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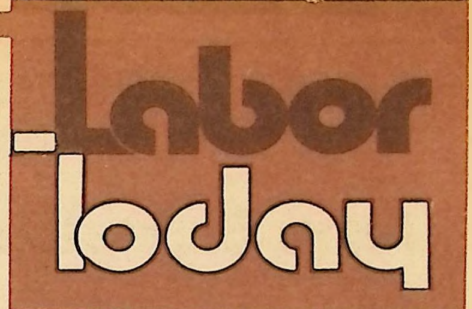
CBTU Convention

TUAD
Visits
USSR



The 1984 election

CBTU Convention: "Dump Reagan"



by: Jim Lyons

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, born in the campaign to defeat Richard Nixon's bid for a second term, devoted most of the time, rhetoric and action at its 13th Convention to the task of gearing itself, CBTU, Black trade unionists and the labor movement generally to the campaign to deny a second term to Ronald Reagan.

criticizing the escalation of military spending and U S intervention in El Salvador.

The Convention opposed the proposal for a youth sub minimum wage, spoke out in support of a national health care system and adopted a long, detailed resolution dealing with the Reaganite

budget cuts effecting the quality of child care available for working people.

THE JACKSON CANDIDACY

There were many delegates who wanted to see the Convention endorse the candidacy of Reverend Jesse Jackson and this

question took up much of the third day's session.

The final position of the Convention, recognizing the need for both unity and compromise, was to go on record paying tribute to the historic role played by Jackson in the presidential campaign in terms of Black voter registration and turnout as well as keeping the issues and concerns of the rainbow coalition before the other candidates and the electorate.

FROM CBTU CONVENTION

Bill Lucy speaks...



Jim Lyons

Although CBTU President Bill Lucy used his keynote speech to focus the attention of the Convention on the campaign to defeat Reagan, the 700-plus Delegates listened enthusiastically to speeches from two South African trade unionists. Resolutions calling for disinvestment and other sanctions against the Republic of South Africa were among those adopted by the Convention.

STRENGTHEN THE BATTLE AGAINST APARTHEID

Two resolutions, going beyond previous CBTU positions, are of special significance and deserve the active support of progressive trade unionists.

The first calls upon trade unionists to "completely repudiate" the Reagan Administration's support of the Republic of South Africa.

Then, in an effort to get the AFL-CIO more in line with "the world wide struggle for the abolition of apartheid-slavery" the Convention called for the AFL-CIO to "modify and concretize" its policy toward South Africa so that the "labor movement in our land will play a proper, positive role" in that struggle.

In a second resolution calling for new labor initiatives in support of the struggles of Black workers in South Africa, the CBTU convention recorded its supporting the formation of Labor Committees Against Apartheid in those cities where such a move is possible.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Like other Conventions, the 13th Convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists adopted a series of resolutions dealing with jobs, equality, electoral politics and the myriad other questions facing the labor movement in general and black trade unionists in particular.

Delegates adopted resolutions calling for a mutual, verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons

... the challenge before us

The larger issue is how trade unionists in this particular country, at this particular time, under this particular right wing regime will respond to the most formidable political challenge of our time: that is, defeating Ronald Reagan and Reaganite candidates for elected positions.

Organized labor in general and Black workers in particular, have a moral obligation to keep the issues on the front burner and at the center of debate as we formulate public policy. Issues like health care, education, housing, retirement programs, health and safety, the impact of new technology are all critical in this November election.

We must have full employment with equality of results.

...some economic facts of life

There is no rational reason or moral justification for the fact that, in a nation as rich as ours, people who work full time must still struggle to meet the basic necessities of life.

These real-life tragedies have occurred, in large measure because of a significant political fact of life: Ronald Reagan is the Commander-in-Chief of this nation. But more to the point, he is also the undisputed Robin Hood of the rich and the point man for the Right Wing's war on government.

More and even worse tragedies will be suffered by the people of this nation unless we unite to boot Reagan out of the White House in November.

Today more than 34 million Americans live in poverty. If the nation's poor were to form their own separate nation, it would have more people than half of the existing nations of the world.

...the anti-labor offensive

Workers and their organizations are under assault locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. And this is not by coincidence nor is it by accident.



Bill Lucy

This assault has one focus and one focus only -- to return to the powerful and the wealthy, to give back to management and their political supporters the unilateral right to dictate terms and conditions of employment in what even manner they see fit.

They're out to break unions and muffle institutions like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists that speak up for workers.

Never in the history of public policy has there been such an overt and covert attack on workers and their organizations than we have seen in the last 3 1/2 years.

The reasons for this attack are obvious: A weak labor movement is both incapable of promoting or protecting the interest of workers and the greater threat is that the labor movement will lose its ability to protect our freedom.

...the issues before us

In the not-too-distant past, full employment, income redistribution and equal opportunity were the top issues on the national agenda. But today the public attention is being diverted to a different set of issues-- Nicaragua, Honduras, Lebanon and El Salvador.

This shift in attention is not because all those other goals have been achieved, not when

12 million people are out of work, not when jobs are disappearing by the hundreds of thousands to low-wage countries, not when 35 percent of tax cut benefits went to two percent of the people and the bottom 40 percent of wage earners received eight percent of the tax cut benefit. And certainly not when 42 percent of all income in the entire nation goes to just 20 percent of the population.

...foreign policy

Foreign policy questions and foreign policy differences with other nations cannot be solved at high noon in front of the Long Branch Saloon.

The resolution of major differences between nations must be settled by serious negotiations and policy formulation, not by some macho defense of a distorted and outdated frontier day ego of Wyatt Earth.

...what it takes to win on November 6

The fundamental coalition needed to bring about this victory is coming together: The labor movement, the progressive elements of both political parties, the women's movement, the Black and Hispanic communities, the human and civil rights movements and people of goodwill and basic fairness from all over this land.

We must reach out for the unorganized and the unemployed; the uninformed and the misinformed; the cynical and the skeptical.

...Jesse Jackson's candidacy

My hat is off and my heart goes out to Jesse Jackson. He has achieved what he set out to do. He has changed forever the nature of politics in this country. He has shattered the myth that competing for the (Presidency) is the exclusive right and personal privilege of white male Americans.

Without question his activity has produced the enthusiasm and has been the catalyst for thousands of new voters throughout the country.

Black registration has continued its upward surge since the Harold Washington and Wilson Goode victories, and even more dramatically across the South -- Georgia up 12.4 percent, Louisiana 13.4 percent, North Carolina 8.1 percent and Mississippi 9 percent.



By Tony Michaels

Debs & Pullman

The town of Pullman, Illinois was built in 1880 by George M. Pullman, builder of railroad sleeping cars. Pullman's town was built on 4,000 acres just 9 miles south of Chicago. Pullman provided everything for the 12,000 residents of his town, which centered around the Pullman Palace Car Company. Pullman manufactured and repaired nearly 75 percent of the nation's railroad passenger cars.

PULLMAN CUTS WAGES

Despite the company's monopoly of its industry and financial success, wages were reduced by an average of 25 percent - to about 90¢ per day - during the Panic of 1893, while dividends to stockholders increased.

In response to these wage cuts, Pullman steamfitters went on strike in December of 1893. All were fired and black-listed by Pullman and the other members of the General Managers Association, which represented the 25 largest railroads in the country. The firing of the striking steamfitters prompted over 4,000 Pullman employees (about 75% of the work force) to join the 150,000-member American Railway Union, led by Eugene Debs.

DEBS LEADS REVOLUTION

Debs, at 39, did not seem like the sort of man who would lead a revolution. But before the Pullman strike was over, this labor upheaval would be referred to as the Debs Revolution.

Serious and dedicated to the union cause, Debs was idolized by his followers. According to one of Debs' friends, "God was feelin' mighty good when he made Gene Debs." At the age of 20, Debs joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and within six years became national secretary-treasurer and editor of its magazine.

Debs gave 12 years of his life to the BLF and then attempted to form a federation of all railway brotherhoods. One June 20, 1893, the American Railway Union was launched.

RAILWAY WORKERS STRIKE

In May of 1894, the Pullman workers took their grievances to George Pullman. The day after many of those workers were laid off. On May 11, 4,000 Pullman employees went on strike. Their grievances now became demands:

--Reinstate the members of the grievance committee that were laid off.

--Reduce the exorbitantly high rents that Pullman charged workers living in Pullman homes.

--Return to the pre-reduction wage scale.

The strikers were well organized and received nationwide support from the ARU. At its first national convention in Chicago on June 12, 1894, the ARU voted to conduct a nationwide boycott of all Pullman cars if the strikers' demands were not met.



STRIKERS GET NATIONAL SUPPORT

Debs offered to send the dispute to arbitration but Pullman refused. One June 26, 3,500 ARU workers walked out on 14 railroads. Within two days, 18,000 were on strike; within three days, 40,000. By July 1, 125,000 were on strike throughout the country. Over 41,000 miles of track in 27 states was idled. State militiamen were called out in 26 states and President Cleveland ordered 5,000 federal troops to Chicago to handle mail that had been undeliverable because of the rail strike.

FEDERAL STRIKEBREAKERS

Governor Altgeld of Illinois, the only governor in a strike-affected state not to call in the state militia, bitterly protested this federal intrusion into Illinois, but his efforts to stop federal action failed. On July 7, federal troops opened fire on pickets in Chicago, killing 30.

Attorney General Olney used two obscure Civil War statutes to justify the actions of his federal mob. Debs and three other union officials were arrested and charged with restraint of trade and conspiracy to obstruct the mails.

They were released on \$10,000 bond and ordered to send union members back to work. The ARU leaders refused and were arrested again on July 17 for contempt of court and violation of a federal injunction. That same day, the ARU's national headquarters in Chicago was destroyed by federal troops, ruining the organization of the ARU.

DEBS AND OTHERS ARRESTED

Debs and the other ARU leaders were sentenced to six months in jail for violating a federal injunction. With the union decimated by these jail sentences and the destruction of their headquarters, the strike was broken. On August 5, the strikers returned to work, without a union, and without better work conditions.

During his time in jail Debs tried to revive the ARU but succeeded only in repaying the dying union's debts. In 1897 the ARU officially expired,

1827: Philadelphia journeymen carpenters go on strike for a 10 hour day. Within a few days, painters and brick layers join the strike and help to form one of the first effective labor organizations, The Mechanics Union of Trade Associations; eventually becoming the Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia.

1836: Striking tailors are arrested in New York City and charged with restraint of trade and conspiracy to obstruct trade, leading to a protest involving close to 30,000 people. This protest led to the dropping of charges and settlement of the strike.

1877: Trumped up charges of murder lead to the execution of 11 members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (The Molly Maguires) in Pennsylvania.

1888: The Bureau of Labor is created by Congress, although it doesn't reach cabinet status until 1913.

1894: The Pullman Strike. (See Feature Story.)

1900: Delegates from 7 garment workers unions, representing over 2,000 workers, meet in New York City to form the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

1924: A Federal child labor amendment to the Constitution is passed by Congress. However, only 28 of the necessary 36 states ratify the amendment.

1933: The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) is passed by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt. The NIRA was to guarantee collective bargaining, minimum wages and hours, as well as creating the Public Works Administration. The NIRA was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1935, but the reforms promised by the NIRA were subsequently re-enacted in other legislation.

1938: The Fair Labor Standards Act is signed into law by President Roosevelt, raising the minimum wage, shortening the work week, and giving time and a half overtime pay after 44 hours to all workers involved in interstate commerce.

1943: Over 500,000 coal miners strike for higher wages. This strike is not completely settled until November when the government arbitrates a pay raise.

1947: The Taft-Hartley Act is passed by Congress over President Truman's veto, limiting union activities and restricting the rights to collective bargaining.

1949: The Truman administration's proposal to negate the Taft-Hartley Act is defeated by Congress.

1949: The United Mine Workers strike for one week in order to improve their bargaining position in upcoming contract talks. Over 450,000 UMW members eventually win a new contract establishing effective nation-wide bargaining.

1952: The Supreme Court orders President Truman to return the nation's steel mills to their owners, prompting a strike by 650,000 steel workers, who had been working at the President's request, without a contract, for three months.

1955: The UAW and Ford negotiate a three-year agreement which establishes supplementary unemployment compensation financed by the company. By the end of the year, similar agreements are negotiated with the remainder of the auto industry.

1968: The Alliance for Labor Action is formed by the Teamsters and UAW.

1970: TUAD is founded.

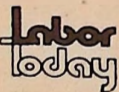
1976: The Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union is established when 350,000 Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and 175,000 Textile Workers of America merge.

the same year that George Pullman died. The concept of industrial unionism died also; not to be revived until the advent of the CIO.

DEBS A CHAMPION OF WORKERS

At the time of his death in

1926, Eugene Debs was mourned as a champion of a radical industrial union movement, whose dream of uniting all rail workers into one union failed. Despite this failure, Debs succeeded in awakening the working class to the ideas of industrial unionism.



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SOME GET IT, SOME DON'T

Recovery for who?

by: Allen Weaver

Frederick W. Smith, Chair of Federal Express, arrives in his office at 10 a.m. At 11, he decides he has worked enough for the day and takes off to play golf with several of his executive friends at their exclusive country club. He has already "earned" more than the average manufacturing worker will earn in a year.

In 1982, a year of the deepest depression since the early '30s the average worker in manufacturing had gross hourly earnings of \$8.50, or \$17,680 a year, based on a 40-hour week.

Mr. Smith, on the other hand, received total compensation of \$51,544,000 in 1982. If we assume that he took two weeks vacation and worked 40 hours per week for the other 50, he received \$25,772 per hour! (This includes his long-term income, most of which is stock in his company, to give him a comfortable retirement income)

After his golf game, Mr. Smith could retire for the year, if he were willing to accept the pay of the average worker.

Mr. Smith was the highest paid executive in 1982. The second highest was Charles Lazarus, Chairman of Toys 'R' Us. His total compensation for 1982 was \$43,773,000 or \$21,886.50 per hour.

None of the other 25 highest paid executives earned this much. In fact some would have had to work all day to earn the yearly compensation of the average worker -- a few even two days!

The year of 1983 was not quite so good for corporate brass.

This year's top dog, William S. Anderson, Chairman of NCR, had total 1983 compensation of \$13,229,000 or \$6,614.50 per hour.

In 1983, the average hourly wage in manufacturing was \$8.81 or \$18,325 per year.

If Mr. Anderson had been willing to live on the annual wages of our average workers,



he would have had to delay his golf game and his retirement for almost three hours!

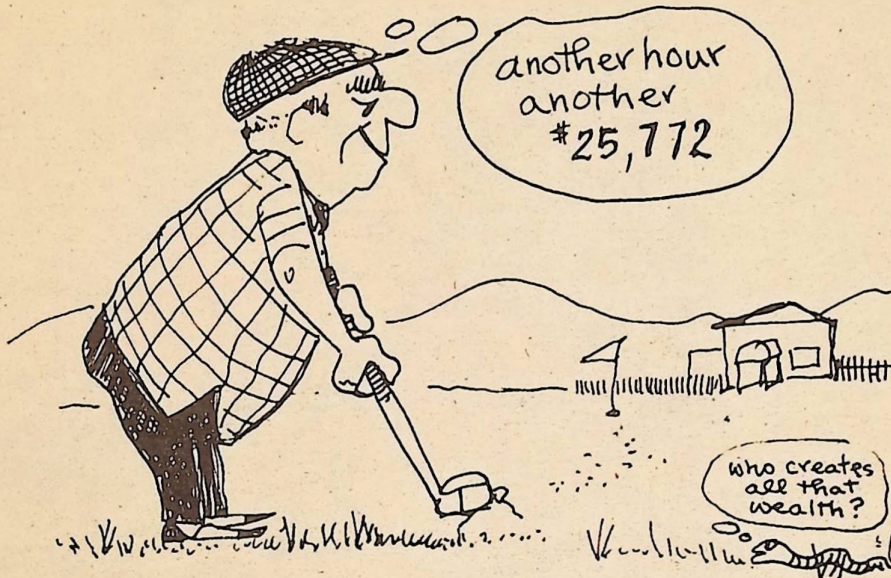
If we look at only the annual total wages and bonuses paid to executives, the picture changes somewhat. Now most of these executives would have to work from two days to a week-- a few even two weeks--to receive the yearly wage of the average worker.

The Reagan Administration and the media spokesmen for the multinational corporations are hailing the "recovery" from the "recession" of 1980-83.

And so it is -- for them. The

April 30, 1984 issue of Fortune magazine gives a wealth of data on the 500 largest corporations in the United States.

The Fortune Directory of the



Company	Average return on equity (%)
American Home Products	29.5
Dow Jones	26.3
Mitchell	26.0
Smith Kline Beckman	25.4
Kellogg	24.8
Deluxe Check Printers	24.1
Worthington	23.9
Maytag	23.1
Merck	21.9
Nalco Chemical	21.5
IBM	20.5
Dover	20.3
Coca-Cola	20.3

Fortune's "Galaxy of Thirteen"-- companies that averaged at least 20 per cent return on shareholders' equity over the decade 1974-83, none of which dipped below 15% at any time.

The executives of these thirteen companies were well rewarded and got their pictures in Fortune. Of course no credit was given to the workers whose labor made these profits in the first place!

1199 update

The two-months long dispute between the RWDSU (Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union) and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees is finally over. An agreement was reached in May whereby the National Union was chartered as an independent AFL-CIO union with jurisdiction in the health care industry. That ends the long bitter fight waged by the RWDSU and supported by the leadership of District 1199 in New York City to dismantle the National Union.

Since the 1930's District 1199 has been a separate division within the RWDSU International Union. In 1963 the District became a National Union and began organizing throughout the country with much success.

The fight between the RWDSU and the National Union developed during the discussions of a possible merger between the

RWDSU and SEIU. The merger would have brought about a separate and powerful health care division between 1199 and SEIU. But Al Heaps, President of RWDSU, and the leadership of District 1199, New York City, opposed the merger and this past year proposed to dismantle the National Union.

During the past seven months the National Union fought for its life. After being defeated in several court fights during which it became clear that the National Union enjoyed the support of most of its members, the RWDSU leadership agreed to support the National Union in getting a charter from the AFL-CIO. Thus ends a sad, bitter, and expensive chapter in the history of the National Union.

As Henry Nicholas, President of the National Union puts it, "Like most solutions to

Largest U.S. Industrial Corporations begins with the statement: "For the largest U.S. industrial corporations the big news was profits -- they outclimbed inflation for the first time in four years.

(This ignores the fact that inflation in largely caused by profits and thus need not keep up with them. - A.W.)

"But," continues Fortune, "the recovery was lopsided. Auto-makers won big, while several other industries slumped. Sixty of the 500 lost money -- a record." Thus the "recovery" was uneven, even for these top 500. (We can well understand the fortunate position of the auto companies -- the forced concessions by the unions in worker pay and other benefits!)

For the 500, profits rose by 12.1 percent, 1982 compared to 1983. and total assets jumped \$5.2 billion. Median total return to stockholders was 30.21 percent.

Meanwhile, the number of 500 employees decreased from 14.4 million to 14.1 million.

In other words these large corporations increased their profits, sales, and assets with 300,000 fewer workers-- quite a trick if you can do it!

A recent Gallup poll indicates that Americans believe it now takes \$300 per week--\$15,600 per year to provide for a family of four, up ten times the figure for 1937.

(Even at that, an income of \$300 per week is still ~~more~~ than \$4,000 below the estimate of Labor Statisticians of \$23,000 needed for a moderate budget for a family of four. Where is the boasted "recovery" for workers?)

The American people, lead by organized labor, can change this situation by defeating Reagan and the Reaganites and their collaborators in Congress in November. We must elect a Congress and President who will transfer the billions now going for war preparations to productive channels for the good of the people and to improve their standard of living.

difficult problems, it is not a total victory for any of the parties involved. I am especially unhappy because District 1199 in New York has decided to leave the National Union. But I was unable to convince the sisters and brothers who lead that District that Health Care Workers in this country urgently need to speak with a single voice."

District 1199, New York, will become a separate local of the RWDSU on July 1.

The National Union has re-committed itself to its purpose of organizing the millions of unorganized health care workers who look to them as the only union devoted entirely to their interests.

As Nadine Sutton, delegate from the St. Mary Medical Center in Gary, Indiana, told Labor Today, "The internal fight wasted time, energy, and money that could have been used to organize the unorganized. And what it means in the future is that we can get back to our real purpose-- building one large union for all health care employees."

WE GO ON A MISSION OF PEACE

TUAD delegation to Moscow

For each of the past several years, a delegation of trade unionists organized by the National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy and Labor Today has visited the Soviet Union as guests of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. This year's delegation of Paul Kaczocha, Curtis Strong and Francis Mihlich visited the USSR for seventeen days in April and May.

In the report of this year's trip, Kaczocha makes the point that while many trade unionists from the United States have visited the USSR, Soviet trade union delegations are routinely denied visas to enter the United States.

A case in point was TUAD's recent invitation to four Soviet trade unionists to visit the US in order that they might attend our Parsons/Gorman Award banquet.

The Department of Immigration and Naturalization refused visas, citing a failure to comply with certain technical requirements of U S regulations.

We have since written to the All Unions Central Council suggesting that we host a four-member group of our Soviet counterparts later this year. It may be that our invite will be thwarted again by the State Department. If that is the case, we will be calling upon the readers of Labor Today for help.

Paul Kaczocha's report of this year's trip follows:

To say I was impressed with the accomplishments of the people of the Soviet Union is an understatement. In just decades since the destruction of over 2,000 cities and the loss of 22 million people at the hands of the Nazi's the Soviet Union has rebuilt and is building anew.

It was strange going from the "New World" of decaying cities and infrastructure to the "Old World" of the U.S.S.R. where steelworkers are king and the streets are paved, not pot holed.

Steelworkers are among the highest paid workers in the country, (they are paid more than doctors), and have a 3.5 million member union. If you have one of the more hazardous jobs, like the coke ovens or blast furnace, you only work 6 hours a day. The Soviet Union produces the most steel in the world.

We went to a dozen museums, two circuses and a dozen cultural performances, from ballet to an organ solo, but none compared to the amateur performance by the workers from the Railroad Workers Union in L'vov, a Ukrainian city about 35 miles from the Polish border. The theme of the performance was peace, which was the central theme of many performances we saw.

The need--and the universal desire--for world peace is present throughout the everyday life in the Soviet Union. The billboards there don't call for you to enlist in the battle between Burger King and McDonalds, they call for peace or the end to the arms race, or they celebrate the accomplishments of labor.

However, there is a more powerful advertisement throughout the cities--new buildings and boom cranes dot the skyline; streets, sidewalks and parks are clean; the

police don't carry guns and the mass transit system doesn't leave you waiting.

I, for one, had a life time of the best anti-Soviet training money can buy. Before I left, I just knew that everything I would see as our delegation flew or traveled by train and bus across the country would be an elaborately-staged farce

MAY DAY IN MOSCOW

For example, I was taught that May Day was the day that the Soviet Union displayed their military might. We saw this year's May Day parade in Moscow from start to finish. There weren't any guns or rockets; no tanks or soldiers.

It was a worker's parade with floats from the factories boasting about how much they're producing or calling for peace in the world and an end to the arms build-up.

Throughout the Soviet Union May Day is celebrated with parades, street festivals, ornate lighting and fireworks. Best of all, this year everyone got three days off to celebrate a holiday that really began in Chicago with the 1886 May 1 demonstration for the 8-hour day.

So I marveled as we left Red Square at the wonderful job the actors and the set builders did in making us believe that we saw a peaceful parade. I just knew that somewhere, in the real Red Square, the missiles, tanks and soldiers that we missed were parading across the T.V. sets of the people back home.

While in the Soviet Union we toured several factories, among them a bus factory. While there, we uncovered a human rights violation:

HUMAN RIGHTS

Can you imagine a situation where, just because the

workers own the factory, the union can fire the managers but the managers play hell disciplining a worker? Even if you screw up so bad the union agrees that you have to go, the law says they have to get you another job lined up before you leave. What kind of rights are that for managers? And by the way-- if you are a single mother, the law says you can't be fired, period.

During our tour of the bus factory I asked why some of the workers weren't wearing safety glasses. We were told that everyone was supposed to wear them but the workers didn't like them.



TUAD delegation with friends before Lenin Mausoleum. From left to right: Delegate from Canada; Frances Mihlich, Curtis Strong and Paul Kaczocha from U.S.; and Rueben Grigorian from the All Unions Central Council of Trade Unions.

When we were in another part of the factory I asked to talk to the shop steward. In a short while a young woman, who worked as a painter, came. (This plant employs 11,000 people, 35 percent of them women, and they produce 13,000 buses a year-- hardly the production you expect from a work force that big.)

I asked the steward if they had any problems with absenteeism. She said not in that shop. Anybody who missed work had a good excuse like they or their child was sick, or there was a funeral or a wedding. All the excuses she gave were reasonable excuses to hear and thus not a basis for considering them part of a problem. However, I didn't have the heart to tell her that it was hard enough getting excused from work for a funeral in the U.S. let alone some of those other excuses she gave.

They say over there that the United States and the Soviet Union both have democracies. That the U.S. has a democracy that benefits the rich. Big business makes the laws, they say, and even at the lowest level of government the Chamber of Commerce has more say than the unions.

In the Soviet Union they say that their democracy is set up to benefit the workers. To support this they say that by

law everyone is entitled to a job so there is no unemployment. By law housing is only 4-5 percent of income, and that cost includes heat, gas, electric, water and telephone. By law education and medical care is free. Mass transportation is cheap. So is food-- but it's not free like in the cheese lines in the United States!

PEACE: COMMON DESIRE

The people of the Soviet Union and the United States have a lot in common. We all want our children to grow up in peace and we want them to have a prosperous life.

The relations between our two countries are at the lowest point since the Bay of Pigs in 1962. The beating of the war drums keeps getting louder and it's going to be up to us to deaden them.

When I was asked by my co-workers in the Blast Furnace Department why I was going to the Soviet Union, I told them

I was going on a peace mission. "Americans don't want war" was my message--and every where we went on our visit we were told, "Soviet citizens don't want war."

Peace is a people's issue. If American workers and Soviet workers understand each other there is less danger of someone pushing the button.

In discussions with the leaders of their steelworkers union (it has a membership of 3.5 million), we were told that Lloyd McBride had visited the Soviet Union twice and that many other steelworker officials had also been there. But, he said, the State Department refuses to allow Soviet trade union officials to visit the United States.

I think that's wrong and should be changed. After all, what is there to be afraid of?

NEED FOR TRADE UNION CONTACTS

But there are other ways to establish relations with unions in the Soviet Union. Steps can be taken to do that without waiting for the State Department to change its policy.

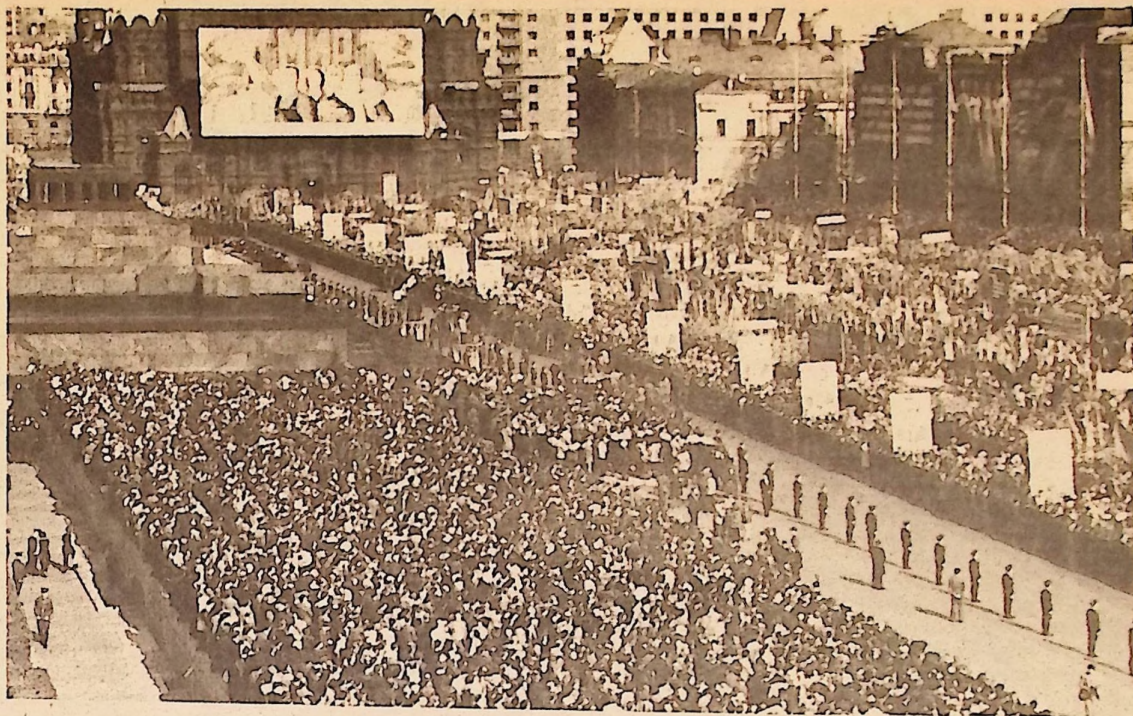
A number of local unions in our country have established some form of fraternal relations with local unions in the Soviet Union.

...y can't more locals do the
...me? Let's get a whole lot of
...cals to begin corresponding
...th similar locals over there
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...eir society, their
...overnment. They can ask us
...e same questions. I'm sure
...at each side would learn as
...uch as the other. And, in the
...rocess, we will help break
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...e choice is rather simple:
...e can continue to beat the
...ums of war and whip up war
...steria or we can do things
...o bring sanity and peace to
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...at's why I think that it is
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...viet Union. That's why I
...nt to the Soviet Union last
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1984 May Day
Parade in
Moscow's Red
Square



BOOK REVIEW

US-USSR Trade Jobs and Peace

Common Sense in US-Soviet
Trade, American Committee on
East-West Accord, 1983,
Washington DC

Beatrice Lumpkin

...s well documented collec-
...on makes a strong argument
...trade with the Soviet
...on.

... MILLION JOBS

... every \$25,000 of manufac-
...ed products exported, one
... is created in the US.
...t 800,000 new jobs never
...me through because US
...overnment embargoes killed
...ade with the USSR. These
...bs would have been created
...ver \$18 billion of pro-
...cts planned by the US-USSR
...ade and Economic Council in
...scow.

...ny existing jobs were also
...ped out by US government
...ecisions. For example,
...terpillar workers lost
...5,000 jobs when the sale of
...arge tractors was severely
...duced in 1981. Then
...nother 7,000 jobs were lost
...hen the Reagan administra-
...ion revoked the export
...icense for 300 Caterpillar
...iplayers which had been
...rdered for the Siberian-
...urope natural gas pipeline.
...he ripple effect on Cater-
...pillar suppliers account for
...he loss of 14,000 more jobs.

...ronically, Reagan had used
...he issue of the grain em-
...bargo to defeat Carter for
...he presidency. Walter B.
...aunders (Chicago Board of
...aunders) describes the grain
...embargo as another example of
...where "we pulled out our six
...shooter and shot ourselves in
...the foot." As a result of
...the Carter Administration's
...grain embargo of January 4,
...1980, the US share of the
...Soviet grain market fell from
...about 75% in 1979 to 17% in
...1982. The US lost \$10 billion
...in revenue and 300,000 jobs
...in urban industries serving
...agriculture.

And what about computers?
Was Reagan right to cancel
computer orders for the
Moscow Olympics for security
reasons? William C. Norris,
Chairman of the Control Data
Board, shows that the USSR,
denied American computers,
bought the equivalent from
either Japan or West Europe,
or built them themselves. It
is the last alternative
Norris fears most because
they could "even leapfrog the
state of the art to a more
advanced technology."

"With moderate relaxation of
export controls" Norris esti-
mates that "sales of larger
computers and peripherals for
US companies could, in 10
years, build to an annual
level representing 150,000
high technology jobs... Simi-
lar increases have occurred
in the past when export
controls were relaxed."

PEACEFUL TRADE

Of course, the profits that
would come from increased
trade with socialist coun-
tries is what concerns these
corporate representatives.
The peace issue is not the
focus of this book although
there is a sobering estimate
by Robert Schmidt of Control
Data and President of the
American Committee on East-
West Accord:

"The strategic rela-
tionship between US and
Soviet military power
is such that we either
must live with the
Soviets on this planet
or die with them."

In his article, "How to
Damage Ourselves Without
Hurting the Soviet Union,"
Fred Warner Neal, a leader
of the American Committee on
East-West Accord, describes
the complete failure of the
Carter-Reagan trade em-
bargoes. Trade and detente
should not be "linked" with
the demand for changes in
Soviet internal or foreign

policy, Neal argues, adding
that trade and detente are
not favors to the Soviet
Union but necessary for both
the US and the USSR.

BARRIERS TO TRADE

Standing in the way of East-
West trade and over one
million new jobs expanded
trade would create is legis-
lation which discriminates
against Soviet imports and
the Reagan embargoes against
the export of many US
products to the USSR.

In 1951, at the height of
the Cold War, the Soviet
Union was cut off from the

standard trading rights
granted by the US to the
vast majority of countries,
the so-called Most Favored
Nation status. In the 1974
Trade Act, Congress failed
to restore full trading
status when two crippling
amendments were approved.
First, the Jackson-Vanik
amendment tied trading
status to changes in the
internal policies of the
Soviet Union regarding emi-
gration. Then the Stevenson
amendment restricted use of
the Export/Import Bank
credits.

The response of the Soviet
Union was to take its trade
to Western Europe and Japan.

MYTHS & FACTS

MYTH: Why do the Soviet Union a favor by trading with them?

FACT: Trade is mutually beneficial, not a favor to one party. Soviet trade is 10% of all US trade that shows a positive balance. Expanded to its full potential, US-Soviet trade would help reduce our trade deficit. In fact, the US needs the trade more than the USSR. For example, without trade, "the American machine tool industry would surely strangle." The USSR is today the largest consumer of machine tools in the world.

MYTH: The Soviet Union has nothing to sell that we want to buy.

FACT: The Soviet Union is the world's largest oil and natural gas producer. They export strategic metals: chrome, platinum, palladium and rhodium. Soviet technology is very advanced and the USSR sells us patent licenses for medical products and mining and metal processing. The US would gain from an expanded, equal exchange of technology.

MYTH: The socialist countries are poor trading partners.

FACT: Chairman of the PepsiCo Board cites their 25-years experience as an example of scrupulous Soviet contract performance.

MYTH: We can change Soviet policy by refusing to sell them grain.

FACT: History has proved this wrong. Instead, we have "shot ourselves in the foot." The Soviet Union produces enough grain, even in bad years, to fill their basic dietary needs.

MYTH: Credits extended for Soviet trade helps them and hurts us.

FACT: Credit purchase of US machine tools and machinery allows later repayment after the buyer uses the tools to produce products for exchange. If this standard use of our Export/Import credit is denied the Soviet Union they will simply go to our competition. Brandt of Dow Chemical suggests that American companies should be willing to take Soviet products in exchange. Soviet willingness to accept products in exchange for its exports explains, in part, the Soviet ability to trade with developing countries without adding to the debt burden of these countries.

On Reagan

The Man and his Presidency

With this issue we are publishing the second in a six-part book review, "On Reagan: The Man and his Presidency" written by Ronnie Dugger and published in 1983. The book provides an excellent account and discussion of what Mr. Reagan is doing as President against the background of his career

OUR ANTI-SOVIET DECISION MAKER

In any criminal trial, the members of the jury are first selected on the basis that they may not be prejudiced concerning the individual on trial--regardless race, political belief, nationality, religion or the circumstances which brought that person to trial. Thus the members of the jury must have an open mind before they assume the responsibility of making a decision and judgement.

Author Dugger makes plain that this is not the case with President Reagan who has the responsibility to make war and peace decisions and judgements in world affairs dealing with the Soviet Union or other communist countries. It is not expected that President Reagan must like the Soviet Union but he is expected, in his relations with it, to make decisions that will help create world stability. It is true that the bottom-line reality of the relationship is that the ideological conflict will not stop. But the issue today in the relationship between the two nations is civilized coexistence.

INTERNATIONALIZED MCCARTHYISM

Dugger brands Reagan's foreign policy with the Soviet Union as "internationalized McCarthyism." President Reagan's approach to the Soviet Union is thoroughly steeped in bitter prejudice. He has reached the point of becoming an anti-Soviet Union zealot--so much so that he believes that the United States is already at war with the Soviet Union. In that frame of mind, he represents a danger not only to the American people but to the entire world.

On the issue of communism, Reagan, in a speech for General Electric in 1962, said, "The inescapable truth is that we are at war, and we are losing that war simply because we don't or won't realize we are in it....It is a declared war."

In a speech for Senator Goldwater in 1964, Reagan declared that "we are at war with the most dangerous enemy ever known to man."

In 1978, only two years before he became President, Reagan, in a radio broadcast, said, "I wouldn't trust the Russians around the block. They must be laughing at us because we continue to think of them as people like us."

And last year, now President Ronald Reagan described the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

Devoid of statesmanship, diplomacy and sound leadership, President Reagan makes a peaceful dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union impossible. Given the fact that he thinks we are already at war, his policy of

negotiations with the Soviet Union is unyieldingly hard line. Just how close is his decision to fire nuclear weapons toward the Soviet Union?

DEVIL THEORY

Dugger points out that "Reagan has what can best be understood as a devil theory of the Soviet Union. In his mind Moscow is not only the capital of communism, it is the capital of everything revolutionary in the world.

Dugger states further:

AN EDITORIAL

The 1984 election

The 1984 presidential primary campaign is over and now it's on to San Francisco for the next act.

But all of this aside, two factors have emerged during the 1984 campaign that mark it as new and different.

On the one hand there has been the role of the labor movement, characterized by a new level of independent initiative that began in earnest with the October decision of the AFL-CIO Convention to endorse a candidate before the primary election campaign began and then to mobilize the money, resources and votes to make it stick.

The second feature on this year's double bill is Jesse Jackson's issues-oriented campaign that has propelled him--and the movement he so eloquently represents--into the very center of the campaign to defeat Reagan.

FIRM BASE FOR BUILDING

Both of these developments have brought new vigor and a higher level of working class participation to what other wise might have been a ho-hum affair. Both show the deep-seated anti-Reagan sentiment that exists in the ranks of the the labor movement and the Black Community. Both substantiate CBTU President Lucy's statement that the "fundamental coalition" needed to dump Reagan is "coming together."

While agreeing with Brother Lucy's assessment that Reagan can be defeated, Labor Today is also mindful that the coalition has not yet jelled. There are many pitfalls in the road that leads to November 6 and a great deal of careful work will have to be done to forge the unity between organized labor and the Afro-American community that is the fundamental base of Lucy's "fundamental coalition".

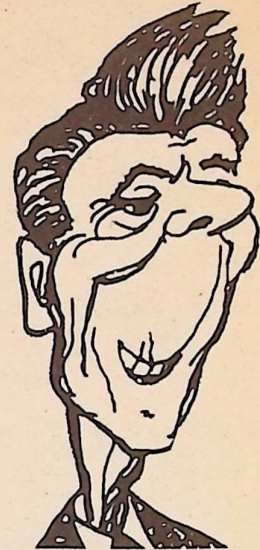
"The implications of Reagan's devil theory for any revolutionary movement are clear. No matter how rotten and murderous a right-wing dictator may be, no matter how corrupt and repressive a military junta; any revolutionaries rising up against it are communists directed by Moscow. All leftism and even mere reformism are equated with communism, just as they are in domestic McCarthyism. No middle ground is left ..."

Reagan and his administration charge that the USSR is responsible for "training, funding and equipping" international terrorists. That's the devil theory at work. "Yet," states Dugger, "officials of the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the State Department said they could not substantiate the charge."

A SECOND CHANCE

It's unfortunate that the Republican Party as well as American voters did not screen

Ronald Reagan as jurors are screened before they are placed on a position to make decisions and pass judgement.



DUMP REAGAN

Voters, at least, will have a second chance to judge Ronald Reagan on election day, November 6, 1984.

THE CAUTION FLAG IS OUT

To borrow a phrase from the Indy 500, the people's movement had better keep an eye out for the caution flag.

A case in point was the May 8 primary election in the First Congressional District of Indiana that denied Katie Hall her bid for re-nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate for United States Representative.

Despite the fact that Congresswoman Hall had rung up a 100 percent rating on the AFL-CIO's scorecard, despite the fact that she had the endorsement of both the State and National AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, all backed up with the generous financial support of the key unions in the District, Sister Hall (She is a member of Local 4 of the American Federation of Teachers.) came in second in a three-way contest and thus became the only Member of the Congressional Black Caucus to be denied the opportunity to return to Congress this year.

POTHOLES IN THE ROAD

While there is no simple explanation, several factors contributed to this unnecessary setback for the anti-Reagan front:

First: Racism is alive and well within the ranks of the electorate of N.W. Indiana.

Ms. Hall received only 7 percent of the white vote in the district in a campaign that was carefully orchestrated to strip her of the white support she had won in her 1982 campaign.

Second: The Lake County Central Labor Union, paralyzed by a small clique controlling the one third of the votes needed to block a COPE endorsement, refused to endorse Katie Hall. This provided additional grist racists of all stripes in their campaign to maximize

anti-Hall sentiment among white voters and apathy and confusion among Blacks.

Third: The Lake County Democratic Party machine, dominated by an alliance old line party hacks and their counterparts in the labor movement, was able to take advantage of splits among key Black political figures in the City of Gary, and refused to mobilize support for Congresswoman Hall, despite a trip into the area by House Speaker Tip O'Neill.

LOOK OVER YOUR SHOULDER

More could be said, but it is possible to draw some important lessons from Indiana's First Congressional District election:

A divided labor movement can not muster the muscle, to say nothing of the enthusiasm that will be needed to guarantee the turnout that is needed to defeat of Reagan, Reaganism and Reaganomics November.

The labor movement must understand that the question of Black representation--and the need to support the special demands of the Afro-American community--are principled questions that can not be ducked. Nor can we sit back and allow racists within our own ranks, to get away with their dirty work.

Black/labor unity won't come automatically and it sure as hell won't materialize in situations dominated by those who would deal with our brothers and sisters who are Black on the basis that "they have no place else to go."

And finally, in addition to the constant struggle for, and sensitivity on, the need for unity, the labor movement has to step up its own political activity.

While there are no pots of gold for working men and women at the end of the road, there is a checkered flag, it's ours if we don't jump the track!

International Solidarity



"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

STRUGGLE IN URUGUAY

In April, Labor Today published the first of a two-part article on the struggle in Uruguay. In it, Brother Grossman used extensive quotes from Phillip Agee, former CIA Station Chief in Montevideo to prove the role played by the U. S. Government in the destruction of democracy in Uruguay in the early 1960's. We continue our report with this article.

On June 27 the people of Uruguay will observe the 11th anniversary of the military coup which overthrew the most democratic government in Latin America.

When the Coup took place, CNT (the leading trade union center in Uruguay prior to the military coup of 1963) retaliated with a three-week-long general strike.

The government's response was to ban the CNT and jail and fine its leadership. In the years since, most of the CNT leadership has been imprisoned and many have been either tortured or assassinated. However, a new leadership has emerged, even though it is forced to operate underground.

AFTER CNT WAS BANNED

The attacks on the CNT were not limited to its leadership. When the military government allowed new unions to be formed, no worker who had ever belonged to CNT was permitted to be a member of any union.

After CNT was banned, the government, although forbidding strikes and limiting a union to a single workplace, did permit unions to organize and apply for registration.

Only few unions were actually registered but, with or without government approval, union groups affiliated into a loosely formed group called PIT.

The first major action of PIT was a May Day demonstration in 1983 that brought 150,000 of Montevideo's 1.2 million people into the streets--a rather handsome showing under conditions of semi-legality.

PIT's next major action came in September when 80 percent of the workforce staged a five minute symbolic general strike in support of a series of economic demands.

On January 8, 1984 PIT organized another general strike, practically paralyzing industry, commerce and services except the emergency services which the union voluntarily provided.

The dictatorship's response was to dissolve PIT, occupy local union offices and arrest a number of trade unionists.

THE SOURCE OF CNT STRENGTH

What is remarkable about CNT is the strength it shows despite unprecedented attacks. Had the same level of oppression been meted out against U. S. trade unionists, 6 million trade unionists would have been arrested or detained in the past ten years. There would still be 150,000 unionists behind bars and 35 million workers would have been forced to leave the country.

Felix Diaz, Organizing Secretary of the CNT, says that the formation of CNT was the culmination of a unifying process that developed over nearly a century of working class struggle. He points out that CNT functions independently of political parties, but has various political trends in its membership. And, as is the case in most instances of militant union leadership, the CNT leadership is representative of these trends.

Another source of CNT's strength is agreement by its membership on the importance of fighting for democracy and against fascism. Further strength comes from their seeing their struggle as a part of a world struggle and, more particularly, a Latin American struggle.

WORKING CLASS POWER IN THE WORK PLACE

Uruguay demonstrates, as does Argentina, Brazil and South Africa, the ability of the working class to provide its own leadership at the work place.

The forced departure of the Generals from the Argentine government has had a great impact in Uruguay. The

Just because the Chrysler Corporation is making record profits doesn't mean that they've given up their attempts to destroy or seriously weaken the UAW. As one Chrysler worker told Labor Today, "Not too long ago we were told that the only alternative to concessions was no job at all. But, despite three rounds of concessions, more than 50,000 Chrysler workers are still unemployed. It's obvious that concessions didn't save these jobs--and it's becoming ever more obvious that concessions have done nothing to make things better for those of us who are still working."

Chrysler's recent discharge of 8 UAW members at its St. Louis Plant only proves that their much ballyhooed "cooperation and teamwork" is a one-way street meant to weaken the authority of the UAW.

The St. Louis 8 include the president of Local 110, 2 members of the plant committee, a chief steward, an alternate steward and three rank and file workers.

The dispute arose when the local leadership noted that the company had not complied with the notification

FLASH!

On May 26, Coca Cola caved in, ending the strike which began in mid-February. The terms of the agreement, which met every demand of the union, were:

1. Continued operation of plant.
2. Continued recognition of the union.
3. Operation to be under the existing collective bargaining agreement.
4. Until the plant reopens, workers will continue to maintain the plant and, though not engaged in production, will receive full wages, payable from the day the plant closed.
5. All present employment relationships and job security will be protected under the new ownership. (Coca Cola operations are franchised, meaning that the new owners will recognize all previous commitments.)
6. A trust fund will be created for widows and families of STEGAC members who were killed before the 1980 agreement was signed.

In our May issue Brother Grossman wrote about the strike of Coca Cola workers in Guatemala who had occupied the plant when Coca Cola refused to honor a collective bargaining agreement with STEGAC, the union representing the Guatemalan workers.

military junta is closely divided on whether or not to permit civilian government and debate their chances of better treatment if they give up gracefully now than if they are driven out later.

Since the working class and the rest of the population of Uruguay are now fully involved in the struggle, international solidarity will provide most of the answer to the question.

We in the United States have a special responsibility. Upon taking office, Reagan announced that the U.S. would no longer oppose loans to Uruguay from the Inter-Development Bank and the World Bank.

What is the relationship between the U. S. labor movement to the labor move-

ment and the people of Uruguay?

To put it mildly, the record is dismal. But here, too, the solution to the problem is to be found in the work place. Petitions and resolutions, both time-honored rank and file methods of struggle, should be directed to George Schultz, Secretary of State and to Lane Kirkland, President of the AFL-CIO, demanding an end to all U S support of the present government of Uruguay.

This may not sound like much -- and it isn't. But it is a step toward the kind of international working class solidarity that is needed if workers anywhere are to be able to live and work in peace and economic security.

The "St. Louis 8"

requirements of the National Chrysler Agreement in scheduling overtime for Saturday, May 12.

Under terms of the Agreement, workers must be given 48 hours advance notice of Saturday work. When the company attempted to unilaterally increase the Saturday shift from 8 to 9 hours without meeting that requirement, the Local 110 leadership, after discussion with the International Union, asked employees to leave work after the properly scheduled 8 hours. As one Local 110 member reiterated, "All work was performed as properly scheduled."

This is not the first time that management at St. Louis Plant 2 has violated the National Agreement. In April, management informed workers, this time ignoring a 60-day pre-notification requirement, that already scheduled vacations would be disallowed. And Chrysler has turned a deaf ear to innumerable requests from Local 110 to negotiate guidelines covering health and safety, seniority, etc. The discharges following the May 12 incident were the final indignity in a long list of indignities.

Two weeks after the overtime beef (Chrysler waited a week to lower the boom), the Local 110 Executive Board called for a special membership meeting. After hearing Local President Dom Woemmel say that "there has been no progress in getting the discharged back to work", the Local 110 membership voted overwhelmingly to authorize a strike vote.

By their actions, the members of Local 110 have shown that they are ready to fight back and will not be intimidated by management. But the fight will be easier with the help of others.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP:

Demand that Chrysler pull in its horns and reinstate the St. Louis 8 with no lost wages, seniority or other benefits.

Send messages of support to Chrysler Local 110, 995 Larkin Williams Road, Fenton, Mo. 63026

Call the Chrysler Department of the UAW, (313) 926-5000, and ask Vice President Mark Stepp what is being done to settle the beef at Local 110 and what other local unions can do to strengthen the fight.

Introducing Labor Today

TUAD PRINCIPLES

Our labor movement is under attack. Those who would destroy the gains won in generations of struggle have become bolder and more arrogant. Directly, and through their bought-and-paid-for politicians, they seek to divide the labor movement through racism, anti-communism and sexual discrimination.

The only force that can repel this attack is the fighting spirit of the rank and file.



- The National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) exists to mobilize the power of the union membership, to bring it into the battle and turn the tide.
- We advocate democratic unionism, anchored in rank and file control. We work for an effective system of shop stewards everywhere, based on the principle of one supervisor-one steward, to give voice to rank and file in the workplace.
- The highest principle of a democratic trade union is the unity of all sectors within it. In the interests of this unity we oppose dual unionism. We also believe that the principal of unity should be extended to the trade unions of all countries on matters of mutual concern, without regard to different social systems.
- TUAD welcomes the participation of all trade union members—regardless of race, religion, national origin or political affiliation—who agree with our program.

Our goal is simple: a militant labor movement based on an aroused, informed and organized rank and file working in harmony with courageous, forward-looking leaders.

PROGRAM

JOBS

- Stop plant closings.
- Renew the struggle for shorter hours.
- No forced overtime.
- Organize the unemployed.

WORKING CLASS UNITY

- Outlaw racist practices on the shop floor—end accommodation to racism on the union floor.
- End all discrimination against women and youth.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

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

PEACE

- End the arms race—build homes, schools and hospitals.
- Expand peaceful trade with all nations.
- Establish relations with the world labor movement.



MILITANT DEMOCRATIC UNIONS

- Protect and extend the right to vote on all contracts.
- Establish the right to elect stewards, bargaining and grievance committees, officers and convention delegates.
- Guarantee the right of all members to participate in the conduct of union affairs—remove all clauses from union constitutions that discriminate on the basis of political belief or affiliation.

Subscribe to

Labor Today

Labor Today, the official publication of the National Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) is written by trade unionists, for trade unionists. We support and are guided by TUAD's Program and Statement of Principles.

Labor Today is the only national rank and file labor publication in the country. We depend on our readers and friends in the labor movement for support and, in April 1982, we celebrated our 20th anniversary.

Like today's tough, new generation of fighting union activists, *Labor Today* is outspoken and, like them, is not afraid of controversy.

In the years since it was first published in March 1962, *Labor Today* has reported on the many battles of the rank and file and, by providing information and example, has worked to broaden and strengthen them.

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