is costing Americans jobs, closing off

education and limiting health care. They cannot invest in the stocks and bonds whose prices soar—while the Federal deficit grows and the trade deficit threatens those middle-class jobs that remain.

The truth is that black, white and Hispanic workers are economic neighbors, sharing assembly lines, lunchrooms and public transportation. We wait on line together for unemployment insurance and for bleacher seats at the stadium where our young men perform as modern gladiators while the business elite enjoy their tax deductible view. Our young people work together at whatever jobs they can find; enlist

together in the armed forces and serve together in the same battalions.

There is, in fact, more integration in Queens County than in the board rooms of our major newspapers, or any television network or any Wall Street firm. Those good, comfortable people who react with righteous indignation to the headlines about Howard Beach, work in more segregated offices, send their children to more segregated schools, go home to more segregated communities than the residents of Howard Beach.

Dr. King's dream is closer to reality in Queens than on Wall Street.

Meanwhile, for the last six years, President Reagan and his Administration

6 The truth is that black, white and Hispanic workers are economic neighbors, sharing assembly lines, lunchrooms and public transportation. 9



1963 Cleveland civil rights demonstration.

6 We cannot allow short-term efforts to atone for these ugly incidents to become a substitute for a national economic strategy and moral leadership in the White House. 9

have combined regressive economics with race conscious behavior. Mr. Reagan has never met with the Congressional Black Caucus or with the national civil rights leadership. He has suggested that the question is still open as to whether Dr. King was a Communist—17 years after that great man's death. Representative Charles Rangel, an expert on drug policy, was excluded from a meeting on that subject in the White House because there was "no chair." The White House is more segregated than Howard Beach.

From his earlier language that drew the Ku Klux Klan to his 1980 campaign opener in Philadelphia, Miss., where in 1963 two Jews and a black had been killed in the civil rights struggle; to the Presidential trip to Bitburg, West Germany, where so many Jews died; to the veto of sanctions against South Africa; to the nomination of a Chief Justice whose house deed prevented Jews from buying, Mr. Reagan has sent a consistent series of signals across the land.

The farmers in Forsyth County feel like an endangered species. What can they expect from an Administration that has presided over the decimation of family farming? When people lose their hope, it is hard for them to be open-minded. When they are worried about their jobs, their homes, their children's future—when they fear they are losing everything of value, then they will place too much value on the color of their skins—because that is all that they have left.

That is why we cannot allow short-term efforts to atone for these ugly incidents to become a substitute for a national economic strategy and moral leadership in the White House. Of course the killers of Howard Beach must be punished. People of good will must speak out against racial violence everywhere, against anti-Semitic behavior and anti-Hispanic policies. But to focus on these issues in isolation

would be a tragic mistake.

We must move beyond the battleground of race-conscious behavior onto the common ground of economic progress. Instead of confronting one another at the pizza parlor, we must march together to the factory gates. Howard Beach and Harlem are two sides of the same coin—and that coin has been devalued by Reaganomics.

We must speak out together against plant closings that happen without prior notice; against economic royalism while thousands of workers lose their jobs; against factories fleeing to third world countries, where workers' health and safety is ignored and union organizing is forbidden.

We must speak out for racial justice. And we must work for an economic policy that takes the lives of working people seriously; and economic strategy that encourages joint ventures between local governments and local plants, building mutual commitments among manufacturers, consumers and communities; for new strategies that will give workers and local government the technical assistance and financial backing to keep plants open and profitable.

We must insist on an end to race and



Reverend Jesse Jackson

sex discrimination in the workplace, for an end to huge bonuses for management when workers are being penalized, for a national health program and a national housing policy, for education that prepares our children for the future and for a national Administration that once again gives our children reason to hope. **LT**

6 Instead of confronting one another at the pizza parlor, we must march together to the factory gates. 9



Rev. Jesse Jackson joins steelworkers on USX lockout line at Gary Works.

Stop GM Wrecking Ball

By Norm Roth
President Local 6 UAW, Retired

General Motors announcements of plant shut-downs and lay-offs hit our economy like a wrecking ball. Our industrial base is being destroyed while General Motors and other transnationals export our jobs, close down the plants and leave our communities and cities devastated. The big question before us is what are we going to do about it?

Those actions we have already taken are evidently not enough as lay-offs and plant abandonments follow each other like links in a chain. New and more restrictive approaches to control the transnationals will have to be hammered out in our Economic Convention in Chicago this April to protect our industrial base and save our jobs. There's no way in the world that the Reagan formula of slashing our living standards, destroying our working conditions and shrinking our industrial base could restore prosperity in our country.

We must control the unprecedented political and economic power of GM and the other transnationals if we and our children are to have jobs. Our victories in last November's Congressional elections have given us a much better base from which to carry on our fight. It's our turn at bat and we've got to stop the lay-offs and plant closings that result from the export of our jobs to low-wage, anti-union countries around the world.

We have to get this new Congress we worked so hard to elect to repeal the anti-labor laws that tie our hands and give the companies the advantage when we struggle to protect our interests.

Some UAW Locals have already suggested a national moratorium on all plant closings. That appears to be a good place to start but we must also develop a long range strategy to protect ourselves from the chaotic anarchy created by the unbridled greed of the transnationals' financial manipulations.

Experience has shown that plant



1980 demonstration to save Dodge Main sounds the alarm.

abandonments have a brutal and almost irreversible impact on the communities where they are located. Shouldn't we examine the use of the government's right of eminent domain to take over and run those plants that industry abandons simply because they are not satisfied with the rate of profit?

Shouldn't we demand the passage of a Mechanics Lien Law giving the company's workers the first claim to company assets in a bankruptcy case settlement?

Shouldn't we demand a law banning the export of capital to any country that bans trade unions or represses its unions, or does not pay its workers at least the equivalent of our minimum wage?

Shouldn't companies who shut their doors in the face of interest free loans, grants, and tax breaks be forced by law to pay back those loans to the community before they leave?

We have all seen how USX milked its steel mills and instead of modernizing

them bought Marathon Oil for 7 billion dollars. Thousands of its former workers have been thrown into the industrial scrap heap and formerly prosperous communities are now referred to as the rust bowl while USX dynamited its abandoned steel mills. To top it all off, USX plans to invest more of its corporate dollars in South Korea's Puhang Steel company than it will in Chicago's South Works mill.

Shouldn't the U.S. labor movement demand the nationalization of any industry that so callously ignores the nation's needs as well as those of the workers whose labor built it?

I pose these thoughts as a basis to stimulate the thinking of our active UAW leaders and members to further the possibilities for action against GM's decisions, and to improve the work of our Economic Convention which could result in putting our union in a stronger position for the struggles that lie ahead.

LT

PETITION

At the March 14 Political Action Conference for Employment, the Lorain County Unemployed Crisis Center in conjunction with the Lorain County Commissioners and other community and labor organizations introduced this National Steel Authority petition. The conference endorsed its immediate use and circulation.

Similarly, the Wisconsin Steel Workers Save Our Jobs Committee of Chicago

have voted to participate in this national drive for signatures.

These petitions can be a first step on the road to saving the steel industry and providing thousands of workers with meaningful jobs. Congressman Charles Hayes (D—Ill.), author of the Quality of Life Bill, reminded the participants that legislators both at the State and Federal level need to hear from workers; that they need to be reminded of what the govern-

ment should be concerning itself with. By circulating these petitions, we can help turn the government's priorities around.

Labor Today strongly supports these efforts and urges its readers to assist in this drive. Please send us copies or completed petitions after presenting your local elected officials with the originals. Our united efforts can result in the introduction of far-reaching federal legislation.

Petition for a National Steel Authority

To: The United States Congress and Senate

The U.S. Steel industry is in grave crisis. Steel shutdowns, bankruptcy, mergers, buyouts and pension failures threaten the national interest and the common good. We, the undersigned, call on Congress to enact legislation that will:

1. Create a National Steel Authority that will place the entire steel industry under Public Ownership.
2. Create a budget to fund and upgrade the steel industry—to develop a national plan to use steel to rebuild the country and put steelworkers back to work.

Name	Address	City/State/Zip
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		

Return to: Labor Today, 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, IL, 60617

Why workers don't trust their bosses . . .

(Continued from page 3)

for profits, spontaneously produce the proper mix of goods and services demanded by society. In this way, the needs of society are filled even though individuals are motivated simply by greed.

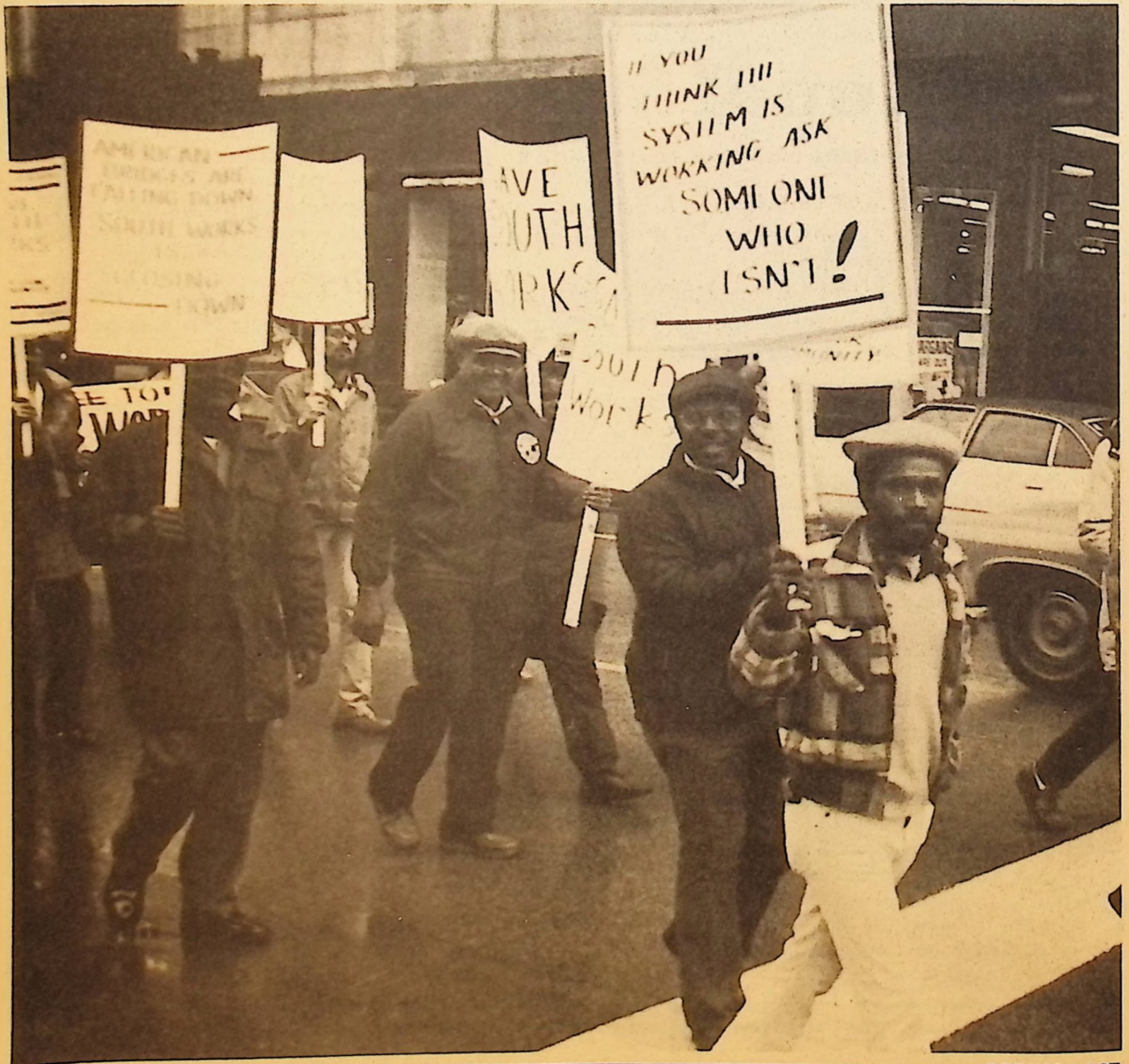
Smith went on to say that production would shift from one segment of the economy to another as demand attracted investors looking for better profits, as though it were moved by an "invisible hand."

This gives us sufficient information to understand why workers don't trust their supervisors. To begin with, workers realize that supervisors cannot make autonomous decisions

but are themselves slaves to the profit motive. They will make decisions as the "system" dictates, regardless of the impact on the work force. We blame management since they have a visible, concrete identity where the "system" doesn't.

As long as the system remains unresponsive to the needs of the workers, workers will mistrust management. To put it in plain words, we don't mistrust the people; we just don't trust the system to which they are enslaved.

So, if it looks like we are biting the hand that feeds us when we demand a fair shake, take another look. We are only trying to keep Adam Smith's "invisible hand" from tightening around our necks. **LT**



Soviet trade unions set to improve work



by **Debbie Albano**
Editor, *Labor Today*

As a member of the U.S. delegation invited to the Soviet Trade Union Congress, I witnessed hundreds of Soviet workers take part in lively, critical discussions of their coming tasks at their 18th national convention.

31 unions make up the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (our AFL-CIO equivalent) whose combined membership represents 140 million workers. Stephen Shalayev, president of the AUCCTU, opened the Congress with a "State of the Unions" address which gave full support to the "revolutionary renovation of society" adopted by the Soviet government a year ago.

It was my first visit to the USSR. Because of the highly critical and self-critical discussions going on

everywhere—from the press and television to the microphones of the Trade Union Congress to the highest chambers of government and the shop floor of factories—I had a great deal of new information to process. I knew what words like "democratization" and "reorganization" might mean if used at an AFL-CIO convention, but in the USSR, the context was so different.

For example, in the USSR, workers comprise over 40% of the government's highest legislative bodies. (That would be like having 175 Congressmen like Charles Hayes instead of one!) 98% of all workers belong to trade unions. (That kind of percentage would boost the AFL-CIO's membership from 12 million to 140 million.)

These trade union members have the right to fire managers. And now, under new legislation, the workers will decide

who management will be through elections at individual enterprises.

Soviet workers have trouble understanding the full meaning of unemployment because the USSR has had full employment for decades. Some think that being unemployed must be like a vacation. We had to explain that without a job, U.S. workers have no income, no health insurance, no guarantee of security during retirement, no way to pay for rent or food. Because all Soviet citizens have free medical care, free education through college, a minimum of a four-week all expenses paid vacation, and factories, schools, hospitals, etc. with continual "help wanted" advertisements, the thought of being unable to find work or to need money to visit a doctor is literally an alien concept.

Seventy years ago, the country of Russia, as it was then called, had very little industry, a desperately impoverished peasantry and a Tsar who lived in gold-covered palaces that one must honestly see to believe.

During World War II, the Soviet Union lost 20 million of its courageous citizens in the fight against fascism. (That would be the equivalent of the entire populations of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.)

We visited a factory in Riga where 3500 workers produce electronic parts for automobiles. They operate two shifts. A medical and dental clinic is on the premises, as well as a gymnasium and two full cafeterias, one is for those who need special diets (serving 400 daily). For less than a dollar, the workers can buy a nice hot lunch.

From the windows of our hotel, buses, and trains and walking on the streets of Moscow, we saw hundreds of cranes and other construction equipment dotting the landscape. People bustled along the busy streets, in and out of department stores and grocers, hurrying to catch a bus, tram or subway train and deposit their



Latvian workers at Riga auto parts plant welcome LT's editor, Debbie Albano.

5 kopeks (less than 10 cents per ride!).

Yet, time after time from the floor of the Congress, in the papers, on TV, in conversations with trade unionists, the foreign delegates to this trade union convention heard everyone saying, "But we do have problems, problems that we can overcome if we deal with them openly and self-critically, problems that stand in the way of our achieving an even higher standard of living for ourselves and our children. We have achieved much, but we can do much more, especially if we can make progress in arms control and global nuclear disarmament."

If the President of the United States came to the AFL-CIO convention, for example, and told the delegates that the government wanted the unions to take an even greater part in the writing of legislation; that the job of the trade unions was not just to insure the social well-being of working people but to insure the rapid economic development of the entire society and guarantee that the workers benefit directly from the country's economic achievements—If President Reagan told our unions that, and if we had 175 Congressmen like Charlie Hayes sitting in the House of Representatives, all of the vicious anti-labor laws on the books could be history and bills like the Hayes/Conyers Quality of Work Life Bill would be just the start of "reorganizing" the country's priorities.

Well, General Secretary Gorbachov, after listening intently and animatedly to president Shalayev's report and to many critical comments from the floor by Soviet miners, textile operators, tractor builders and doctors, did just that.

Here are some highlights from my notes hastily jotted down as I listened to the simultaneous translation of Gorbachov's address:

"We've managed unprecedented advance—from the wooden plough to space flights—and we've experienced an incomparable joy—the joy of great accomplishments.

"We all want changes for the better, sooner.

"How can we make the reorganization

irreversible and secure that errors are not repeated? By the involvement of the main doers—the people.

"We must broaden socialist democracy. This is a guarantee.

"Greater democratization might prompt some people to ask if we are not disorganizing society? This is an extremely important question. I will put it bluntly: those who have doubts about further democratization suffer from one serious drawback—they do not believe in our people.

"Democracy is not the opposite of order. It is order of a greater degree, based not on mindless execution of instructions, but on full-fledged, active participation by all the community in all society's affairs.

"It is based on a sense of working people really being master of the country.

"What are the priority tasks of trade unions in this connection?

"There are no blocks for trade unions' legislative solutions. In fact, we are interested in the more active work of the trade unions in this sphere.

"I should think that the AUCCTU could make a broader use of the right of legislative initiative in the interests of the working people. The unions must

oppose more forcefully attempts by economic bodies to infringe on the prerogatives of the work collectives. It is wrong when production plans are changed without the consent of the trade unions; when money is taken from the economic incentive funds and when other violations are tolerated. The trade unions must not put up with such a situation. And we shall support them.

"Trade union organizations in different countries are becoming ever more active in combatting the nuclear threat. The trade union movement is a major force in the world and one of the most important in the movement for the survival of humanity.

"The peace and security of a country is not the concern of diplomats and politicians alone. Peace is to be achieved primarily by our everyday work at the factory, in the field, and at the research institute.

"I'm convinced that the right to live and work in peace is the inalienable right of every person."

Note: Full texts of Shalayev's and Gorbachov's speeches to the Congress are available for \$1.00 each from Labor Today. **LT**



Most of the 5000 Soviet delegates, almost half of whom were women, were attending their first congress. Over 300 international guests were present.

Along with its internal documents, proposals, and resolutions, the Soviet Trade Union Congress wrote and published an appeal to all the world's

working people. *Labor Today* is pleased to be able to publish their message. U.S. trade unionists are invited to respond by writing to *Labor Today* or directly to the

International Affairs Department, All Unions Central Council of Trade Unions, 42 Lenin Prospekt; Moscow 11, USSR.

To All Working People and World Trade Unions

The delegates to this Congress wish to address the working people and trade unions in all the continents, irrespective of the different social systems under which they live and work.

The recent nuclear tests in the Nevada Desert have aroused the wrath and indignation of millions of honest people of the Globe. Nuclear maniacs have not been brought to reason by the USSR's deeply humane action—its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.

The nuclear explosions have brought to light the gap that has emerged between those who have created with their hands the tremendous intellectual and material potential of the present-day civilization and those who would risk putting a full stop in mankind's history.

Even while we remain committed to certain ideological concepts and political systems, religious convictions, national traditions, etc., we working people and trade unions cannot help but recognize one global reality common to all of us: Peace!

The working people in the USSR do not want war. Throughout the 70 years since the Great October Revolution, our history is a chronicle of the relentless struggles by the Soviet people for the ideals of peace, cooperation, humanism and progress. Today we need a stable peace for essentially revolutionary transformations, for creative work to bring about reorganization in all the spheres of our life, and to increasingly develop socialism's potential.

On the opposite side are the forces of militarism and aggression, the military-industrial complex, whose avid search for superprofits and attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries leads to developing ever more lethal types of weapons of mass annihilation.

The Reagan Administration's "Strategic Defense Initiative" SDI—the fatal "Star Wars" project—is most overtly serving these aims.

SDI will inevitably mean more taxes and increased unemployment for working people in the Western world; will bury every hope of ever becoming free from oppression, hunger and poverty. A new round of the arms race launched by SDI would serve to divert huge resources that are so much needed to resolve mankind's global problems, including in the socialist countries.

Workers and trade unions of all the continents: We are the driving force of our days. Largely dependent on all of us is which path mankind will take when entering the third millennium.

Let us form a broad alliance of working people for a nuclear-free world, for a world without wars and violence, for an outer space of cooperation rather than "Star Wars."

Let us channel material resources and mankind's intellectual energy towards a peaceful future for our children and grandchildren, rather than towards preparations for a nuclear holocaust!

Let us firmly resist our common enemy, the forces of militarism, reaction and monopoly capitalism!

Let us unite in the struggle for universal progress and social justice, for the happiness of nations on Earth!

Peace is our common aim!

The struggle against the danger of war is our common task!



To our readers:

To Labor Today Readers:

A number of you have written to say that you've missed us. We apologize for the delay in publication, but it was an unavoidable one.

Our recent fund drive appeal netted a helpful \$2500 plus a Tandy computer; our individual subscriptions have increased slightly while our bundles have remained steady. But our costs have skyrocketed in every area, from postage and shipping to printing and production.

The Reagan Administration's anti-union, anti-democratic policies have played no little role in all of this. The democratic voice of labor, heard almost exclusively through the *AFL-CIO News*, individual union publications and a handful of independent labor journals, have faced gigantic increases

(over 100% in second-class postage fees) in what is a clear attempt to run us out of the picture.

Unionbashing has destroyed a number of organized print shops; Weyerhaeuser and other paper firms continue to maximize their profits by forcing concessions on the workers and soaking the buyers for more; and the robber baron utility companies admit that "Little Bill" was a slogan for "a different era."

So, while we keep publishing, we have to raise more money while spending less! We've already had to raise our 1987 subscription rates. And now, we are forced to limit our publication schedule to four times a year—thus, in your hands, is the first quarterly edition for 1987, and the reason you didn't receive any previous ones.

Please read the new rate structure carefully and make every effort to subscribe to a regular bundle for your local union or central labor body. It would be a great help to all of us! **LT**

New Subscription Rates

Individual Subscriptions	1 year—\$6.50
	2 years—\$12.00
	3 years—\$18.50
	Foreign sub airmail only—\$15.00
Bundle Subscriptions	5 per mo.—\$20.00/yr.
	10—\$30.00
	25—\$45.00
	50-100—\$65.00
	100-250—\$95.00
	over 250—\$125.00

Button Order

5 buttons—\$5.00
25 buttons—\$17.50
100 buttons—\$50.00



Special rates for 500 or more!

I would like to subscribe to Labor Today.

Please send me: a bundle subscription of _____ copies per month.

an individual subscription for _____ years.

_____ Free So. Africa buttons

Keep **Labor Today** coming with the help of this donation of \$_____.

Name _____

Union Affiliation _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Total enclosed \$_____

Return to Labor Today, 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, IL 60617