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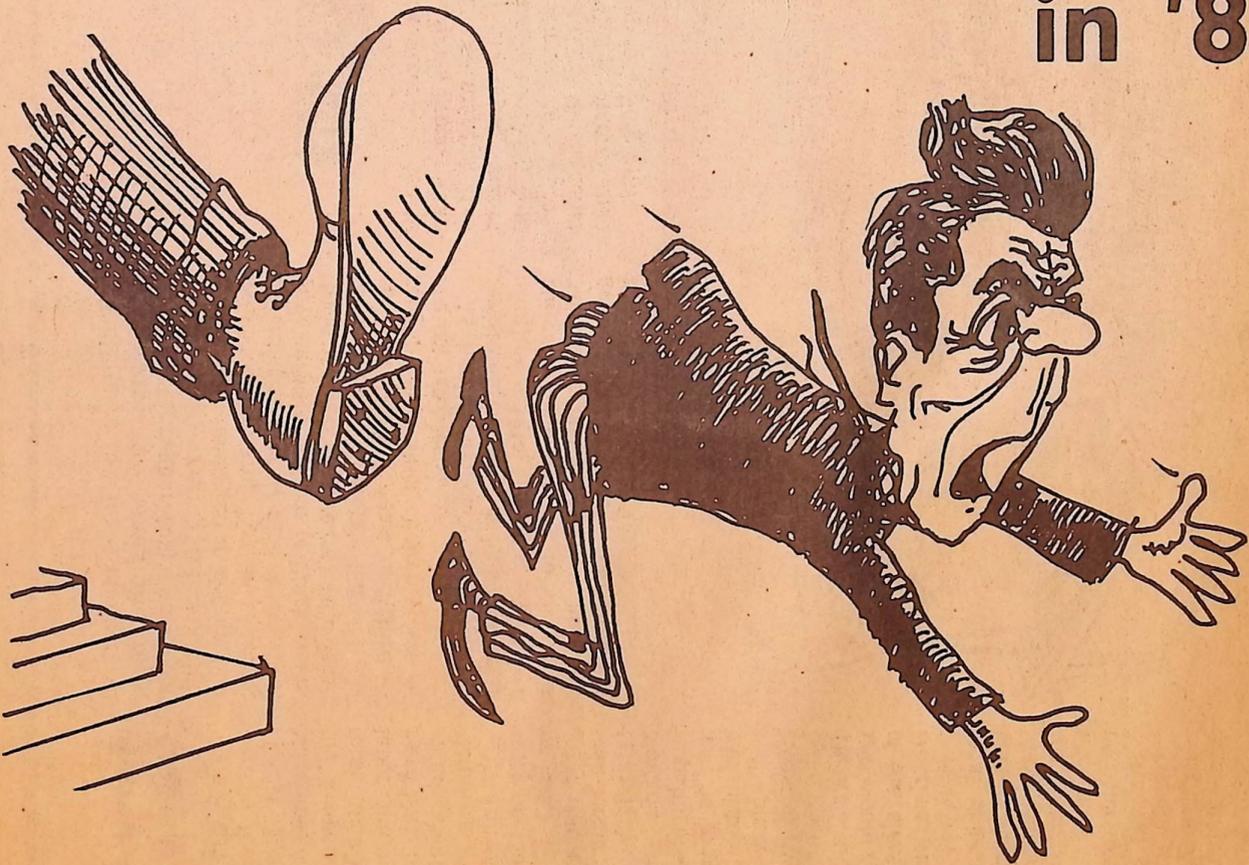
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SEPTEMBER 1984

Out the door in '84



Minn. nurses win!

WE DEFINED THE ISSUES

Minnesota nurses protect seniority

by John Kailin
LT Contributing Editor

The unity and determination of 6,000 registered nurses in the independent Minnesota Nurses Association (MNA) brought national attention this summer. They held a solid strike at sixteen hospitals for 40 days over the issue of seniority.

Historically, layoffs have not been a problem for nurses. Nurses were always in short supply and, along with teachers, held one of the few jobs easily open to women.

In fact there was no layoff language at all in local contracts until 1972. The



John Kailin

employers had said "All the security you need is a healthy employer." But then the 'healthiest' hospitals laid off 100 employees and a Mankato hospital targeted only its obviously - pregnant nurses for layoff.

COST EFFECTIVENESS

The 1972 layoff language worked until the era of Reaganomics. Under new Medicare legislation, hospitals are now reimbursed set costs instead of actual costs for each operation or illness. Hospital administrators have come to be judged by how "cost - effective" they are, even in the mainly non - profit hospitals represented by the MNA. And these administrators are responsible to boards of directors consisting mainly of the directors of such corporations as Pillsbury, General Mills, Honeywell, Dayton's and large banking interests.

Their answer to cost - containment was massive layoffs, and their Public Relations cry was "Share the Burden with Us."

"DIABOLICAL" DEVICE

"The hospitals found a diabolical way to get around the seniority system," Labor Today was told by Karen Patek, Director of the Economics and General Welfare program of the Minnesota Nurses Association, and co - negotiator for the union.

"They just cut the senior nurses back from five to four - day weeks. They would keep part - timers working half - time jobs, but a 15 - year veteran would have her hours chopped away." The company opposed claims for unemployment compensation arguing "You voluntarily took lesser hours, you haven't resigned."

The nurses knew they would have to straighten this matter out quickly, or the employers would slice them up half a dozen ways — full vs. part - time, midweek vs. weekend, one specialty vs. another specialty, and so on.

"YOU'RE TOO WEAK TO STRIKE"

"BREAK THOSE WOMEN"

The stage was set for battle when an arbitrator ruled in favor of the company's interpretation of the contract. The employers wanted a strike "to break those women." The hospitals' attack was to try to make nurses doubt their usefulness and their power. "The economy is poor. This is a bad time to strike. You'll be lucky to come back to work with what you had before."

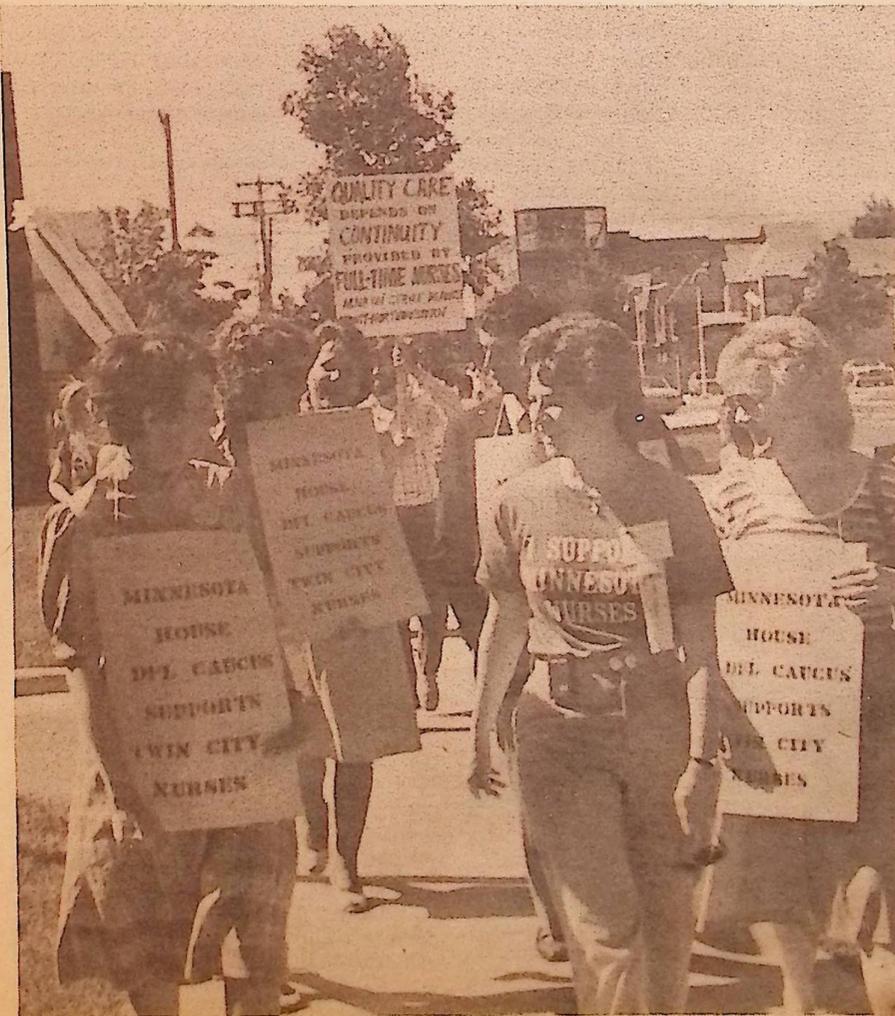
Sound familiar? When the strike began on June 1st, a flood of misleading company literature came out daily: "It's not your strike, it's your leaders who are prolonging it" — the same old line. "We need flexibility, the nurses are standing in the way of progress."

92-94% STRONG AT ALL TIMES

Undaunted, the nurses came out 92 - 94% strong at all times, from the first day to the fortieth. Public and labor support were high, from the other hospital unions which could not, by contract, join the strike, to the central labor bodies, to individual unions which rushed to pledge financial support. Patients cancelled elective surgery and many poor people offered their dollars to the nurses' small strike fund.

When it was over the MNA had not only won on all the key seniority - based issues, but they retained seniority credit for every day they struck!

"How did you do it," Labor Today asked Patek and Maureen Labenski, co - negotiator and Labor Relations Representative, "when other unions with just issues have been taking quite a shellacking these days?"



RUMOR CONTROL

"There was always somebody assigned to communicate with every nurse, find out their needs, their concerns. We gave courage to the nurses by answering questions, often even before they were asked. We used beepers on the picket lines for immediate contact and we squelched every company rumor within two hours. We had a daily newsletter and weekly meetings for each hospital.

"WE DEFINED THE ISSUES FIRST"

"We defined the issues first," said Labenski. "We saw how PATCO and auto and steel workers are branded by the employers as guilty for their own job losses. 'Too well paid, freeloaders who just want more,' etc. We showed that this was a seniority, fairness

issue, not a matter of flexibility for employers. And that you can't have good nursing care when the most senior nurses are cut back and continuous care is interrupted with ever - changing personnel.

"We organized a whole year in advance. We used that time to educate our members on the essential role of nursing in the hospital. People don't come to hospitals for doctors or medicine. They come for nursing care. Nurses are more, not less, important now than they ever were. That was our message in our leaflets and meetings.

"During the strike we mobilized with a system of one representative for every 25 nurses, 250 to 300 reps in all. Each hospital had two chairpeople who reported to 15 team leaders citywide.

TASK FOR EVERYONE

"Besides daily picketing there was something for everyone who wanted to play a greater role. A P. R. committee, job searches for temporary employment, a food shelf that some said was the best organized in town, fund raising, picket coordination and union security committees.

"Our tone was never 'rah - rah.' We operate by consensus. Even the strike vote meeting was not a high pressure affair. We said 'If you strike it will be a long one, we have no funds and the hospitals will play dirty.' The nurses took a long time to make up their minds, but when the decision was made they were not about to turn back."

In the end the nurses won language requiring complete layoff of the most junior nurses instead of reduced hours. Limits were placed on new hires. More senior nurses will now get a chance to reorient to a new department or specialty for three weeks before they are subject to layoff. Recall offers will come first to those who were laid off first.

"We never conceived of anything but success," said Patek. "It was such a basic, fundamental issue we couldn't fail." In this writer's opinion, the nurses' victory is more fresh wind in the labor movement. It set an important precedent for registered nurses and it shows that with courageous leaders, workers will not give up without a good fight.



THE FIRST LABOR DAY

The Civil War unleashed new forces in American society. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the growth of industry and the abuses of labor following the Civil War.

Capital grew out of wartime profits from investments in the trusts in oil, iron, steel, copper, coal and coke, sugar and railroads. Tariffs, put in by Congress to protect big business, protected American markets and big business grew as the corporation replaced small business.

The tremendous business expansion brought into shape the post Civil War factory system. Industrial capitalism destroyed the old ways of doing business and using crafts. Work became divided within the factory system and class differences widened as corporations tried to destroy the progress of the working class.

In response to growing class conflict, the Knights of Labor were formed in December of 1869. The mission of the Knights of Labor was: "To bring within the folds of organization every department of productive industry, making knowledge a standpoint for action, and industrial moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness."

On September 5, 1882, more than 10,000 working people, inspired by the Knights of Labor, marched around Manhattan's Union Square in a procession that was, according to accounts at the time, "in every way creditable to those engaged in it . . . Their orderly appearance and sobriety of manner won hearty applause from the spectators who lined the sidewalks." The themes of the first Labor Day were: "Labor Creates All Wealth"; "The True Remedy Is Unionization and the Ballot"; "8 Hours of Work, 8 Hours of Rest, 8 Hours of What We Will"; and "Agitate, Educate, Organize".

The main speaker at the first Labor Day parade was Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master of the Knights of Labor. In his address, Powderly said: "In my opinion, the main, all-absorbing question of the hour is the land question. And did I allow this opportunity of expressing that opinion to the Knights of Labor of America to pass by without taking advantage of it, I would prove myself false to my own convictions of right and justice. The eight-hour law, the prohibition of child labor and the currency question are all of weighty moment to the toiler. But high up above them all stands the land question.

"Give me the land, and you may frame as many eight-hour laws as

you please, yet I baffle them all and render them null and void.

"Prohibit child labor if you will, but give me the land, and your children will be my slaves.

"Make your currency of what material you choose; but if I own the land, you cannot base your currency upon the wealth of the nation, for that wealth is the land.

"You make laws and own the currency, but give me the land and I will absorb your wealth and render your legislation null and void.

"The land is the heritage of God. He gave it to all His people. If He intended it for all His people, then no man or set of men has a right to monopolize it.

"I am told that our National Legislature had a right to grant the lands to corporations. I ask the question, 'From whom did they derive that right?' The answer must be 'The People.'

"Yet I deny that right, for a people now living cannot give away what was ordained for the use of a people yet unborn . . . When that day comes, it will take more than the sophistry now in use to convince these hungry men that one man has a right to own the land and all it contains, while they and their children have nothing. It is better that we look to the welfare of future generations, and do justice while it can be done peaceably.

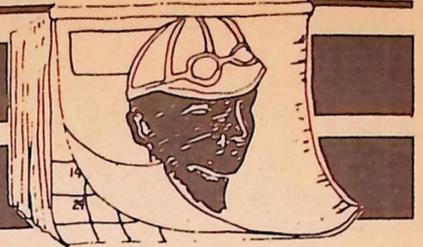
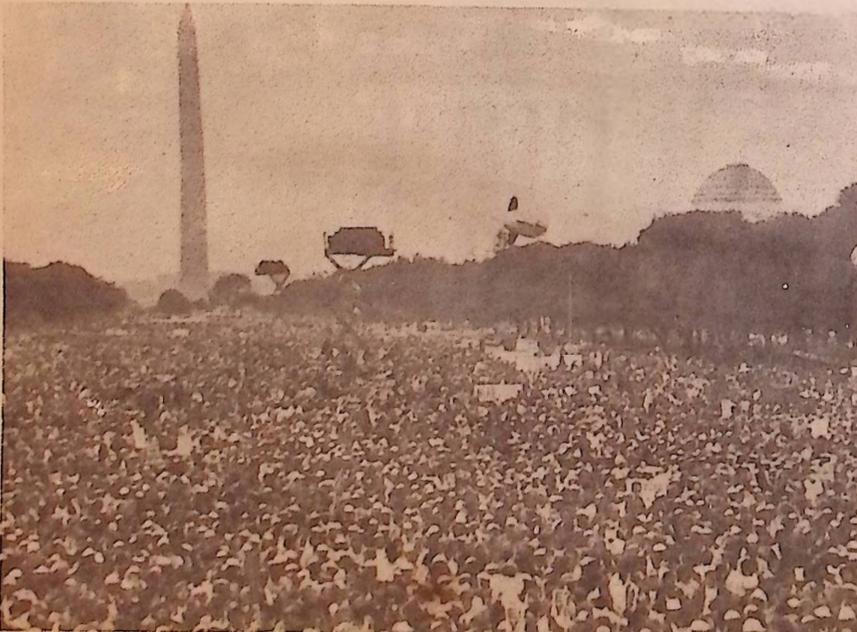
"If I ever come to believe in individual, absolute ownership in land, I must, in order to be consistent, believe that the man who owns the land, owns the people who live on it as well."

Powderly's speech was an attack against the corporations of the 1880's and their growing monopolization of the land. His reference to laws passed to aid labor were to point out the fact that all the laws in the world would not change the plight of the working-class as long as the land was controlled by a wealthy few.

Due to the pressure applied by organized labor, and the success of the first Labor Day, the National Bureau of Labor was created in 1884. In that same year, the Knights of Labor grew from 20,000 to more than 100,000.

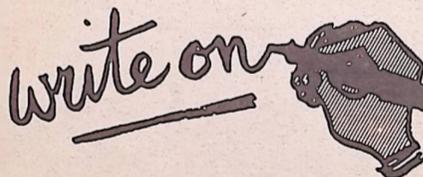
As the Knights of Labor grew, so did government recognition of Labor Day as a legal holiday. Soon after the initial Labor Day parade, 31 states formally recognized Labor Day. Ironically, by the time the Federal government got around to making Labor Day a national holiday in 1894, the Knights of Labor were all but dead.

But, despite the demise of the Knights, the spirit of Labor Day lives on: "Agitate, Educate and Organize!"



By Tony Michaels

- 1832: The first convention of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workers was held in Boston.
- 1853: The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association leads successful fight to shorten the work week in Massachusetts from 75 to 66 hours.
- 1882: The First Labor Day parade held in New York City.
- 1903: Members of the IWW — affiliated Western Federation of Miners attacked and murdered by state militiamen during strike at Cripple Creek, Colorado.
- 1910: Hannah Shapiro and 15 other garment workers march out to protest wage cuts at Hart, Shaffner & Marx in New York City. Within three weeks, 40,000 join walkout.
- 1919: Boston police officers form the Boston Social Club, a policemen's union. When they attempt to join the A. F. of L., 19 union leaders are fired. The union voted 1,134 to 2 to strike. All striking policemen were fired and the City of Boston recruited a scab police force to replace the fired policemen.
- 1919: Eugene Debs is sent to prison for opposing World War I. While in prison, Debs gets 900,000 votes as the Socialist Party's candidate in the 1920 presidential election.
- 1919: Under the leadership of William Z. Foster and others from the Chicago Federation of Labor, over 350,000 steel workers strike in nine states for union recognition. Over 20 strikers were murdered in the strike union which was eventually broken.
- 1929: The Trade Union Unity League was formed with William Z. Foster as general secretary. The goals of the TUUL were: Organizing the unorganized; development of class-conscious unions; development of new reformist leaders within Labor; equal treatment of Blacks; and the establishment of the 7-hour day.
- 1934: Over 475,000 textile workers strike in 21 states. 11,000 National Guardsmen are called out nationwide to break the strike.
- 1936: The A. F. of L. suspended the C. I. O. for its efforts to organize the "unskilled" workers. John L. Lewis, C. I. O. organizer, states: "In mass production industries, there is a place for trade unionism in a progressive and militant labor movement." Thus, the C. I. O. went on to very successful organizing drives throughout the late 1930s and early '40s.
- 1949: More than 450,000 coal miners strike when mine operators refused to resume payments to the UMW Welfare and Pension Fund before negotiation of a new contract.



and deserves the support of us all. Please show your support by writing to Wilbur, c/o Federal Corrections Institute, Butner, N.C.

We hope to have Wilbur back with us in 10 months and will continue the struggle in his absence.

Mark Nielson, Editor
CLU NEWSLETTER
 P.O. Box 11323
 Durham, North Carolina 27703



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Dear Labor Today:

We've just started a newsletter at the Durham, North Carolina Central Labor Union. We've adopted your Dump Reagan button and are putting our full efforts into defeating Reagan and, more importantly to us, Jesse Helms.

A noteworthy event for organized labor in North Carolina took place the first week in August. Wilbur Hobby, former President of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO and probably one of the more progressive AFL-CIO state presidents anywhere in the past two decades, began a 12 month prison sentence in the Federal Corrections Institute in Butner, North Carolina.

Brother Hobby is in jail because of trumped up charges masterminded by Jesse Helms and his Congressional Club alleging misappropriation of CETA funds.

Wilbur is serving time in support of every union member in the country

Are you better off??

by Greg Tarpinian, Director
Labor Research Association

President Reagan is asking the same demagogic question in this election year that he did in 1980: "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" And establishment economists are chiming in with the President's speech writers to answer with a resounding "yes!"

The "you" they are talking about is the "average American." They point to the near 8 percent increase in "per capita disposable income" between 1981 and the end of 1983 as their unchallenged — and unchallengeable — proof.

Per capita disposable income is the result of dividing the total income of all people — including interest, rent, dividends and other types of unearned income by the total population of the United States.

NO SUCH THING

It doesn't matter to the President and his economists whether there is such an "average" person. They really don't need one, all they need is a statistic which describes "his" income. Then the "Wall Street Journal" takes it a step further and quotes some economist with the Commerce Department who says that per capita disposable income is "the only yardstick" for determining how well people are doing.

The truth of the matter is, however, that averages such as "per capita disposable income" conceal more than they reveal, since they lump the incomes of the rich in with those of working Americans. As a result, the averaging process makes it appear that all incomes are rising by 8 percent. The fact is that the incomes of the rich are rising far faster than 8 percent and those of workers are falling, with the net result being an average increase of 8 percent.

FIGURES DON'T LIE BUT . . .

The 8 percent figure does not take into account the fact that the real wage of the average production worker in the U.S. today (there are lots of average production workers) is more than 7 percent below that of 1975 and has fallen nearly 1.5 percent under the Reagan Administration.

Our 8 percent "average" does not reveal the fact that union workers have suffered the worst wage settlements on record during the Reagan years and that their real wages have fallen rapidly — and will continue their downward trend. (First year wage increases negotiated in 1983 and 1984 average 2.6 percent, substantially below the current rate of inflation, and certain to be below the price increases that will occur between now and 1986, the year in which these contracts expire.)

Nor do these figures shed any light on the fact that nearly 40 percent of the workers covered by contracts negotiated in 1983 and '84 have been forced to take wage freezes or wage cuts and that many more have accepted "non-wage" concessions.

The "per capita disposable income" figure does not take into account the fact that the poverty rate, now exceeding 15 percent, has skyrocketed under Reagan. And it ignores the fact that more than 35 million people live below the official poverty line, defined by the government as an annual income of \$10,178 for an urban family of four.

The bogus "per capita disposable income" figure does not and can not show that 450,000 people lost their homes during the last four years . . . that \$10 billion in income and services were taken out of the hands and mouths of poor people by Reagan's budget cuts . . . that 3 million fewer school children are now receiving reduced price school lunches and that one million people have lost food stamps.

The myth of an 8 percent increase in per capita disposable income hides all of this and is silent about the fact that the average annual real income of small farmers fell by more than \$15 billion in the first three years of Reagan.

. . . LIARS DO FIGURE

And finally, the 8 percent figure does not reveal — to the contrary, it hides — the fact that, while total wage and salary income went up nearly 11.5 percent in 1981-83, consumer prices rose by 21 percent, resulting in an overall decline of 10 percent in real purchasing power.

And it works the other way, too. The 8 percent increase in per capita income also hides the fact that the rich are getting richer — at a faster rate — under the tender mercies of Reaganomics.

Reaganomics is good for some...

William Anderson, president of the National Cash Register Corporation is one of them. Last year he made \$13 million in salary, bonus and stock options.

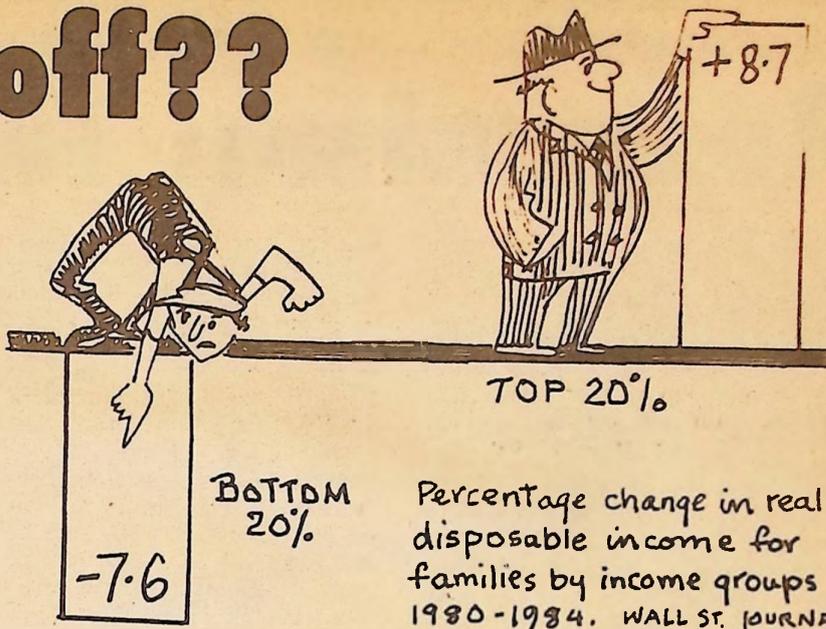
Generally speaking, Reaganomics is good for people with incomes of \$80,000 or more per year. If you are one of them, then the Reagan tax cuts are worth about \$8,390 per year to you.

Exxon Corporation did pretty well, too. Their gross profit for 1983 was

\$32.8 billion, for a 90 percent rate of profit.

And don't forget AT&T, Atlantic Richfield, DuPont, Ford, General Electric, IBM, Sears, Shell, Texaco or Standard Oil. These companies each had after-tax profits of more than a billion dollars last year.

There's no need to worry about General Motors, either. They raked in more than \$3.70 billion profit in 1983 —



Percentage change in real disposable income for families by income groups 1980-1984. WALL ST. JOURNAL.

Consider, for instance, only one measure: Executive salaries rose 15 percent in 1983, reaching a median of \$420,000 for the 986 top officials of the 337 largest U.S. corporations. And don't forget the tax cut that allows them to keep an additional \$21,000 this year.

Fairness demands that we take note of the fact that dividend income rose from \$62.5 billion in 1981 to \$70.5 billion in 1983 and that personal interest income climbed from \$329 billion to \$366 billion in the same period.

So it is true: Some people are better off in 1984 than they were when

Reagan took office. When you get right down to it, they are so much better off that you can dump their incomes into the same pool with the declining incomes of working people and make it look like everybody's income went up 8 percent. As Will Rogers once said, "There's figures, statistics and damn lies."

But the question remains: Are you better off?

And if you aren't, then the first, and most meaningful, step toward reversing that process is the defeat of Ronald Reagan in November.

and 1984 profits are running three times as high.

If you're in the natural gas business, Reaganomics has been a God-send. The price of natural gas rose 17 percent in 1981, 60 percent in 1982 and another 23 percent in 1983.

but it raises Hell with the rest of us

Reagan's budget cuts in 1981 doubled the number of families living at or below the poverty level that are headed by working women.

Things have been pretty rough in Lackawana, New York, too. Bethlehem Steel laid off 16,000 workers there as part of the "shake out" of the steel industry that has left thousands of steelworkers without jobs and our nation without the steel needed to rebuild our cities.

At least one million people have lost all of their food stamps under Reagan.

Last April, the "New York Times" reported that more than two and a quarter million workers had been unemployed for more than six months.

More than 5 million people have fallen into poverty since 1981, with 900,000 of them falling through the safety net last year when the economy was supposed to be "recovering."

And it's not only workers and poor folks who are catching hell: More than 65,000 small businesses went bankrupt between January 1981 and October 1983 — more than the total number of business failures in the preceding seven years.

Farmers have been going broke in record numbers, also. Farm foreclosures more than doubled between 1982 and 1983 and the lowest ever net level of real farm income was recorded in 1982.

THERE'S REAGANOMICS, AND THEN THERE'S

Reaganism: Threat to labor, mi

As Greg Tarpinian says in his article on page 3, some folks and especially some groups are better off after three and a half years of Reagan and his policies than they were before he took office.

And why shouldn't they be? After all, Reaganomics was designed to increase the wealth of the corporations, the banks and the handful of rich individuals who own and control them. And it may even be that some of the "benefits" of Reaganomics have trickled down to a handful of workers who are, in the narrowest sense of the word, better off now than they were four years ago.

But even if we leave Reagan's escalation of the threat of war out of the picture — and we don't — Reaganomics has made things worse for the overwhelming majority of the American people, including the overwhelming majority of trade unionists.

REAGANOMICS

It's not just that social programs have been cut, or that there's been a major shifting of the tax burden. It's not even the fact that Reagan's policies have taken food from the mouths of babies and security from the elderly.

Sure, all of these are bad and the list could go on and on. And sure, Reaganomics has to go out the door in '84 along with Ronald Reagan.

AND REAGANISM

But what is often lost sight of in all of this is the question of Reaganism —



and the fact that in less than four years, Reaganism has deprived the working class and its allies of much of the power they once had to fight back.

Doesn't Reagan's stacking of the NLRB with anti-union hacks seriously weaken the ability of the labor movement to defend itself?

What about Chapter 11 — the Supreme Court's decision that permits "bankrupt" companies to tear up existing union contracts — and the fact that Reagan's only appointee to the Court voted against labor on that one?

And PATCO. Wasn't that a signal that the time had come to turn the union busters loose — and haven't they made tremendous progress in their chosen mission?

And can't we say the same of Reagan's refusal to adequately fund government agencies charged with enforcing anti-discrimination legislation?

Wasn't Reagan's decision to sidestep and dismantle affirmative action programs part of the same agenda that cut funds to enforce OSHA and the Clean Air Act?

Or what about the role of the Reagan Administration in undercutting fundamental constitutional guarantees against illegal search and seizure, to say nothing of free speech? Aren't these blows against the rights and power of the labor movement as well?

We think that this deliberate erosion of our fightback ability adds a special urgency to the 1984 election.

Although we stand with all who say, "Out the door in '84!", we also warn: "Don't wait. '88 will be too late!"

JOE ROMANO

President
Local 15271
United Steelworkers of America

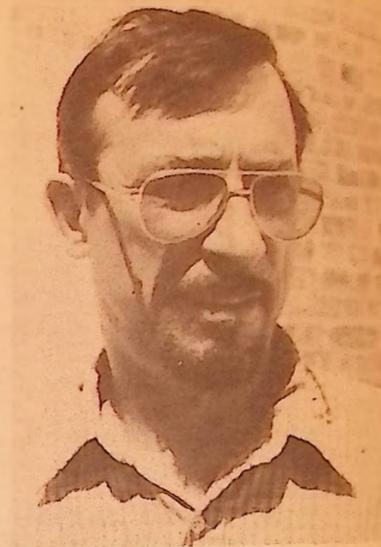
Our local has been on strike against Danly Machine since May 1. We are a subsidiary of the Ogden Corporation, a multinational conglomerate who has demanded concessions that would destroy our union if we were to grant them.

The attack on our union is typical of the attacks that all of labor faces in these days of Reaganomics and Reaganism.

And make no mistake about it. Every act of the Reagan Administration has given aid and comfort to the union busters. If he returns to power in November, we can expect this attack to become even more brutal.

Reagan's labor record

The same conservative, and even right wing, political philosophy that underlines Reagan's economic policies (to say nothing about his "shootout at the O K Corral" approach to international affairs) is the foun-



ation for his anti-worker, anti-union, anti-people record.

In 1981 Reagan fired 11,400 air traffic controllers when they went on strike. He also stripped their union (PATCO) of its status as their bargaining agent. He then found it necessary to spend more than a billion dollars to train new controllers.

FRANK ROSEN

President
District Council 11
United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE)

Certainly, trade unionists and workers have to oppose Reagan because of his economic policies because these policies have brought hardship and suffering to millions.

But there is an even more overriding matter of concern: For the first time in history we now have the ability to wipe out the human race.

Since Reagan became President, U. S. marines have been sent to Lebanon and Grenada, there has been stepped up intervention in Central America, the Mid East and Southern Africa. Reagan has escalated tensions with the Soviet Union and accelerated the nuclear arms build up. All of these are reasons for the labor movement to build a united campaign to defeat Ronald Reagan on November 6.

After all, one atomic bomb can ruin your whole day.

Reagan's military build-up

During Carter's last year in office the military budget was \$178.4 billion. That was bad enough but it was chicken feed compared to Reagan's military spending request of \$305 billion for 1984.

Unless Reagan's military build up is reversed, the United States will be spending one billion dollars per day on the military by the end of 1986 and the average family will have to pay \$30,996 in taxes to the Pentagon in the next five years.

While Reagan has increased military spending by more than 70 percent, he cut appropriations for energy conservation by 44 percent, job training and employment programs by 47 percent.



All of the 1983 reductions in Medicaid, child nutrition, food programs for women, infants and children, legal services, supplemental security income, elementary and secondary education, guaranteed student loans, energy and conservation, research and development,



AN EDITORIAL

If not Reagan - WHO?

The other day we got a letter from a reader pointing out that there were not provisions on the ballot that make it possible to vote against Ronald Reagan. And, he added, "improbably events aside, the next president will be Mondale or Reagan."

We agree on both counts. Now that the San Francisco Convention is behind us, "Labor Today" and, hopefully, it readers, will be counted, along with the overwhelming majority of the labor movement, in the ranks of Mondale / Ferraro supporters.

We've dug in for the duration, convinced that, while Reagan can be defeated, defeat is not yet assured. We are, as are many in the labor movement, met with the question of how best to help guarantee a new resident at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue next January.

At this stage of the campaign, we think it best to continue to hammer

away at the Reagan record, to fight for deeper unity between all of the anti-Reagan forces and to do whatever is possible to keep pressure on Mondale so that he won't be pushed over into right field. And certainly, for the next few weeks, we'll be pushing for voter registration campaigns in any way we can.

It's been an interesting — and in many ways — historic campaign. The pre-primary endorsement of Walter Mondale by the AFL-CIO, the dynamic campaign of Jesse Jackson, the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro. All have made this campaign different. Each has made a unique contribution to the anti-Reagan coalition. Should that coalition succeed in electing Walter Mondale, the stage will have been set for a different kind of fight between Corporate America and working people.

As we said, count us in!

priorities, jobs, peace

Reagan killed a number of federal jobs programs in 1981. He persuaded Congress to cancel \$1.2 billion in subsidies to state and local governments for hiring poor people under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

He was successful in cutting the Trade Readjustment Assistance (TRA) program and the Youth Adult Conservation Corps which had provided thousands of jobs.

Reagan vetoed a jobs program for 10,000 elderly workers.

In 1981 Reagan pressured Congress sharply cut back the Extended Unemployment Benefits Program — and now the Reagan Administration wants workers to pay taxes on their unemployment compensation.

Reagan was once President of the Screen Actors Guild. His handling of the 1959 strike led many SAG members to charge that they had been "sold down the river" for the benefit of the studios.

Every summer Reagan has supported legislation to establish a sub-minimum wage for young workers.

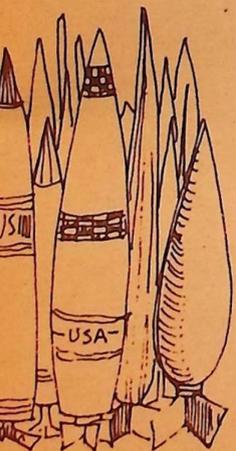
One of Reagan's proudest achievements is the fact that strikers are no longer eligible for food stamps.

Community development grants, mass transit, food stamps and aid to families with dependent children (a total of \$6 billion) could be re-instituted for the price of two of those \$5 billion nuclear-powered aircraft carriers that Reagan wants to build.

It's not only that we don't need nerve gas, the MX-Missile and those new "Star Wars" weapons — we've got 12,000 nuclear weapons that we can dump on the Soviet Union and they've got 8,000 that they can dump on us — but it's also that Reagan's military build up is a major cause of unemployment.

True, military spending does create some jobs, but almost any other way of spending the same amount of money would create more jobs. A billion dollars spent in retail trade would create 65,000 jobs, in hospitals 48,000, in fabricated metals 16,000. The same billion spent on guided missiles creates only 14,000 jobs.

If the \$120 billion that Reagan has added to the military budget were used for a public works program, as many as two million new jobs could be created.



TWYLA HAYES

Chicago Women Carpenters

Although I think that people are beginning to see through all the phoney talk about our economic pick up, things are an absolute disaster as far as employment in the construction industry. Yes, there was some pick up in work but most employers just worked existing crews longer hours.

This has hit women and minority workers particularly hard and it's made even worse because of the Reagan Administration.

When it comes to jobs for women in the building trades, contractors know that administration is not going to be aggressive in enforcement of affirmative action programs and so they are rather blatant in their refusal to hire women.

Reagan's civil rights record

In 1966 Ronald Reagan summed up his attitude toward equality and equal opportunity when he told the "Los Angeles Times", "I would have voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Although he missed a chance to vote against the Act, he has spent his first term doing everything in his power to reverse the progress that has been made under that legislation. For the first time in 50 years, we have a President who publically opposes enforcement of civil rights and who uses his office to reverse laws that require fairness for all.

Under Reagan, the federal government will spend 25 percent less on civil rights enforcement than it did three years ago. Every government program that has helped minorities and working people — from Head Start to Student Loans and Manpower Training — has been gutted.

The Administration has opposed voluntary plans to end the effects of employment discrimination, recommended ending funding for fostering educational opportunities for minorities and women and refused to comply with the requirements that each federal agency develop plans for hiring women and minorities.

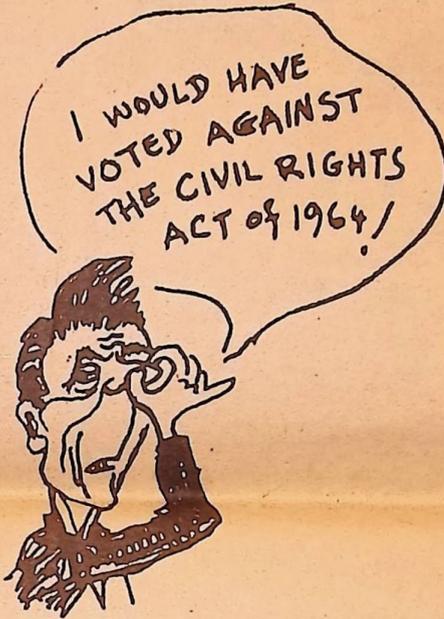
Reagan has packed the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights with a number of known racists. Since then the Commission has announced its



opposition to bilingual education, equal pay for women and affirmative action programs that are needed to overcome past and present racial and sexual discrimination in employment and educational opportunities.

If Reagan has his way — and he and the right wing forces he represents will consider a second term as a mandate to try it — there will be no voting rights laws, no fair housing acts, no busing to end segregation, no Latin children speaking their own language in schools, no goal of equality — and certainly no timetable for it — in America.

The United States would return to the 'good old days,' as Reagan once said, . . . "When I was young and this country didn't even know it had a racial problem."



FRANK LUMPKIN

President
Wisconsin Steelworkers
Save Our Jobs Committee

When Wisconsin Steel shut down with less than a day's notice, nearly 4,000 workers were put out on the street.

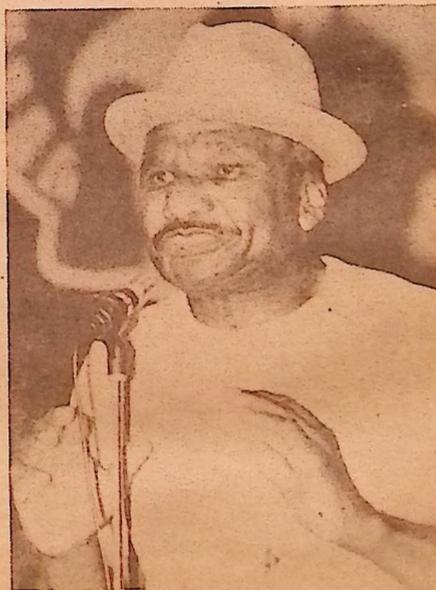
Our paychecks bounced, many of us lost our retirement, pension and other benefits.

Although a handful of our people have gotten jobs, none of them are earning the wages they got as steelworkers.

Today, workers who have all the skills needed to produce steel are standing in cheese lines while, just a couple of miles away, wrecking crews are tearing down a modern steel mill — and this at a time when our country could use all the steel that could be produced just to rebuild our cities, highways and rail system.

Reagan's "recovery"?

Nearly 35 million workers suffered one or more bouts of unemployment



during Reagan's term in office and the average duration of unemployment rose from 14 to 20 weeks.

Only 27 percent of those who are officially counted as unemployed draw any unemployment benefits.

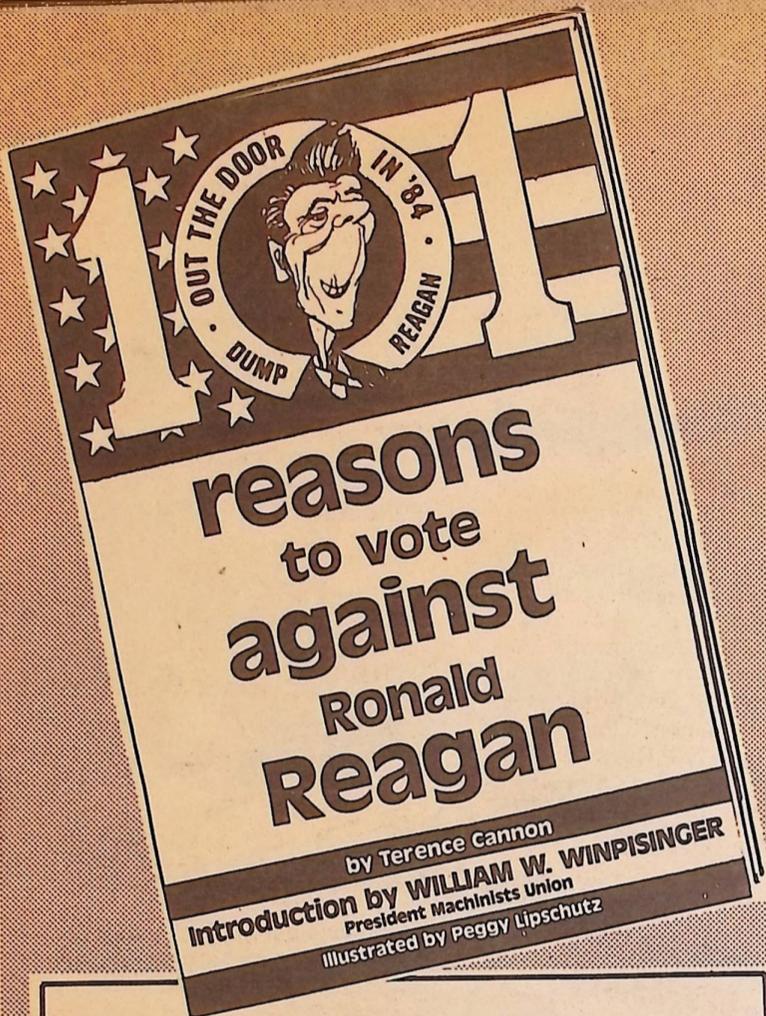
Values of lost production 1981 - 1983: \$950 billion.

Total loss to United States Treasury because of unemployment (additional



benefit costs plus revenue losses in the form of taxes that would have been paid by employed workers): \$285 billion.

Number of persons losing some or all health coverage as result of unemployment: 10.7 million.



A SPECIAL APPEAL

to our friends and supporters

Brothers and Sisters,

Barely two months remain until election day. While we can say with certainty that this is the most critical election in modern times, it is not yet certain that Ronald Reagan will be defeated on November 6.

We believe our booklet, 101 Reasons to Vote against Ronald Reagan, with its introduction by William W. Winpisinger, may be just enough to make the difference.

There is an order blank below. I call your attention to the reduced prices for bulk orders and urge that you order as many copies as you will need to mobilize your shop mates and union brothers and sisters.

Don't wait — '88 may be too late. Out the door in '84!

Fraternally,

Fred Gaboury, Editor
LABOR TODAY

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A BOOK REVIEW

by WILLIAM LUCY

International Secretary - Treasurer
American Federation of State,
County & Municipal Employees



The life you save may be your own

If you are prone to nightmares, you might not want to read Terence Cannon's "One Hundred and One Reasons to Vote Against Ronald Reagan." On the other hand, living in this country might just be one endless nightmare if enough people don't read it and don't vote against the man!

Cannon spells it out in sixteen chapters. You'd better be rich if you want to prosper in a — perish the thought — second Reagan term. In outlining what has happened in the Reagan Administration he says: "If you're poor, hungry, blind, disabled, out of work — God help you. Reagan won't." And he proves it with statistics that will make you sick.

Only the rich are better off than they were at the end of the Carter Administration. Those on the edge of poverty at that time have fallen over. Labor unions have been fair game. Better not be young — or old — or

Black — or female. And things will get worse if Reagan is re-elected because of those upcoming Supreme Court appointments. As though decisions such as Bildisco and Grove City weren't bad enough.

Cannon shows us how Reagan has the foxes guarding us chickens and our coops. Watt and Burford come to mind immediately, but how about the lumber company lawyer, John Crowell, who was put in charge of the national forests and who announced: "These forests are underharvested." If these are our protectors, who is protecting us?

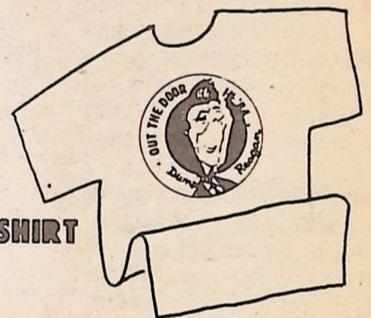
I won't tell you about all the Reagan Administration abuses that Cannon presents, but I'll say that you've borne the brunt of most of them. What I will tell you is to read the book, and then go out and campaign as hard as you can for the Mondale - Ferraro ticket. And vote against Ronald Reagan. The life you save may be your own.

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International Solidarity



by
Aubrey
Grossman

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations, & tongues, & kindreds." — ABE LINCOLN

Reagan's plan for Grenada

By now it is possible to put the invasion of Grenada into perspective; to see more clearly what Reagan was intending to accomplish; and to what extent he succeeded.

Reagan's plan, had four steps: The first was the passage of the Caribbean Basin Initiative which will permit, with a few products excepted, duty-free imports into the United States from the Caribbean and Central America for 12 years. The theory was that a combination of no import duties, low wages and illegal or weak unions would be all but irresistible to the multi-nationals.

MORE NEEDED

But the mere passage of this bill was not enough to substantially increase investment and production in the area by the U. S. multi-nationals. Just the promise of super-profits was not enough to attract the multi-nationals.

They had already found low-wage and union-busting regimes elsewhere, especially in Southeast Asia. What they wanted in Latin America and the Caribbean was protection of their investments from nationalization and guarantees that unions would be non-existent — or at least weak.

However, two different examples were being set in those areas that discouraged them. One was the fight being waged by the unions of Guatemala, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic; the other was

the existence of socialist governments in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua.

GRENADA AGAIN

It is clear why Grenada, rather than Nicaragua, was the first choice for invasion — Reagan had promised that we would "go in and then right out," hadn't he?

The better part of a year has passed. A government controlled by the U. S. is firmly in place. The unions are being stymied — and U. S. troops are still in Grenada with no plans for withdrawal yet announced.

In recent months, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent its Caribbean affiliate on a fact-finding mission to Grenada. They returned without any facts, explaining that the government would not permit them to visit the imprisoned labor leaders.

THE KISSINGER COMMISSION

The third step of Reagan's grand strategy was the Kissinger Commission, whose job it is to convince the American people they should be willing to pay the 8 billion dollar bill (plus the lost import duties) that the program will eventually cost. The Commission's second task is to explain to the multi-nationals why they should take some risks and to accept smaller super-profits, to show their "patriotism".

The fourth step was a selling job by the relevant government agencies to show U. S. corporations how profitable

it would be to manufacture products in the Caribbean and Central America. (They also provided federal insurance against any loss due to nationalization or revolution.)

Many multi-nationals sent representatives to tours and conferences organized by the U. S. Government. On one of these, Secretary of State Shultz called Grenada "a lovely piece of real estate". An organization called Americas Society, financed by David Rockefeller, helps the campaign by "matching" investors with country and products.

\$ CARIBBEAN \$

The most difficult problem is convincing multi-nationals to transfer



production from Southeast Asia where they are now concentrating much of their production. Rockefeller's group marshalled two arguments: One was the great savings in transportation costs on manufactured objects of some size. The other was that it was possible to have their cake and eat it too — that in addition to low wages and, therefore, a greater added value, the elimination of any import duty would mean even greater profits.

Not so long ago the wages in Southeast Asia were well below the Eastern Caribbean level but militant trade union struggles have begun to

raise wages in the Far East. But not so in the Caribbean. "Newsweek" describes it as "a pool of unskilled yet trainable labor, willing to work for subsistence wages as low as 20 cents to \$1 an hour."

American Airlines employs 300 workers in Barbados to feed information from ticket coupons into computers with the data transmitted via satellite to America's central data processing operation in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The workers are paid less than 10% of what they would have to be paid in the United States.

In 1982, Control Data, one of the largest electronic firms, was operating a profitable factory in South Korea. A strike developed in which the workers, mostly women, showed great militancy.

According to the "Wall Street Journal", the company closed its plant because of the union's militancy. Less than two years later, motivated by the attractiveness of the Caribbean program we have been describing, Control Data announced the organization of a Caribbean subsidiary "to pursue business opportunities" in the area. According to Robert E. Brown, a director of Coopers and Lybrand, an important economic consulting and accounting firm, "We are witnessing an historic shift of investment from the Far East to the Caribbean."

VOTER REGISTRATION:

Key to dumping Reagan

Massive registration campaigns are key to a Mondale / Ferraro victory in November. Any number of studies show that Ronald Reagan's "landslide victory" in 1980 was, in reality, based upon a razor-thin 50.7 percent share of the popular vote, the same lead that put Jimmy Carter in the White House and a whopping 10 percent below Richard Nixon's 1972 vote.

The narrowness of Reagan's victory — and the fact that it was as much the result of low registration and low turnout as it was Reagan's appeal, can be shown by looking at the 1980 election results in states where a significant number of eligible Black voters were not registered.

Razor thin

Reagan won by less than 18,000 votes in Alabama — and 272,000 Afro-Americans were not registered. In Arkansas, where the Reagan margin was just over 5,000 and in Tennessee, where it was below 5,000, the combined total of unregistered Black voters was nearly 200,000.

In New York, the number of

unregistered Black voters — nearly 900,000 — was five times greater than Reagan's popular vote margin: Had but 20 percent of these voters registered and gone to the polls, and had they voted in the 9-to-1 pro-Democratic ratio that is the national average among Black voters, then Reagan would have lost New York.

While there are large numbers of unregistered Afro-Americans, there is a low voter registration among poor people everywhere. (Registration campaigns, conducted in conjunction with election campaigns in Chicago, Philadelphia and several other cities, have enrolled millions of Black voters in the past couple of years as did Jesse Jackson's presidential bid.) It is estimated that at least one third — roughly 60 million eligible voters — are not registered.

As further evidence that newly-registered voters — or looked at from another angle, that unregistered voters — hold the key to victory in November is the fact that about 80 percent of new voters participate in Presidential elections.



Narrow margins in Congress, too

While undoubtedly the most important, the Presidential Sweepstakes is not the only contest on the November 6 ballot. And again, as with the Reagan-Carter race, the vote totals that made possible the anti-labor majorities in Congress could have been turned on their heads by a rather small increase in voter participation:

*** In 1980, of the 34 Senate races, 9 were decided by margins of 2 percent or less.

*** Had a shift of but 1 percent of the vote occurred in Vermont, Rhode Island, Virginia, Mississippi and Nevada in 1982, right wing Republicans like Orrin Hatch would not be chairing important Senate committees.

*** Most "close" elections in the House of Representatives are decided by fewer than 7,000 votes. Theoretically, a shift of 44,000 votes in 1982 would have changed the outcome of the elections in 20 Congressional Districts where Republicans won.

Voter registration campaigns, with local unions registering their members at shop gates, in union halls and in the community, can lay the basis for the voter turnout drives that will be necessary if Reagan is to be defeated on November 6.

And, as Snuffy Smith would say, "Time's a wastin'." Registration closes the first week of October, and in most states, registration after late September is more difficult.

New place, new face, new pace

One thing about **Labor Today**, it never stands still. By the time this issue reaches you, our office will be located in the nation's steel heartland — South Chicago, at 7917 S. Exchange, Room 211, Chicago, IL 60617. We'll have access to a computer-driven typesetter, more space for boxes of buttons, T-shirts, and new books. Please send all orders and other communications to the above address.

You'll notice a new look about our paper, too. For the first time, we're able to afford typesetting.

To help deal with this tremendous activity, we have added another member to our staff. Debbie Albano, a former teacher and a trained journalist, will be **Labor Today's** new Managing Editor. As she says, "We need to bring **Labor Today's** message to hundreds of more trade unionists. In their hands, it is an essential weapon in today's fight against Reagan's warchest of union-busting tricks."

To get rid of Reagan, though, we have to pick up the pace.

And what better way to do that than to have a "New place, New face, New

Debbie Albano



pace" circulation drive?

Just send us two new subs between now and November 6. In return, we'll send you a free copy of Terrance Cannon's "One Hundred and One Reasons to Vote Against Ronald Reagan."

That's one of those deals that you can't beat with a stick!

New pace sub special

Enclosed is \$10 for 2 new 1-year subs for:

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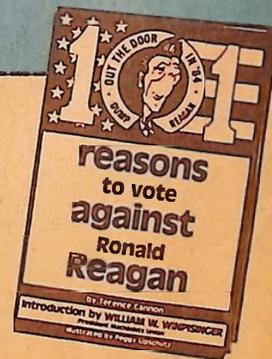
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