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# AFL-CIO News

MEMO FROM COPE

PAGE 8

Vol. XXVII



Saturday, August 7, 1982

No. 31

## Council Assails Reagan Policies As Cause of 'Domestic Tragedy'

### Asks Emergency Aid For Recession Victims

By John M. Barry

New York—The AFL-CIO sharpened its attack on the Reagan Administration's economic policies for creating a "huge domestic tragedy of unemployment" while transferring income from workers and the poor into the pockets of rich individuals and corporations.

The Executive Council renewed organized labor's call to Congress to reverse the course set by President Reagan and pledged an unrelenting fight for economic and social policies that will halt the recession and ease the suffering of its victims.

Just three days after the council spoke out on the human toll of rising joblessness, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the nation's unemployment rate continued to mount in July, reaching 9.8 percent, with 10.8 million Americans officially classified as jobless. (Story this page.)

### Jobless Rate Hits 9.8% as Layoffs Soar

THE COUNCIL accused the Administration of "empty slogans and hollow promises of better days ahead" that fail to conceal the devastating effects of the recession on American families.

"The lowest-paid workers have been hurled into a frightening abyss of sub-poverty," the council said in a statement at its summer meeting here. "They are being joined increasingly by workers with valuable, hard-won skills who previously had a respected place in the community.

"For all groups, the damage is magnified by the deep budget cuts in social programs at the exact moment the recession makes them so needed. These are the very programs workers have paid for throughout their lives."

The nation's jobless rate climbed to 9.8 percent in July as 10.8 million Americans hunted for work in an economy ravaged by layoffs and plant closings.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the number of unemployed was up 360,000 from the previous month, when the rate was 9.5 percent. Unemployment was 2.9 million more than a year ago, when the rate was 7.2 percent.

AFL-CIO PRESIDENT Lane Kirkland termed the "shocking" rise in unemployment a call for Congress "to reverse the devastating, discredited policies of the Reagan Administration."

July's unemployment rate, the highest since the depression 41 years ago, translates in human terms to "a line of jobless men and women 4,000 miles long, stretching from coast to coast and from Canada to Mexico," Kirkland said.

"Even that is incomplete," he noted. "To the 10.8 million officially reported as un-

(Continued on Page 6)

THE STATEMENT on the "Reagan Recession and Its Victims" was one of 16 on domestic and international concerns adopted by the council. It also received committee and staff reports and took action on trade union matters as detailed in stories elsewhere in this issue.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, at daily news conferences during the three-

(Continued on Page 3)

## Senate Backs Budget Plank, Labor Asks House Rejection

By David L. Perlman

It's up to the House now to block a balanced budget constitutional amendment that the AFL-CIO charged would leave the nation helpless against recession and hamstringing in its ability to respond to military threats.

The Senate approved the amendment by a 69-31 vote, which AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland assailed as "political cowardice" and "a flight from responsibility." It still must get a two-thirds approval in the House before it can be sent to the states for ratification.

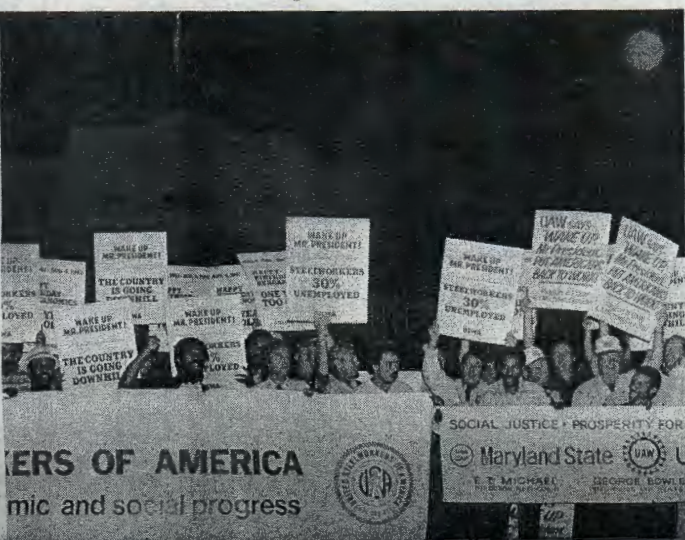
ON THE DAY the Senate acted, AFL-CIO Vice President Gerald W. McEntee urged the House Judiciary Committee to

show the courage the Senate lacked and kill the amendment.

McEntee, who is president of the State, County & Municipal Employees, took time out from the Executive Council meeting in New York to testify on behalf of the AFL-CIO at the House hearings. The Senate-passed amendment would "lock our country into a course of social and economic disaster," he warned.

In New York, the Executive Council followed up a resolution strongly critical of the proposed amendment with telegrams to senators before the vote warning of the "massive damage" that would be caused by such a defacing of the Constitution.

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### First Anniversary of Reaganomics

"Wake up, Mr. President. Your economic program's not working. We need jobs."

That's the message these steel and auto workers from Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania brought to the gates of the White House at 4 a.m. on Aug. 4. The date marked the first anniversary of the enactment of the President's Economic Recovery Tax Act, which brought huge windfalls to the rich but unemployment and high interest rates to the rest of America.

After their wake-up call at the White House, the union members moved on to the Capitol for early-morning coffee and donuts with congressmen.

## General Board to Weigh Early Endorsement Plan

New York—The question of a pre-primary endorsement by the AFL-CIO in the 1984 presidential election will be put to the federation's General Board, expanded to include state and local central body officers, at a meeting early in December 1983, the Executive Council voted.

The council unanimously approved the plan of the General Board meeting and other recommendations of its

Political Works Committee and will draft a resolution for the federation's October 1983 convention calling the meeting and setting a specific date and place.

THE BOARD, under the AFL-CIO constitution, consists of members of the Executive Council and the principal executive officers of national and international union affiliates. The council voted to expand this body for the endorsement meeting to include the chief officers of state and local central labor bodies, each of whom will be entitled to a single vote as at AFL-CIO conventions.

Voting by affiliated unions will be weighted according to membership per capita payments to the federation. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland will cast the votes of Directly Affiliated Local Unions on the same weighted basis.

A two-thirds vote will be required for an endorsement, as is the case in all COPE endorsements.

KIRKLAND stressed at a news conference, however, that the proposition before the General Board meeting will be whether a pre-primary endorsement is desirable and feasible.

"All the options are open" he said.

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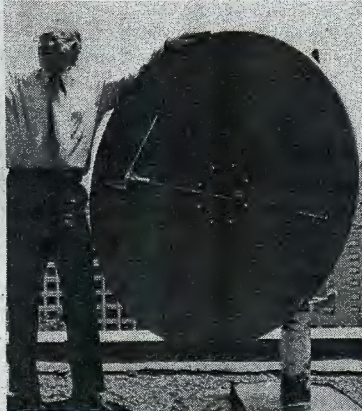
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**ON THE AIR** with the labor movement's first nationwide satellite news broadcast is President Gerald W. McEntee of the State, County & Municipal Employees in AFSCME's headquarters studio. McEntee outlined the devastating effects of the Reagan Administration's programs and policies not only on public workers but on the nation. AFSCME beamed its Labor News Network broadcast to commercial, cable and public television stations via its rooftop satellite signal "dish," demonstrated here by the program's manager, Jim Dunn.



## Charity Concept 'Perverted' By Inclusion of 'R-T-W' Fund

New York—The Reagan Administration's decision to allow the National Right to Work Committee's Legal Defense Fund to participate in the annual charity drive "the concept of charity," the AFL-CIO Executive Council charged.

The council statement stressed that "union members are willing to do their share" for the genuinely humanitarian groups soliciting funds for the Combined Federal Campaign. But it termed inclusion of notoriously anti-labor groups "an affront to all union members."

**FEDERATION** President Lane Kirkland met before the council meeting with leaders of both affiliated and unaffiliated unions of federal and postal workers, and the council statement reflected their outrage at the Administration's action.

Kirkland and union leaders participating in the meeting told reporters that every effort will be made to assure that the "right to work" group doesn't inadvertently get money intended for a legitimate charity.

"We're not conducting a boycott because to do so would damage a great many

very worthy organizations," Kirkland said.

The council statement welcomed the assurance of the United Way that its local affiliates, which normally distribute undesignated contributions from federal workers, will see that such money goes "only to those agencies that have historically received such funds and not to groups such as the Right to Work Foundation."

The council urged government workers to earmark their contributions in this fall's campaign to "the agency or agencies that meet their definition of a true charity."

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will explore whether the current structure "best serves the needs of the nation's voluntary agencies and the desire of federal and postal employees to support deserving charities."

The council statement noted that Reaganomics has added to unemployment and poverty. "Resources of agencies that minister to those who cannot provide for themselves are strained to the limit," it stressed. These groups are "in desperate need" of the funds raised through the Combined Federal Campaign.

### Structure, Program Outlined

## Public Affairs Institute Director, Board Named

New York—The AFL-CIO's new Labor Institute of Public Affairs has begun operations with the appointment of Larry Kirkman as executive director and the approval by the Executive Council of a 22-member board of directors.

Accepting a report of its Committee on Public Relations, the council noted that papers incorporating the institute have been filed with the District of Columbia, where the institute will be based at AFL-CIO headquarters.

**THE EXECUTIVE** board, with Federation President Lane Kirkland serving as chairman, includes 17 vice presidents who are members of the public relations committee and five persons drawn from outside the labor movement, who have already agreed to serve. They are:

- Robben Fleming, a law professor at the University of Michigan and former president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

- Alexis Herman, former director of the Women's Bureau in the Labor Dept. and currently vice president of a Washington consulting firm, Green-Herman & Associates, which specializes in personnel and training issues.

- Caryl Rivers, former Washington newspaper correspondent who is now an associate professor of journalism at Boston University's School of Public Communications.

- Richard Scammon, director of the Elections Research Center in Washington and a former director of the U.S. Census Bureau.

- Kurt Villadsen, director of creative services for CRM-McGraw Hill Productions and partner in Constant C. Productions, Malibu, Calif.

**AFL-CIO INFORMATION** Director Murray Seeger will be president of the institute and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue its secretary-treasurer. There will also be an advisory committee made up of public relations directors of the AFL-CIO's affiliated unions.

Kirkman, the institute's new director, is 36 years old and was educated as a teacher. He holds a master's degree from Harvard and taught school in the District of Columbia where he was a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

He is an experienced producer of television programs and a former professor of media studies and television production at American University. Most recently, he was television and video director of the American Film Institute where he organized the annual National-Video Festival held in both Washington and Los Angeles.

He has many television production credits, including a 1980 program, "None of the Above," about non-voters done for

the Public Broadcasting System, and "On the Line," a magazine-type show on labor issues, sponsored by six AFL-CIO affiliates.

Kirkman, who has been working as a consultant to the federation's Dept. of Information pending formal establishment of the institute, has proposed for its first television production venture a series of four-minute programs dealing with the crucial issues facing the nation, starting with the many facets of unemployment. These would be distributed for a national audience this fall and again in January.

**THE EXECUTIVE** Council also reviewed the recent changes in the AFL-CIO News, including the incorporation of Memo from COPE, Legislative Alert, and the Federationist, as well as the new system of free distribution to affiliated unions on the basis of per capita payments.

The report also took note of the federation's audio news service which makes available to radio stations short versions of AFL-CIO statements. These messages are also distributed by communications satellite to nearly 1,200 radio stations.

## Time Subsidiary Hit for Reneging On CWA Accord

New York—Capital Cable Co. of Austin, Tex., was denounced by the AFL-CIO Executive Council for scrapping ten years of stable collective bargaining relations and bringing in a union-busting consultant after it was bought by Time Inc.

Time Inc. took over the cable television system in the midst of a contract with workers represented by the Communications Workers. While trying to negotiate a new contract, the 79 union members struck the company in October 1981, but returned to work this June under the terms of an agreement worked out through the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service.

The back-to-work agreement included a commitment from the company to resume good faith bargaining with a new committee, but the workers still do not have a contract, the council noted.

The introduction of an Atlanta-based union-busting consultant and other management tactics have made it clear, the council said, that "the intention is to destroy the existing contract and decertify the union."

The council urged affiliates to inform their members of the activities of Time, Inc. and Capital Cable.

## Fight on Balanced Budget Plank Shifts to House

(Continued from Page 1)

If the balanced budget amendment were now in the Constitution, the council warned, social security benefits would have to be drastically slashed and the national economy would sink from recession "into a disastrous depression."

**AS PASSED** by the Senate, a cumbersome seven-section, 337-word addition to the Constitution would require that federal spending each year not exceed anticipated tax revenues, except in time of war. A three-fifths vote of the House and Senate would be required to allow an exception.

Further, tax receipts would not be allowed to rise "by a rate greater than the rate of increase in national income in the last calendar year ending before such fiscal year, unless a majority of the whole number of both houses of Congress shall have passed a bill directed solely to approving specific additional receipts and such bill has become law."

It's that type of statutory language that constitutional scholars almost unanimously

protest has no place in the Constitution.

**THE SENATE** also voted to include in the amendment a requirement for a three-fifths vote to raise the national debt limit—a provision that could periodically immobilize the federal government until tax collections come due.

Seven Republicans broke with President Reagan to vote against the amendment, as did 24 Democrats. But 22 Democrats voted with 47 Republicans to pass the amendment with a two-thirds majority and two votes to spare.

Except among the Senate's right-wing contingent, there was little obvious enthusiasm for the amendment. And Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) contended in the debate that "if this were a secret ballot, it wouldn't get 15 votes." Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), the Democratic whip, has said many of the senators who gave lip service to the amendment were counting on the House to block it.

At a news conference during the Execu-

tive Council meeting, Kirkland expressed labor's outrage at the "cowardice and chicanery" of senators who know how damaging such an amendment would be but nevertheless vote for it.

Kirkland termed Reagan's embrace of the amendment "pure, raw and naked hypocrisy." If the President considers a balanced budget so inexcusable "that it warrants trifling and degrading the Constitution," what's to stop him from submitting a balanced budget, Kirkland asked. "He's giving these sermons against sin while he's molesting the choir girls."

The Executive Council resolution and McEntee's testimony at the House hearings made clear that the labor movement does not advocate continuous unbalanced budgets.

But "the AFL-CIO firmly believes that the only way to balance the budget is to first balance the economy," the council said. "That means overturning the policies of this Administration and reaffirming the goal and the programs to achieve full employment."

It charged that Reagan is using the balanced budget amendment to divert attention from the huge deficits brought on by his Administration's economic policies and that members of Congress who support it see it as a means of avoiding responsibility for their actions.

The 24 Senate Democrats who voted against the balanced budget amendment are: Baucus (Mont.), Biden (Del.), Bradley (N.J.), Bumpers (Ark.), Cranston (Calif.), Dodd (Conn.), Eagleton (Mo.), Ford (Ky.), Glenn (Ohio), Hart (Colo.), Inouye (Hawaii), Jackson (Wash.), Kennedy (Mass.), Leahy (Vt.), Levin (Mich.), Matsunaga (Hawaii), Metzenbaum (Ohio), Mitchell (Me.), Moynihan (N.Y.), Pell (R.I.), Randolph (W.Va.), Riegle (Mich.), Sarbanes (Md.) and Tsongas (Mass.).

Republicans who opposed the amendment are: Chafee (R.I.), Cohen (Me.), Gorton (Wash.), Heinz (Pa.), Kassebaum (Kan.), Mathias (Md.) and Weicker (Conn.).

All other senators voted for the amendment.



# Council Asks Aid to Recession Victims

(Continued from Page 1)

day council meeting, responded to questions on a broad range of issues:

- On Labor Sec. Raymond Donovan, the federation's concern is with the way he is running the Labor Dept. Instead of enforcing laws to protect the well-being of workers, women, children, old people and the handicapped, the department is "wrecking" those laws by stripping the budget of enforcement machinery and writing new regulations that "clearly and flatly contradict the declared purposes of the law."

- On the first anniversary of the Air Traffic Controllers' strike, the continued denial of re-employment by the Administration is still hampering airline service and, together with the training of strike-breakers, imposes extraordinary costs and burdens on the public and the taxpayers and "serves only one purpose at this stage—sheer vindictiveness."

- On the coming congressional elections, the shift in the public mood heightens the prospect of "a substantial improvement in the complexion of Congress," but he has no predictions. The federation's appeal to make November 2 the next Solidarity Day "has caught on" at all levels of the trade union movement and will "spur us on to a more effective effort" in registration, education and getting union members and families to vote.

- Administration proposals for further cuts in social programs to compensate for increased defense spending underscore the importance of the November elections "so that we can enlarge the number of people in the Congress who have a balanced view of the obligations of government to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare."

## General Board to Consider Pre-Primary Endorsement

(Continued from Page 1)

As alternatives to an immediate collective endorsement, the board could decide to delay action until some later date or to make no endorsement at all until after the party conventions.

IF THE LAST course is chosen, the AFL-CIO and its state federations would not involve themselves in the primaries, and the national union affiliates would take whatever position they saw fit, as has been the case in recent elections, Kirkland said.

He explained that the timing of the General Board meeting is dictated by the various state filing deadlines for candidates' delegate slates. If the meeting were held in mid-February 1984, for example, the deadlines already would have passed in 13 key states. If the meeting were delayed until after the first primary in March, five more state filing deadlines would have come and gone.

As a practical matter, to assure an opportunity for full participation by the AFL-CIO and its member unions in the candidate selection process, the endorsement session of the board must be held no later than mid-December 1983, Kirkland said.

THE COUNCIL'S action flowed from a decision at its May meeting in Washington to explore the possibility of a pre-primary endorsement of a presidential candidate rather than wait until after the parties choose their nominees. The goal is to strengthen labor's role in the selection of candidates and to avoid the splintering of labor support during the primaries.

The May council meeting urged affiliates to withhold their individual endorsements of candidates pending a decision on a collective pre-primary endorsement, and the council's Political Works Committee was directed to draw up appropriate procedures.

At its summer meeting here, the council met with two potential Democratic presidential candidates, Senators Gary Hart (Colo.) and John Glenn (Ohio), for an

- On El Salvador, the federation is "far from being satisfied with the degree of progress" toward the restoration of civil rights and is continuing to press for more action. "We intend to use every means at our disposal to press for the fulfillment of the land reform program and the enhancement of the rights of free trade unionists in that country."

THE COUNCIL'S statement on the Reagan recession was accompanied by an analysis of the economic decline under the current Administration presented by Research Director Rudy Oswald.

The statement reiterated labor's program to pull the nation out of recession through public service employment programs, job training programs, housing assistance, domestic content legislation to curb job-destroying imports, creation of a new Reconstruction Finance Corp. to rebuild the nation's industrial base, and a reversal of the Federal Reserve Board's tight-money policies.

But the central focus of the council's outrage was the plight of the poor and the jobless, especially the long-term jobless whose unemployment benefits are being chopped off in state after state.

"TENS OF millions of Americans are suffering with little or no help from the government or private sources," the council observed.

It charged that "the Reagan policies are creating a generation of grievously injured families, without funds for schooling, health care or adequate food or housing, without respected family role models of breadwinners with the pride of a steady well-paying job, and without hope for the further advancement of their children.

"The resulting family stress and insta-

exchange of views on issues that concern the trade union movement.

A THIRD potential candidate, Sen. Alan Cranston (Calif.) was forced to cancel his scheduled visit by the timing of the Senate vote on the constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget.

Kirkland said that as other candidates emerge, they too would be given the opportunity to appear before the council "in a manner and in a setting that gives them the best opportunity to give a serious exposition of their views."

He noted that the two front runners for the Democratic nomination—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and former Vice President Walter Mondale—spoke at the last AFL-CIO convention in 1981 and had met frequently over the years with the Executive Council.

Similar invitations would be extended to Republican candidates should that party's nomination open up, Kirkland said, and he would not rule out the possibility that labor might endorse candidates in both the Democratic and Republican primaries.



POTENTIAL CANDIDATES for the presidency meet the Executive Council. At left, Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) confers with AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Robert Goss and



AT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL session, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland discusses labor's response to Administration policies that have destroyed jobs, widened tax inequities and pushed more families below the poverty line.

bility could injure the entire social fabric, perhaps for decades."

THE SOCIAL costs of the recession, it pointed out, are chronicled in the rise in heart attacks, alcohol abuse, suicides, divorce, child abuse, mental illness and crime.

"The soup kitchens of the Depression are reappearing and the haunting despair of joblessness is undermining the very spirit of the nation."

To alleviate the suffering of the unemployed and the poor, the council called on Congress to extend maximum unemployment benefits to 65 weeks and restore Trade Adjustment Assistance for workers who lose their jobs because of imports; reject any further cuts in Medicare and Medicaid; enact a program of health insurance for the unemployed and restore health care coverage for the working poor; strengthen the fragile system of welfare by restoring Aid to Families with Dependent Children to pre-Reagan benefit levels and maintain food stamp benefits for all those in need.

IN OTHER actions, the council heard reports from Kirkland on this year's regional conferences, Donahue on internal disputes matters and the federation's finances, Vice Presidents John H. Lyons on defense and on pension investment, Glenn E. Watts on public relations, Charles H. Pillard on housing, J. C. Turner on the COPE checkoff drive, and John J. O'Donnell on the creation of a labor advisory committee to the Republican National Committee.

Congressional developments were reviewed by Legislative Director Ray Denison, and Organization & Field Services Director Alan Kistler gave a progress report on the Houston Organizing Project. International Affairs Director Irving Brown recounted developments at the June conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, and COPE Director John Perkins reported on the recent mid-term conference of the Democratic Party.

Under a new schedule adopted at the 1981 convention, reports also were presented by the federation's constitutional departments—Building & Construction

Trades, Industrial Union, Maritime Trades, Food & Beverage Trades, Public Employee, Professional Employees, Metal Trades, and Union Label & Service Trades.

KIRKLAND designated three new council committees. One, chaired by Donahue, will examine the changing nature of the workforce and the organizing outlook. Its members will include Vice Presidents John J. Sweeney, Lloyd McBride, Barbara Hutchinson, William H. Wynn, Albert Shanker, Richard I. Kilroy, Watts and Pillard.

A new committee to promote and develop more effective means of involving retired union members in the pursuit of labor's objectives is headed by Vice President Douglas A. Fraser and includes Vice Presidents Sol C. Chaikin, Joyce Miller, John DeConcini, Wayne E. Glenn, Sweeney and Pillard.

A committee to coordinate labor's constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget includes Vice Presidents Gerald W. McEntee as chairman, Vincent R. Sombrotto, Watts, Shanker, Turner and McBride.

TWO MERGERS and the titles of the resulting organizations were approved. The Pottery Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers are merging to become the Glass, Pottery, Plastics & Allied Workers International Union, while the Aluminum, Brick & Clay Workers and the Glass & Ceramic Workers are now united as the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers International Union.

The council approved the administrative budget and Impact Projects fund of the African-American Labor Center, as well as contributions from the Special Purposes Fund to the following organizations: Jewish Labor Committee, Center for the Study of Welfare Policy, Citizens for Tax Justice, League for Industrial Democracy, National Planning Association, United Negro College Fund, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, United Way of the National Capital Area, and the American Political Foundation.

The next council meeting will be held Feb. 21-28, 1983, in Bal Harbour, Fla.



Joyce Miller. At right, Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) discusses issues. From left are Vice Presidents Douglas A. Fraser and Murray H. Finley and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue.



# Congress Pressed to Halt Cutoff of Jobless Aid

New York—America's unions pressed Congress to salvage the extended unemployment compensation program and lengthen its duration.

An Executive Council statement and Senate testimony by AFL-CIO Social Security Director Bert Seidman stressed the plight of recession victims who have already used up all available unemployment benefits or will do so in the weeks ahead.

**THE COUNCIL** statement spotlighted the paradox of state after state "triggering-off" the extended benefit program at a time when unemployment has risen to near-record levels. Only 26 states still have extended benefit programs and 300,000 workers a month are running out of benefits, the council noted.

But unless Congress acts, worse is still to come. The cutbacks already felt are from the first phase of changes in the program that Congress adopted last year

at the prodding of the Reagan Administration. A second phase of the cutbacks is scheduled for Sept. 25—and will come close to wiping out the program unless Congress intervenes.

The council called on Congress to repair the damage done to the program, and to restore the national trigger which at present levels of unemployment would make extended benefits available in every state.

**IT ALSO URGED** a lengthening of the present 13-week extended period, preferably to the levels established by Congress during the last major recession. That provided up to 65 weeks of combined state and federal benefits.

A move is under way in Congress to write an emergency extension of unemployment benefits into the tax bill now being considered by a House-Senate conference committee.

The Senate on Aug. 5 voted 84-13 for a non-binding resolution urging the conferees to postpone the Sept. 25 changes in the extended benefits program and to approve an additional 10 to 13 weeks of unemployment benefits.

Earlier, at Senate Finance Committee hearings, Seidman termed a bill introduced by Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) "a step in the right direction," although short of the AFL-CIO's goal. It would provide an additional 13 weeks of supplemental benefits fully financed from general revenues and restore the original formula for triggering extended benefits programs.

As an example of the inequity of the new trigger formula imposed by Congress, Seidman noted that Michigan was forced to stop paying extended benefits for a 13-week period during the height of the current recession even though it had Depression levels of unemployment.

"Supplemental benefits should be avail-

able to all unemployed workers who have exhausted benefits, whether or not their state is in an extended benefit period," he urged.

**THE REAGAN** Administration has waffled on the issue. On the same day that Seidman testified for the AFL-CIO, Assistant Sec. of Labor John Cogan testified that the Administration "strongly opposes any of the currently proposed extensions of unemployment insurance benefits at this time."

The Administration's position came under strong fire from Republicans as well as Democrats from states facing the cutoff of benefits to their unemployed.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes then said the President would be willing to accept "some form of extension," but there would be no promise of presidential support until the legislation is in final shape.



**ELECTION STRATEGY** is mapped by the AFL-CIO COPE Operating Committee at its meeting in conjunction with the Executive Council sessions in New York. COPE Director John Perkins and the committee members discussed progress and goals for the November congressional and

many state elections where the labor movement's aim is to elect responsive candidates, particularly in districts held by anti-union representatives who have been insensitive to concerns such as the Reagan Administration's recession, unemployment and the needs of the poor and elderly.

## Built-In Security Measure Urged On Airline Jobs

New York—The Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 should be repealed and a "sound regulatory system" that includes employee protections should be put in its place, the AFL-CIO Executive Council declared.

The council also urged the Reagan Administration to act now to issue rules to protect all airline industry employees who have felt the adverse effects of the deregulation law.

**DEREGULATION** has caused "turmoil" in the industry, including widespread unemployment and reductions in wages and working conditions, as well as hurting consumers, the council said.

Tied in with the elimination of the Civil Aeronautics Board in 1985, the statement pointed out, is the expiration of current "adjustment mechanisms" that protect airline jobs, seniority and bargained working conditions from the adverse effects of decontrol, mergers and acquisitions.

The federation statement pressed Congress and the Administration on pending legislation that would require the long-term, continued use of adjustment mechanisms.

These safeguards, the council said, have successfully prevented labor-management strife, layoffs, lost revenues and widespread disruption of the air transportation system that could come as a result of decontrol and the effects of mergers and acquisitions among passenger and cargo air carriers.

**WITH THE** mechanisms, changes can be made "with an orderly integration of work forces and the preservation of seniority rights" and without forcing workers to compete against other workers for jobs while the companies "reap considerable profits" at the expense of their employees, the council said.

Although Congress promised protections of job rights when deregulation was passed, "to date, not a single employee whose job was lost as a result of that legislation has received the promised protections and compensation," the statement pointed out.

## NFL Players Contract Goal Backed as 'Fair, Equitable'

New York—The National Football League Players Association has the support of the AFL-CIO in its efforts to negotiate a "fair and equitable contract" with team owners.

An Executive Council statement stressed that the NFLPA, an affiliate of the Professional Athletes, wants to win for its members a share, "of the enormous revenues generated each year by the National Football League from ticket sales and television revenues," funds which are shared by the NFL owners.

**THE UNION**, the council noted, is asking that 55 percent of this money be used for players' salaries and benefits.

The players "are the game in professional football," the statement emphasized. "It is their skill and courage which attracts

the immense audiences from which the owners derive their income."

But the owners have repeatedly refused to bargain in good faith with NFLPA. They have tried to break the union and have harassed and pressured its leaders, the council said.

**BEHIND THE** glamour of professional football, the statement said, are players whose lives are "marred by frequent injuries," whose average playing careers are only 4.2 years and who average the lowest pay in professional team sports.

The players are asking for improved pension benefits and medical, life and disability insurance, a speedy grievance procedure and the right to get medical treatment from doctors other than those chosen by the teams.

## Israel's Invasion 'Justified' by PLO Threat

New York—Israel's invasion of Lebanon is "entirely justified" by the military threat to its security posed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Executive Council said.

The unanimous council statement in support of Israel called for immediate withdrawal of the PLO and Syrian forces from Lebanon.

**FOR SEVEN** years, the statement said, the people of Lebanon have endured a "reign of terror at the hands of the PLO and Syria, which together occupied 60 percent of the country."

Over that time, nearly 100,000 people were killed, some 250,000 were wounded and 800,000 Christians and 500,000 Moslems were left homeless, the council said. Lebanon's political structure and institutions of authority were "shattered."

In Lebanon, the council emphasized, "the world could see what a PLO state would look like."

The statement stressed that the AFL-CIO "deeply regrets" the loss of civilian

lives in the current fighting and pointed to the PLO's tactic of "deliberately locating its forces in residential areas and storing its ammunition in schools, hospitals and other public facilities."

The PLO, in effect, "is holding the civilian population of West Beirut hostage," the council charged.

The council said the United States should continue withholding recognition from the PLO and steer clear "of any actions which would encourage the PLO to believe it can snatch a political victory from military defeat."

Before adopting the statement, the council heard a report by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue who led a factfinding mission to Israel and Lebanon in July.

**WITH DONAHUE** were Service Employees President John J. Sweeney and Tom Kahn, assistant to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. The four-day trip included meetings with government officials and with representatives of Israel's Labor Party and Histadrut, the Israeli trade union center. It included talks with U.S. em-

bassy staffs, journalists and Lebanese from both the military and civilian populations.

Donahue said Lebanese who had felt the brunt of PLO occupation welcomed the Israelis as "liberators."

The council in its statement called for worldwide pressure to demand that the PLO and Syria leave Lebanon immediately "and allow the Lebanese to proceed with the task of reconstruction and the creation of an independent central government."

When those forces are gone, the statement said, the Israeli's "must also withdraw, as they have committed themselves to do."

The Executive Council urged the U.S. government to assist the Lebanese "in every way possible" and to make humanitarian aid available to the Lebanese and the Palestinian people.

Weakening of PLO and Soviet influence in the Middle East may set the stage for fruitful discussions with moderate Arab forces for a solution to the Palestinian problem, the council suggested in its statement.

## State, Local Slashes Seen Self-Defeating

New York—The AFL-CIO voiced strong support of public employee unions in their efforts to convince state and local governments that it is a "false economy" to respond to the Reagan budget squeeze and recession by dismantling services and destroying public sector jobs.

State and local government activities, the AFL-CIO Executive Council said in a statement, require adequate funding and experienced workers who can meet the "qualifications and demands of public service" in areas such as fire and police protection, health and hospital services and education.

**MANY STATE** and local governments, faced with the Administration's budget slashes, its recession, falling revenues and skyrocketing interest rates are turning to cost-cutting measures that are undermining "the health, safety and education of citizens and the jobs, wages, protections and standards of public employees," the council said.

President Reagan's so-called New Federalism proposal is another threat to these services, the council statement declared.

**THE COUNCIL** pointed out that a number of local governments are reducing the "quality as well as the quantity" of public services by looking for ways to cut public employees' jobs.

Some governments are "flirting" with contracting out services traditionally performed by public workers to non-union, low-wage companies, the council noted.

Such tactics "inevitably cost the taxpayer more for reduced levels of service," the statement said.



**To Benefit Rich**

# Flat-Tax Scheme Seen Creating New Inequities

New York—America needs tax justice, but the flat-rate tax schemes the Reagan Administration is flirting with are not the answer, the AFL-CIO Executive Council declared.

"The cornerstone of tax justice is a progressive tax based on the principle of ability to pay," the council said in a statement.

It reaffirmed the federation's support for tax simplification with tax equity while maintaining a progressive tax structure.

**BUT THE** flat-tax proposals would abandon the basic principle of equity and instead apply a single percentage rate for all, regardless of income level or ability to pay, the council noted.

"The Reagan Administration that stacked the 1981 tax changes to benefit the wealthy now flirts with the flat tax as another scheme to further shift the tax burden to low and middle-income Americans," the statement said. "The wealthy are saying indirectly that they might give up a few of their preferences in exchange for a drastic reduction in the top rate and

the destruction of a progressive tax system."

The council cited an analysis by the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation which compared the effect of flat tax rates ranging from 12 percent to 18 percent on taxpayers at various income levels. In every case, the council noted, the low- and middle-income groups would pay more in taxes while the upper-income groups would enjoy substantial tax cuts.

**THE RATIONALE** put forth by the flat-tax proponents is that it would enable Congress to end many deductions, credits and exclusions and eliminate many longstanding loopholes and preferences.

But if Congress were inclined to close existing loopholes—like foreign tax credits, oil depletion allowances and the preferential treatment of capital gains—it could do so now while maintaining a progressive tax structure, the council stressed.

"Loophole closing is the key to tax justice, but that has nothing to do with flat rates," the statement pointed out. "Even if the income that currently slips through the loopholes and escape hatches were included, a flat tax would still be far more inequitable than the present system despite its many flaws."

**DECLARING** the AFL-CIO's unalterable opposition to flat-rate tax schemes, the council called for steps to achieve tax justice by "undoing the damage done to the tax structure by the Reagan Administration" and enacting measures to:

- End the double standard under which wages are taxed at far higher rates than unearned income from capital gains.
- Reinstate the corporate income tax as a source of federal revenue and equity and eliminate so-called incentives "that subsidize mergers, takeovers, plant shutdowns, overseas investments and other business activities that conflict with the national interest.
- Provide a basic structure of graduated rates that fully reflect the principle of ability to pay.

## Federal Reserve Action Pressed On Interest Rates

New York—High interest rates are devastating the American economy and the Federal Reserve Board should act immediately to lower them, the AFL-CIO Executive Council urged.

The council also called on Congress to re-establish the credit control authority that expired June 30 and said the President and the Fed should then use it "to assure the availability of credit at much lower interest rates for housing, agriculture, and productive industrial investment."

**A STATEMENT** by the council stressed that continued high interest rates are a major cause of the current high rates of unemployment and high levels of bankruptcies, causing shutdowns of productive facilities in many basic industries, removing any incentive for new investment, and creating a barrier to sustained recovery.

"Repeated financial and industrial failures could spread throughout the economy and produce a depression reminiscent of the 1930s," the statement warned.

Despite President Reagan's repeated professions of faith in his program, the evidence is clear that "it is not working," the council observed. It noted that long-term bond rates and home mortgage interest rates are higher than when Reagan took office. The recent declines in short-term interest rates, the council said, reflect the greatly weakened demand for business loans in the current recession.

**AND THE** Administration's touted "victory" over inflation "has proven to be more faith than fact," the council statement said. It noted that oil and food prices are heading up again now that over-supplies are disappearing, and prices in two other major sectors—housing and medical care—continue to fuel inflation.

The statement stressed that high interest rates themselves are a major contributor to inflation. It pointed out that interest payments on the federal debt are the fastest growing part of the federal budget, and the high cost of borrowing by builders, industry and merchants is passed on in higher prices that escalate inflation.

And by raising the value of the dollar in relation to foreign currencies, high interest rates raise the price of American goods, acting as a drag on exports while encouraging more imports at relatively lower prices, the statement noted.

This has led to the loss of American jobs as the U.S. trade deficit mounted to a record \$40 billion in 1981 and to more than \$18 billion in the first half of 1982, the council noted.



**OFFICIALS OF** the new Glass, Pottery, Plastics & Allied Workers union are welcomed at the Executive Council meeting by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Sec.-Treas. Thomas R. Donahue. The new union grows out of the merger of the Glass Bottle Blowers, headed by James E. Hatfield, second from left, and the Pottery Workers, headed by Lester H. Null, second from right.

## Potters Union Okays Merger With Glass Bottle Blowers

Hollywood, Fla.—Delegates to a special convention of the Pottery Workers voted 159-17 approval of merger with the Glass Bottle Blowers, clearing the way for final action by the executive boards of the two unions.

Under the merger agreement, the new Glass, Pottery, Plastics & Allied Workers will unite 80,000 members of the GBBA and 11,000 members of the pottery workers.

**BOTH UNIONS** have their roots deep in America's labor history, going back to the 19th Century, and have faced problems of imports and mechanizations over the years.

GBBA President James E. Hatfield, speaking to the Pottery Workers convention, said labor must have "unity and strength" and the planned merger "makes good sense."

Potters President Lester H. Null told the delegates that the merger will enable the union to deal with its employers from strength.

Null, who has been president of the

Pottery Workers since 1969, will serve in the merged union as assistant to Hatfield. The union's veteran secretary-treasurer, George H. Barbaree, will be international auditor following completion of the merger.

**THE ENLARGED** union will have its headquarters in Media, Pa., where the GBBA offices are located. The Pottery Workers headquarters in East Liverpool, Ohio, will be used as offices for international representatives of the union, serving the Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania areas.

The Pottery Workers were briefly part of the Seafarers, as an autonomous affiliate from 1976 to 1978, but the arrangement was dissolved by mutual agreement.

A week earlier, another union merger was completed by the Aluminum, Brick & Clay Workers—its product of a recent merger—and the Glass & Ceramic Workers. That new 70,000-member organization is the Aluminum, Brick & Glass Workers International Union.

## Pension Investment Progress Cited

New York—The AFL-CIO Executive Council called for a continuation and expansion of efforts to assure that union-negotiated pension funds are invested to serve the interests of plan participants by creating jobs and meeting social needs.

The council reviewed programs in this area since its August 1980 policy statement setting forth broad guidelines for the investment of pension funds, which it found in many cases were being invested in ways inimical to workers' interests.

**AMONG THE** notable recent developments, the council cited:

- A new AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust now awaiting approval by the Securities & Exchange Commission, which will provide long-term government insured mortgages to finance union-built housing and other construction.
- A program by the Building & Construction Trades Dept. to acquaint pension fund trustees and other plan fiduciaries with opportunities for investment in job-creating projects.
- Creation of financing foundations or pooling arrangements by a number of construction union pension funds to promote union-built construction.
- Increasing pressure from unions to gain a greater voice in the control of their pension funds and investment policy where traditionally such decisions have been left solely to management.
- The growing support of public officials for the use of public employee retirement funds to strengthen state and local economies through appropriate investments.
- Establishment of the Industrial Union Dept. publication, Labor and Investments,

as a valuable source of information on pension fund investment.

• A computer tracking project being undertaken by the AFL-CIO to better enable union-influenced pension funds to exercise shareholder rights associated with their equity holdings, and the work of the Food & Beverage Trades Dept. in encouraging the exercise of such rights.

**"THESE KINDS** of activities provide new opportunities and should be continued and expanded," the council statement said. "The pooling of funds can provide greater financial strength and effectiveness and, at the same time, greater safety through diversification and the spreading of risk. Worthwhile social objectives can be achieved and jobs created through such efforts as union-built affordable housing for workers," the statement noted.

"Political leaders and public employee funds can work with union leaders and private pension funds to support economic development and industrial reinvestment.

## Oil Workers Supported in Petrofina Strike

New York—Striking members of Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 4-23 in Port Arthur, Tex., got a strong vote of support from the AFL-CIO Executive Council in their dispute with American Petrofina.

More than 400 members of the union have been on strike against the company and its subsidiary, Amdel Pipeline, since their contract expired Jan. 8.

American Petrofina forced the strike when it refused to accept a number of contract provisions already agreed to by most of the industry, the council said, adding that Texaco has adopted a similar

The exercise of shareholder rights . . . can be an effective investment tool, but maximum and effective results will be achieved only if all elements of the labor movement work together and support these efforts."

The council warned that the desire to target negotiated pension funds more effectively in the interest of workers should not outweigh the need to avoid high-risk investments, and it urged extra care in the selection of outside investment advisers.

It warned, too, that a number of large corporations have manipulated pension plan provisions to gain access to pension fund assets for corporate use, in several instances using unrealistic actuarial assumptions to create artificial surpluses and to minimize benefit payments.

It called for action by federal agencies of Congress to prevent this sort of manipulation and assure that pension fund assets are used solely for the payment and funding of pension benefits.

attitude. OCAW workers also struck Texaco's Port Arthur plant in January.

The council noted that American Petrofina rebuffed a request by the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service to extend the contract while negotiations went on.

The key issues, in addition to wages, are the company's challenges to longstanding work practices that have for years been part of the contracts.

The council urged affiliates to inform their members on Petrofina's tactics against its workers. Company products are sold under the brand name Fina.



# House, Senate Disagree On Cost-of-Living Slash For Government Retirees

The House balked at cutting pensions of retired government workers in order to meet congressional budget targets, but a slim 51-48 majority of the Senate voted to impose a 4 percent limit on cost-of-living adjustments for retirees in each of the next three years.

That's one of the conflicts the Democratic-controlled House and the Republican Senate will have to settle before agreeing on legislation that is supposed to provide spending cuts and revenue increases mandated by the budget Congress adopted last month.

**REPUBLICANS** ducked a direct confrontation of the issue in the House after losing a key procedural vote. The Democratic majority on the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee flatly refused to approve a COLA cutback, and brought to the floor a bill carrying substantially less "savings" than called for in the congressional budget resolutions.

The committee majority's reasoning was simple and blunt: they had not supported

the budget resolution. If the Republicans and their conservative Democratic allies who adopted it wanted to penalize retired federal and postal workers and military retirees, let them vote to do so.

**RETIREMENT** benefits for government employees are the equivalent of social security benefits in the private sector, they noted, funded by payments from worker paychecks and from the government in its role as employer. Congress had declared the social security system's COLA immune from budget-cutting, and there was no just reason to single out federal workers.

House Republicans fumed at the "unfair" tactics of forcing them to vote on the effects of their budget actions and sought to get around the issue with a motion to send the bill back to committee with instructions to cut an additional \$344 million in fiscal 1983 budget savings. But the recommittal motion was beaten, 236-180, and the House then approved the committee bill without the cost-of-living ceiling by a 268-128 vote.

The Senate, however, went along with a Governmental Affairs Committee recommendation for a 4 percent annual ceiling, but by a surprisingly slim majority.

The Senate calculated the "savings" on the retirement cut at \$5 billion over three years. In the same bill, it made more modest trims in veterans' benefits by rounding off cost-of-living adjustments to the next lower dollar. Food stamp entitlements were cut more vigorously, for an estimated \$2.5 billion reduction over three years.

**IN ANOTHER** area, the AFL-CIO urged a House-Senate conference committee to remedy some of the inequities in the tax increase bill passed by the Senate last month.

Many of the Senate provisions are desirable, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Ray Denison wrote the conferees. But there are provisions that add to "the tax burdens of low- and middle-income Americans who were shortchanged last year" and further penalize the needy and elderly.

He cited higher excise taxes on consumers, a new hospital insurance tax on federal workers, curtailment of medical deductions and casualty losses, among others.

## Child Labor Policy 'Rewriting Law'

New York—The Reagan Administration's move to gut child labor regulations is an attempt to rewrite the law—"in complete disregard of the intent of Congress," the AFL-CIO Executive Council charged.

A council statement stressed that if the Labor Dept. is permitted to issue new regulations that would substantially extend the hours 14- and 15-year-old children can be required to work and permit them to hold some jobs deemed hazardous, the result will be a new pool of cheap, part-time labor that could be hired "to replace not only their older brothers and sisters but also their mothers and fathers."

**THE LABOR DEPT.** had planned to roll back protections for 14- and 15-year-

tration has taken. But it said the AFL-CIO was "dismayed" by the failure of the seven heads of state who met at Versailles, France, last June to come to grips with basic issues.

From the heads of Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States came "only platitudes" and continued reliance "on unsuccessful monetarist policies," the council said.

The AFL-CIO will "intensify its participation" in the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, the Executive Council said, "and continue to press for a greater voice for the trade union movement in the deliberations of the OECD."

## '82 Human Rights Award Cites Two South Africans

New York—The Executive Council voted the George Meany International Human Rights Award for 1982 to two champions of black rights in South Africa, Neal Aggett and Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi.

Dr. Aggett, a white officer of the African Food & Canning Workers, a union of black workers, was honored posthumously. He was only 28 years old when found dead in Johannesburg jail. He was held by police without being charged.

Buthelezi is head of the largest black liberation movement in South Africa and is chief minister of the Zulu tribe.

Aggett and Buthelezi are the second recipients of the Meany award. Last year, the inaugural award was presented collectively to Solidarnosc, the Polish labor federation. Lech Walesa was scheduled to accept it at the November 1981 AFL-CIO Convention, but was unable to attend. Martial law was imposed in Poland a few weeks later.

An AFL-CIO delegation will visit South Africa in September.

## Layoffs, Plant Closings Push Jobless Rate to 9.8 Percent

(Continued from Page 1)

employed must be added 1.5 million more who have given up searching for jobs that do not exist, along with half of the 5.5 million who are working only part time because full time jobs are unavailable." Thus an unemployment rate of 13.6 percent, with 15.2 million persons jobless, is "nearer the truth."

Manufacturing jobs continued to decline, with cutbacks in the machinery industry accounting for nearly half the 90,000 job loss over the month. Manufacturing jobs are down by 1.5 million from a year ago.

**FOR ADULTS**, unemployment continued to rise—to 8.8 percent for men and 8.4 percent for women. A year ago, the corresponding rates were 5.8 percent for adult men and 6.7 percent for adult women.

Teenage unemployment rose over the month from 22.3 to a record 24.1 percent and Kirkland noted the irony that the increase "came in the month in which the Reagan Administration proposed to increase the teen-age labor pool by offering 14- and 15-year-olds to the job market at a subminimum wage."

BLS Commissioner Janet Norwood told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that employment of women is up from a year ago, when the current recession

began, while employment among men is down. A major reason, she suggested, is that "women are far more likely than men to work in the service-producing sector of the economy. Since July 1981, employment in the service-producing sector increased by 280,000. Jobs in the goods-producing sector, however, declined by 1.8 million," she noted.

**AND DESPITE** repeated Administration predictions of an upturn in the economy, Norwood told the congressional panel that the employment data for July show "little labor market strength."

She told the committee that job losses during the first portion of the recession were concentrated in the construction and consumer durable goods industry—along with their "feeder" industries.

But since April, the big job declines were in mining and machinery. Especially hard hit were oil and gas field services and oil field machinery.

**FROM JUNE** to July, unemployment among whites rose from 8.4 to 8.8 percent. For blacks, it was unchanged at 18.5 percent. For Hispanics, unemployment rose from 13.5 to 13.9 percent.

By industry, construction unemployment rose over the year from 15.2 to 20.3 percent, manufacturing unemployment from 7.3 to 12 percent, retail and wholesale trade from 7.9 to 10.5 percent.

## House Approves Job Training Bill To Replace CETA

The House voted 356-52 approval of a labor-supported job training program to replace the Comprehensive Employment & Training Act (CETA), which expires on Sept. 30.

CETA was decimated by last year's budget cuts and its anti-recession public service jobs program was abolished early in the Reagan Administration.

**THE HOUSE** bill, like an earlier Senate-passed version, emphasizes job training for disadvantaged youth and authorizes special help for laid-off workers.

Differences between the two bills were somewhat narrowed by compromise amendments adopted by the House. But generally, the Senate bill gives greater control over training programs to governors while the House version has more local involvement, somewhat stronger labor standards and lesser employer domination of the training programs. One amendment adopted by the House earmarks funds to continue Job Corps programs.

Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.), who steered the House bill to passage, has also sponsored a labor-supported public service bill which the House leadership has promised to schedule for floor action. But its prospects in the Senate are dimmer because of Administration opposition.

Before passing the job training bill, the House defeated by a 308-87 vote an amendment that sought to bar any training funds from going to farm worker organizations and rejected, 218-189, a Republican-sponsored amendment to bring the House version closer in line with the Senate bill.

Differences between the two measures will now be dealt with by a House-Senate conference committee.

## Economic 'Summit' Criticized for Platitudes

New York—Leaders of the world's leading industrial nations came up with platitudes instead of solutions to unemployment at last June's summit meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD).

That was the evaluation of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and of the OECD's Trade Union Advisory Committee, which had urged international cooperation in developing policies on full employment and job creation.

**THE COUNCIL** found one virtue in the OECD's economic analysis—a more realistic look at the weaknesses of the U.S. economy than the Reagan Adminis-

tration on Aug. 16. But after a blast of public protest—including critical testimony by the AFL-CIO and others at congressional hearings and plans for introduction of a joint resolution to block the cuts by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)—the Administration put the changes on hold and extended the original 30-day comment period to 180 days, after the November elections.

The delay also applies to a companion proposal that would have removed the requirement that employers reapply annually for certification to pay full-time students less than the minimum wage.

At a press conference, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said he welcomed the Labor Dept.'s postponements. He hoped it indicated "that they are now prepared to do what they should have done before they put out this idiotic proposition, that is, talk to the people who have some concern and experience and interest in these matters—other than the fry kitchens and junk food joints of this land."

**THE COUNCIL** asserted that the real motive of the Administration's rule changes was not to open jobs for youth but to put more children to work at 50¢ less than minimum wage.

"This is an Administration attempt to roll back the clock on child labor at a time when it refuses to offer job-creating programs for adults and vetoes those proposed by Congress," the statement emphasized.

The council pointed to a Government Accounting Office study that links teenage unemployment to poor reading, writing and math skills. The work of school age children "is their school work," the statement said, warning that the Labor Dept.'s plans to gut labor standards will have a "long-term, devastating effect."

**BY THE LABOR** Dept.'s own admission, the council said, it is the fast-food and amusement park industries that are pressing for the new rules.

It is no surprise, the council pointed out, that the first attempts to weaken the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act "are directed at supplying cheap labor for the retail and service industries which the statement cited as "the worst violators" of the FLSA according to records of the Minimum Wage Study Commission.

The council accused the Labor Dept. of attempting to put in place a youth subminimum wage by manipulating the certification regulations and "flooding the market" with younger children.

**IT WARNED** that drastic cuts in the department's enforcement staff undermine safeguards against exploitation and assure that violations will go undetected.

Again, the statement said, the Reagan Administration Labor Dept. is acting as a "law-wrecker and not a law-enforcer." It sees its role "as reducing worker protections rather than maintaining them" and as a cheap labor recruiter for employers.



## Flat Out Inequitable

**THE AFL-CIO HAS LONG** supported reforms in the tax structure that would lead to tax justice. The cornerstone of tax justice is a progressive tax based on the principle of ability to pay. A variety of new tax proposals has been put forth, some as flat taxes, some as hybrids, each offering to bring simplification to the tax structure. The AFL-CIO supports tax simplification with tax equity and the maintenance of a progressive tax structure.

The flat-rate tax schemes would abandon the basic principle of equity, and instead apply a single percentage rate for all regardless of income level or ability to pay. The Reagan Administration that stacked the 1981 tax changes to benefit the wealthy now flirts with the flat tax as yet another scheme to further shift the tax burden to low- and middle-income Americans.

**THE WEALTHY** are saying indirectly that they might have to give up a few of their preferences in exchange for a drastic reduction in the top rate and the destruction of a progressive tax system.

In spite of the general impression that the current system is not equitable, the greater inequity of a flat-rate tax is borne out in an analysis prepared by the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation. The analysis compares the effect of flat tax rates, ranging from 12 percent to 18 percent, on taxpayers of various income levels. In every case, low- and middle-income taxpayers suffer tax increases while those with higher incomes enjoy substantial tax cuts.

**THE FLAT-TAX** schemes are based on the theory that Congress would end many deductions, credits, and exclusions and eliminate many longstanding loopholes and preferences. However, if Congress were inclined to eliminate longstanding and clearly identifiable loopholes and preferences, like capital gains, foreign tax credits and oil depletion allowances, it could do so now—and could do so while maintaining a progressive tax structure.

This it has not done. Loophole closing is the key to tax justice, but that has nothing to do with flat rates. Even if the income that currently slips through the loopholes and escape hatches were included, a flat tax would still be far more inequitable than the present system despite its many flaws.

The AFL-CIO is unalterably opposed to flat-rate tax schemes.

**TAX JUSTICE** must begin with undoing the damage done to the tax structure by the Reagan Administration and enacting the full range of measures necessary to:

- End the double standard which taxes workers' wages and salaries at far higher rates than "unearned income" from capital gains and estates of the wealthy.
- Reinstate the corporate income tax as a source of federal revenue and equity and eliminate the so-called "incentives" that subsidize mergers, takeovers, plant shutdowns, overseas investments and other activities that conflict with the national interest.
- Provide a basic structure of graduated rates which fully reflect the principle of ability to pay.

—AFL-CIO Executive Council statement adopted Aug. 3, 1982, in New York.

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THOMAS R. DONAHUE, Secretary-Treasurer

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## Washington Window

# Top Economists Expose Folly Of Balanced Budget Scheme

By Press Associates, Inc.

**WHEN PEOPLE** are overwhelmed by frustration in a situation they can't do anything about, it often feels good to say, "There oughta be a law."

That's one explanation of the movement in Congress for a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget.

But when President Reagan went to Capitol Hill to lead a pro-amendment rally, it inspired speculation that he might have twin motives. He may have sensed that deep frustration; then, too, he also may want to blame his own historic deficit on the Democratic-controlled House if it blocks the amendment.

**THE VERY** simplicity of the balanced budget amendment holds great appeal for hardline conservatives who finally have one of their own in the White House. And it probably also makes sense for many Americans who view the federal budget as a hodgepodge of bewildering numbers.

It was in this atmosphere that a group of leading economists held a press conference in Washington to inject some reason into the debate.

Gardner Ackley, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and now teaching at the University of Michigan, took responsibility for promoting an open letter in opposition to the balanced budget amendment.

**THE LETTER** of opposition was signed by 181 leading economists including Nobel Laureates Kenneth Arrow, Lawrence Klein, Wassily Leontief, Paul Samuelson, Herbert Simon and James Tobin. Eleven former presidents of the American Economics Association also signed the letter.

Ackley, current president of the AEA, told the press that the professional economists of America regard the proposed amendment as "bad public policy."

Hendrik Houthakker, who teaches at Harvard and served on the Council of Economic Advisers under President Nixon, said the amendment is "as phony as a three-dollar bill."

Houthakker, a Republican, said there are better ways to pursue it, as through the Employment Act or the Humphrey-Hawkins Act. A budget by nature is an estimate, he said, and can be biased.

Economist and lawyer Robert R. Nathan said the amendment would "degrade" the Constitution and he called it "purely political." Charles Schultze, President Carter's economic adviser, said it would "wreck or trivialize" the budget process.

James Tobin, the 1981 Nobel Prize winner, said the theory behind the amendment is "unsubstantiated and dubious." Andrew Brimmer, former governor of the Federal Reserve Board, tied the deficit to the recession and huge 1981 tax cut.

**IN AN EARLIER** analysis of Senate Joint Resolution 58, which embodies the amendment, Ackley said the amendment rests on the theory that most of the nation's economic problems are attributable to federal deficits and fiscal policies. He said such a theory has no support in either professional opinion or analysis.

Ackley also noted that the amendment's provision enables 40 percent of either the House or Senate to block actions backed by a substantial majority. This has serious implications in a representative system, he said, for issues involving education, foreign affairs and civil rights, which are related to spending decisions.

Taking on other myths behind the amendment, Ackley's analysis dealt with the belief that government has an insatiable appetite for tax revenues. It may be true, he said, that total government spending rose over the past quarter century from 24.8 percent of GNP to 33.5 percent. But a closer look reveals, he said, that nearly the entire increase was in federal transfer payments as social security matured. This drew no net resources from the private sector to public use, he added.

**ACKLEY ALSO** disposed of the belief that the federal payroll has swollen out of control. He noted the small and stable size of the federal workforce as a proportion of the labor force; it has actually shrunk to 2.8 percent now from 3.5 percent in 1956.

He also noted that national deficits in most years are the lowest of any of six other leading industrial nations. Over a five-year period, he said both Japan and West Germany—often pointed to for their economic performances—in each year have had much larger deficits than the United States.



# MEMO FROM COPE



## Risks of Prophecy: Troughs, Transitions And Bottoming Out

"Our economic plan is to begin with the 1982 fiscal year on October 1 (1981). I am as convinced today as I was when we introduced the package that this economic plan is as good as money in the bank—and if I were a betting man, I would wager the rent money on it." —President Reagan 9/18/81

"I think this is a light, and I hope short, recession." —President Reagan 10/18/81

"Forces already are in motion" that will reverse the recession.

—Murray Wiedenbaum, then chairman of Council of Economic Advisers 10/18/81

"1982 and subsequent years will show vigorous, perhaps unprecedented, economic growth."

—Treasury Secretary Donald Regan 10/31/81

"We have laid a firm foundation for economic recovery in 1982. . . . Our plan for economic recovery is sound." —President Reagan 11/10/81

He (President Reagan) believes that the tax cuts already in place will contain the recession and produce a sustained recovery by next spring or early summer.

—Business Week 11/23/81

"At the time this report was prepared . . . it appeared that the recession . . . will be over by the second quarter of 1982. . . . Output and employment are expected to increase slightly in the second quarter and at a brisk pace through the rest of the year."

—President Reagan, Report to Congress 2/10/82

"Obviously, we are not out of the woods yet. There will still be some difficult days ahead. But at least we're heading in the right direction."

—President Reagan 2/18/82

"We all agree the second quarter will be the turning point."

—Murray Wiedenbaum 2/18/82

President Reagan urged Republican faithful today (May 14) to stick with his economic program, saying that, despite continued high interest rates and record levels of unemployment, there are signs that "We've been in the trough; we've been at the bottom."

—Washington Post 5/15/82

"We believe economic recovery is imminent."

—President Reagan 6/3/82

"The economy is at a very delicate stage. It's in a turning zone from low growth and high inflation to high growth and low inflation."

—Budget Director David Stockman 6/30/82

"You can't turn it around in a hundred days," said a senior (Reagan Administration) official.

—NY Times 7/10/82

"Clearly, we have bottomed out of the recession. Things are beginning to turn up."

—Murray Wiedenbaum 7/21/82

"Our current economic troubles are the direct result of the mistakes of the past—mistakes we've begun to correct. We've begun to rescue this economy, and the first evidence of recovery has been sighted. . . . Slowly and surely, we're working our way back to prosperity. . . ."

"It is going to be slow, and it's slow now. But . . . we are in a transition period. . . . and I think we're going to see an improvement in the second half of this year. . . ."

—President Reagan 7/28/82

## New Right Zap Losing Zip

Are "new right" political committees losing their knockout punch? It's not too early in the political year to ask the question, though it's too soon to provide a definitive answer.

The fact is, there is evidence that the haymakers they connected with in 1980 in helping defeat a platoon of progressive U.S. Senators so far are not scoring this year. In 1980, their "negative" independent expenditures campaigns caught their targeted candidates off guard. They had a field day.

But this year, targets of new right PACs have their fists up and are counter-punching. The new right took off after Maryland Sen. Paul Sarbanes a year ago, shelled out \$500,000 for TV ads to discredit him, earmarked another \$500,000 through election day.

Unlike the incumbents so treated in 1980, Sarbanes was ready. He threw his own flurry against "the politics of fear and smear." The public seemed ready, too, and polls showed little decrease in Sarbanes' standing with voters, despite constant new right negative ads on TV and radio.

New right PACs are pulling the same stunt against Sen. Ted Kennedy (Mass.), Robert Byrd (W.Va.), Quentin Burdick (N.D.), George Mitchell (Maine), John Melcher (Mont.), and other Senate and House incumbents—without the impact of their 1980 campaigns. The zip is going out of their zap.

Their problem is not lack of money. Funding for major new right PACs runs well ahead of the 1979-1980 election cycle. For example, right-wing Sen. Jesse Helms's personal political toy, the Congressional Club, already has hauled in more than \$7 million; the National Conservative PAC (NCPAC) more than \$6 million.

Part of their problem could be some of their own troops—while continuing to kick in cash—just don't believe the promises with the same blind faith of two years ago, when the election of Reagan and a GOP-controlled Senate was hailed as the advent of a new Eden, right-wing style. Some of this stems from the peppering many right-wing leaders have been giving President Reagan, whom they spent years worshipping and trying to elect.

They're mad at him for all the wrong reasons, but their complaints are widely broadcast among the faithful. They crab about some of his key appointments as if he recruited from the Red Army. They beef endlessly about his "palace guard" of advisers who, they contend, don't put their social issues on the front burner.

Yet, here is the President pushing all their pet

constitutional amendments, and his basic economic program is exactly what rightists have been clamoring for for years, but it isn't working—and they can neither understand nor excuse the Reagan deficits.

Actually, one right-wing PAC leader—Terry Dolan of NCPAC—pins the blame on Reagan for what he (Dolan) predicts will be a low-yield year for his gang politically.

Even if the notion that the right-wing PACs will swing roundhouse rights and hit mostly air this year turns out to be wrong, it will simply have been two, or perhaps four, years premature. What's happening to the right is what happens to most rabidly ideological, uncompromising movements. They find they're at their best as the "out" group, when they can carp from ringside.

When they're in the ring and don't score a quick KO, their followers—without stomach for the long haul—leave the arena and go on to other things.

## Odds 'n Ends

**MILLIONS OF CHILDREN** victimized by Reagan-GOP budget cuts, Children's Defense Fund reports. Group's estimate: 661,000 children lose Medicaid protections; 900,000 poor and near-poor youngsters lose free and reduced-cost school lunches; 280,000 lose free or reduced-price breakfasts. In addition: 150,000 poor working families on verge of losing eligibility for government-supported day care for their children; 200,000 fewer pregnant women, new mothers, infants and children are receiving special federal coupons for milk, juice and other diet supplements; one million persons—many of them children—are dumped from food stamp rolls.

**FROM CONSERVATIVE** commentator Kevin Phillips comes this observation: "Over the 60 years prior to January 1981, six out of seven GOP administrations managed to 'squeeze' liberal economics enough to help trigger a recession by their second year, just in time for the congressional elections. Inasmuch as Reaganite planners took office either unaware of or determined to ignore this electoral-economic history, the record now stands at seven out of eight. . . ."

**STILL ZOOMING** on upward spiral is cost of medical care, which soared by 15.1 percent in 1981, soaking up 9.8 percent of the gross national product. Total health care tab for the year: \$287 billion—or \$1,225 per person in U.S.

## 5 Races . . . 33,191 Votes . . . Poof, There Goes the Senate!

It's conceded from the top that you can play a lot of games with numbers. But a case can be made that Republicans now hold numerical control of the U.S. Senate on the strength of only 33,191 votes out of 4,556,211 votes cast in five Senate elections—three in 1980, two in 1978.

Had those figures occurred in one election, the

winner's edge would have been seven-tenths of one percent of the total vote.

That aggregate seven-tenths retained one incumbent and installed four newcomers into the Senate, clinching a lock on that body by the GOP and solidifying right-wing ideological control. The following chart lists the five close races.

STATE/YEAR	WINNER/LOSER	VOTE MARGIN	TOTAL VOTES CAST
Idaho 1980	Steve Symms/ Frank Church	4,262	433,140
North Carolina 1980	John East/ Robert Morgan	10,411	1,785,717
Arizona 1980	Barry Goldwater/ Bill Schulz	9,389	855,343
New Hamp. 1978	Gordon Humphrey/ Tom McIntyre	4,408	260,268
Virginia 1978	John Warner/ Andrew Miller	4,721	1,221,743

**One Vote . . . Your Vote . . . Every Vote Counts!**



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Copy sent to:-

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1982

Mr. Tom Winter  
Human Events  
422 First Street, S. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Tom:

Our old friend Buz Lukens gave me this packet of information.

What do you make of it?

Buz said he had backup material if anyone needs it. He can be reached at:

1110 Vermont Avenue, Suite 425  
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I thought you would be interested in it.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison



CONFIDENTIAL REPORT: A Trumka led United Mineworkers and its effects on U.S. Latin American policy

Traditional U.S. foreign policy commitments are seriously threatened by current organizing of revolutionary groups inside the nation's labor unions.

The domestic revolutionists, cheerleaders for America's Marxist enemies in this hemisphere and abroad, are publicly mobilized behind such union "dissidents" as United Mine Workers (UMWA) presidential candidate Rich Trumka.

Should Trumka take the UMWA -- or should parallel "dissidents" seize the steel, postal or Teamsters unions -- a breach would thus occur in the traditional, anti-communist foreign policy posture of America's labor leadership.

Liberal U.S. politicians, often naive in their appraisal of the nation's treacherous opponents, would receive new backing for their views from significant labor sources. Faithful U.S. allies in other countries could be seriously undermined.

The revolutionary groups which give crucial manpower, publicity and counsel to Trumka and running mate Cecil Roberts -- the Communist Party, the Institute for Policy Studies, (IPS), and International Socialists back such enemies of the U.S. as Fidel Castro, Nicaragua's "Sandinistas," and other Latin and Caribbean Marxists.

The Washington, D.C. based IPS in particular is known as a "think tank," lobbying center and training ground for Latin American extremists. Now these leftists, ordinarily an irrelevant minority in the U.S., seek to ally with the "muscle" of organized labor.

Trumka, moreover, indicates he knows he "owes" his radical backers. Trumka loyalist Steve Weber, a UMWA officer, has already invited representatives of El Salvador's pro-communist "National Liberation Front" to address the UMWA District 31 convention.

Of course, other U.S. union leaders have also embarrassed the administration -- and delighted domestic radicals -- by giving aid to foreign adversaries. Screen Actors Guild (AFL-CIO) President Ed Asner has publicly fundraised for Salvadoran radicals.

While Asner's Hollywood union is small -- only 30,000 members -- his "martyrdom" (CBS-TV recently cancelled Asner's show) gained him support. Asner has been invited to give his leftist pitch to conventions of such large unions as the Communications Workers of America.



William Winpisinger, self-professed "socialist" president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) is another labor asset of U.S. Castroites. Winpisinger, on his 1981 trip to Cuba: "It was lovely. I went with seven others, and we met with Ramon Castro, Fidel's older brother in charge of agriculture."

But capturing the Mine Workers is a particularly important goal for the radicals. The UMWA is not a member of the AFL-CIO, and is therefore not bound by the traditionally strong anti-communist outlook of that body or its international affiliate, the International Labor Organization.

Foreign policy concerns of the UMWA are determined exclusively by its president, and by those who influence him on these questions.

Below, we profile the leftist supporters of Rich Trumka, and the foreign policy concessions they would exact from him should he win the presidency of the union with their support.

#### TRUMKA BACKERS -- THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

The Trotskyite I.S. is one of the most radical groups in the U.S. today. Sample quotes from its magazine, Changes: "We stand for: Support for all genuine national liberation movements. Victory to the African liberation fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Free Puerto Rico . . . Our job (in the U.S.) is to build a revolutionary movement to overthrow our own capitalist, imperialist ruling class."

I.S.'s "labor" publication is called Labor Notes, and the group has made dangerous inroads into such U.S. unions as the Teamsters, Steelworkers and UMWA. Labor Notes backs Trumka, and has repeatedly given him prominent coverage (11/23/81: "Slate Formed to Oppose Sam Church in Miners Election" -- lead story. 1/21/82: "UMWA Presidential Candidate Rich Trumka Talks About the Challenges Facing the Miners.")

The foreign policy commitments I.S. expects from "its" labor leaders become clear in the pages of Labor Notes. "Air Force Employees Local Opposes El Salvador Aid," exclaims this year's May 26 issue. A similar piece ("Cutting of Land Reform Program Will Test AFL-CIO Policy on El Salvador") demands unions "educate the American people about the tragedy of U.S. involvement in El Salvador."

I.S. was a principal backer of socialist Ed Sadlowski's presidential campaign inside the Steelworkers union, a campaign proven in Supreme Court testimony to be a recipient of non-union, East Coast-based financial contributions. Sadlowski has repeatedly appeared on public platforms in support of U.S. opponents in El Salvador.

Since the failure of Sadlowski in capturing the Steelworkers presidency, I.S. has geared up its national apparatus for Trumka. Trumka's election would add significant prestige to I.S.'s stated international line.



TRUMKA BACKERS -- INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The leading "think tank" for U.S. leftists is the Washington, D.C. Institute for Policy Studies. Tied to anti-American guerilla movements in Latin America and around the world, IPS has made clear its sophisticated goal: takeover of the Democratic Party and allied labor unions, and penetration of government agencies. IPS has extensive ties to the Trumka Mine Workers campaign.

\* Edgar James, a board member of the IPS-backed Working Papers magazine (along with indicted "Weatherman" terrorist Bo Burlingham) is a major Trumka backer. James was one of the infamous staff radicals who attempted to take over the UMWA in the early '70s -- before James and cohorts were fired for their antics by UMWA President Arnold Miller in 1975, they actually prevailed on Miller to address an IPS convention.

\* Working Papers prints coalfield coverage by Trumka press liason and Communist Party ally Paul Nyden.

\* In These Times, a "democratic socialist" newspaper published by IPS, has backed Trumka. Columnist Dave Moberg declares: "Trumka can appeal to the obviously deep-seated opposition to Church's leadership in the last contract . . . and to the desire for forceful, intelligent leadership."

\* IPS Fellow Curtis Seltzer, the U.S. left's premier "coal expert," has backed Trumka, and is the source of Washington Post slanders against the UMWA's National Bank of Washington.

Regarding IPS's foreign policies, we confine ourselves to reporting those IPS commitments which concern supporters of pro-U.S. Latin American regimes and opponents of international terrorism.

\* The late Orlando Letellier, cabinet loyalist of Chilean Marxist Salvador Allende, was an IPS fellow and director of IPS's Transnational Institute. His wife, Isabelle, is now an IPS fellow, director of the TNI, and lobbies the United Nations in behalf of barely-disguised Cuban policies.

\* IPS fellow Saul Landau is a personal friend of Fidel Castro, and publicly attacked international advocates of Cuba's most famous political prisoner, Huber Matos: "He was put in jail for correct reasons."

\* In 1977, IPS's ad hoc "Working Group on Latin America" issued a report entitled "The Southern Connection." Its simple conclusion, according to the New York Times: "The first imperative is that the world be safe for revolution." The report hailed Cuba and Michael Manley's socialist Jamaica, and demanded an end to U.S. arms aid to Latin America "being used in the struggle against internal movements, chiefly urban guerillas."

Two members of the "Working Group" were subsequently appointed to President Jimmy Carter's National Security Council.



\* IPS and TNI were major advocates of asylum for anti-CIA renegade Philip Agee, the man whose Counterspy Magazine targets U.S. intelligence operatives for assassination. Through TNI's auspices, Agee was granted temporary asylum in Holland.

IPS, the most sophisticated backer of Trumka on foreign policy questions would probably be his central advisor on these issues. With their existing influence in the Democratic Party IPS can be expected to wield Trumka effectively in influential policy circles.

#### TRUMKA BACKERS -- COMMUNIST PARTY USA

Inevitably, the Communist Party, USA -- a satellite for Soviet outlooks -- attempts to subordinate U.S. union to "progressive" international campaigns of Soviet design. The current U.S. recession has provoked a new Communist offensive in the unions already detected by U.S. labor watchers.

Labor expert Victor Riesel (July 22 column, attached) warns that "Soviet sleepers" in U.S. unions "are coming out of the closet" to take advantage of economic hard times. "The new call is for support of the Soviet line," Riesel warns, "getting resolutions passed to complicate American strategy..."

In this connection, it is well known that Paul Nyden, Trumka's unofficial press liason, is a Communist Party "sleeper." Nyden's wife, Linda, writes for the Communists' Daily World. When Nyden was fired from his professor's position at the University of Pittsburgh, two prominent Soviet scholars officially protested to Pitt trustees.

Also worthy of note: Riesel, in his column on the Soviets, quotes a blast from United Autoworkers president Doug Fraser against a Detroit "radical group . . . that is dedicated to revolution and wildcat strikes." The group to which Fraser refers, the Maoist Motor City Labor League, was formerly headed by John Taylor, now a Trumka backer and attorney for Miners locals in District 17 of the UMWA.

Taylor previously served as District 17's staff attorney under Trumka running mate and District vice-president Cecil Robers. Taylor is credited with bringing an epidemic of anarchic wildcat strikes, praised by Roberts, to the District 17 fields.

Both the Soviet leaning Nyden and the Maoist Taylor would exercise considerable influence over a Trumka administration. Certainly both would push Trumka to give propaganda and material support to Latin American revolutionary movements.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Our research conclusions: A Trumka victory would place the UMWA in the hands of the IPS, CPUSA and other supporters of Marxist solutions for Latin America. UMWA recruitment to their camp would further the radicals' stated goal of influencing the policies of the Democratic Party, its nominees and officeholders. Of particular importance would be the 1984 presidential elections.



UMWA support for the nation's opponents in this hemisphere would be of greater significance than previously described actions of Ed Asner and Machinists Chief Winpisinger. Asner's union membership is small and specialized; Winpisinger has been consistently isolated by his radical outbursts, and his Machinists Union is constrained within the boundaries of the anti-communist AFL-CIO.

Control of the independent and highly-respected UMWA would therefore be a particular prize for the radicals. Its 160,000 miner members and their families are an impressive base for lobbying efforts. Union dues and National Bank related financial resources constitute a considerable pool of funds thus far unavailable to these forces.

The precedent of a Trumka victory could embolden radicals within other unions, bringing thousands of other U.S. workers under leadership of those who oppose stable institutions for the nations of Latin America.



# Watch Out for Rich Trumka

A young, upstart coal miner with a law degree is struggling to take over one of America's surliest unions and bring it into the late 20th century

By James Warren

**R**ICHARD TRUMKA drives slowly up a hill called "Bosses Row," recalling his first encounter with disaster at the coal mines in the valley below. "Have you ever felt a dead man's blood?" he asks. "Feel his warm flesh? Put him in a bag? You don't forget."

Then he points toward two-story houses that once were management's mansions in the tiny company town of Nemacolin, his birthplace and home in southwestern Pennsylvania. "Bosses Row" is not Trumka's turf. He comes from the other side of town, where you grew up with a sense of boundaries not to cross, where many a coal miner's kid tries to scam to the big city as fast as possible.

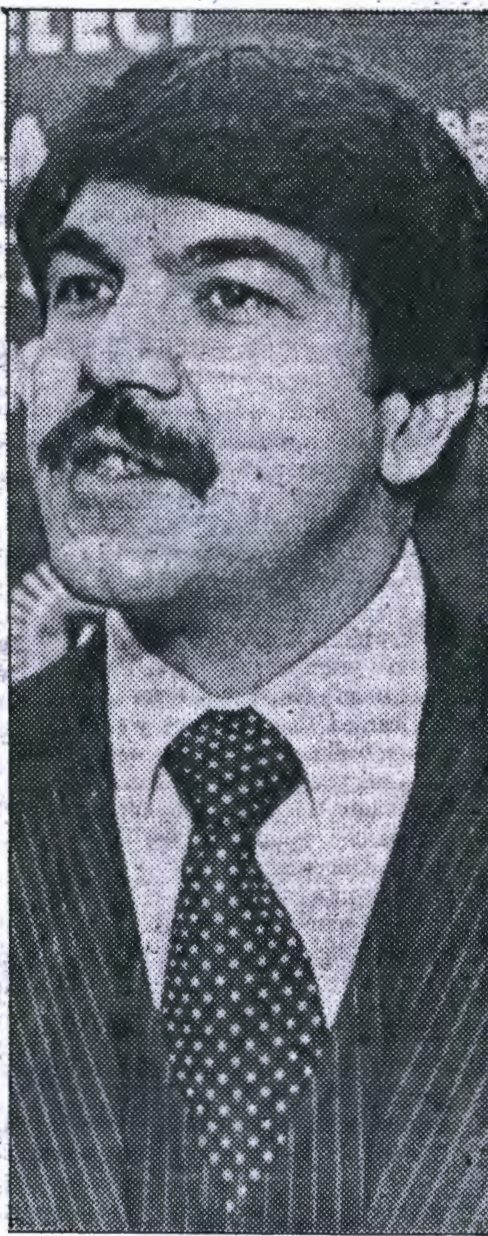
Trumka left, too. He went first to Penn State. But he came back every other semester to work in the coal mines, where two men died in one week during his freshman year. He went on to law school at Villanova, and he came back every other semester to work in the mines. And after the Phi Beta Kappa key and the law degree and two stints as an attorney in Washington, he came back again.

It was a tribal instinct and a frustration with the tribe's institution — the United Mine Workers of America — that drove him to become a UMW attorney and a trouble-shooter in Washington and then a member of the union's executive board from his corner of Pennsylvania.

Once the nation's largest, surliest union, the UMW has had little but headaches since the passing of the days when John L. Lewis took on anybody, cut deals with anybody, to press the miners' case; the days when coal was king. The problems since have been myriad: dwindling jobs and growing nonunion mines, deaths in the fields, murder in union politics, a scandal over a UMW-founded bank in Washington, to name some.

So at the tender age of 33, pin-striped Rich Trumka wants to become boss of one of the roughest bunch of workers in America. He wants to bring coal miners into the era of giant corporations gobbling up the mines, of complex legislation and litigation, of transformed energy markets, and of traditional goals he feels have been betrayed. This new-fangled kid from nowhere wants the presidency of the UMW — and the way things are going, don't bet against him. If he wins, he will be a totally new kind of American labor leader and the youngest head of any major U.S. union.

Trumka's target is a combative chunk of a man named Sam Church Jr., who was appointed UMW president three years ago and is himself making his first race for a full five-year term. There are other candidates, including Arnold Miller, a former union president who went from nationally heralded reformer to abused bumbler in a few short



Richard Trumka

Associated Press

years. But the smart money is on Church or the kid from nowhere — especially since last week.

That's when the voting ended in the UMW's presidential nominating process. With the union's 900 locals each picking one candidate, contenders have to win at least 25 locals to get on the ballot for the final election showdown in November. Though the count won't be completed for a week, the word is out that the kid from nowhere did all right, to put it mildly: Trumka reportedly took half or more of the locals.

Watch out for Rich Trumka

■ ■  
A maroon gob of saliva and chewing tobacco spouts from the mouth of Sam Church and descends into a waste basket. He bows his massive, bearded head for 30 seconds, then raises it.

See UMW, C5, Col. 1

James Warren is a labor and law reporter for The Chicago Sun-Times.



## UMW, From C1

The president of the UMW, all 230 pounds of him, has just been offered a prospective, partial description of himself. It goes like this:

"Huge, generally amiable, resembles a glowering bear, sings union songs, likes to spit Red Man chewing tobacco into a waste basket, largely ineffective as union vice president in areas of responsibility (organizing and safety), adeptly ran union's convention as president in 1979, clobbered staffer Rick Bank for allegedly leaking a story to Jack Anderson, struck secretary-treasurer Bill Esselstyn, fought safety director Everett Acord on the street outside the Washington, D.C., headquarters, and is thus deemed a bully by some."

"Well," says Church with a grin, a pause, and a delicate grab for his pouch of Red Man, "I don't consider myself a bully. But the rest of that doesn't bother me too much."

Church clearly is not one to take challenges lightly. He has not been doing so in the case of Rich Trumka, who's been charging Church with being inept, out of touch with the times, beholden to outside forces and a lot else.

Church will imply to you that Trumka is part of a left-wing, near-commie plot against him. He says a columnist recently suggested that the Soviets, stung by their problems in Poland, have told "the few thousand communists within most labor organizations" here to "step up their activities to create problems to sort of offset what's happening to the labor unions there." Does he really buy that? "I think he could very possibly be right," Church says.

Church also has certain benefits of incumbency. It's an intriguing coincidence, for example, that he's had Trumka tromping regularly for over a year to Oklahoma — far from the main UMW campaign circuits in Appalachia and the Midwest — to handle a bitter UMW strike out there. Church's men will tell you that Trumka's talents are needed in that fight between 160 UMW workers and Garland Coal and Mining. Oh, sure, it also makes fund raising harder for the kid.

No question, Church has a large leg up on money. Not long ago, for example, Church held a \$200-a-ticket cocktail party at Washington's Sheraton Carlton Hotel, with cash coming from some unusual places, including other unions. The United Food and Commercial Workers, for one, forked over a check for \$5,600.

The same day Trumka was having a \$4-a-ticket fund-raiser at a Croatian fraternal hall in Pennsylvania. That's his usual modus operandi: traveling in rented campers, often covering 1,000 miles in a weekend, speaking to coal miners at schools or mine entrances or VFW halls, accepting small donations from them. He refuses to take cash from anybody else.

Church's advantages, though, don't seem to have dented Trumka's armor so far, as indicated by the nomination voting. While getting local nominations doesn't mean you automatically win final elections, it does tell you

# Watch Out for Rich Trumka

## A young, upstart miner with a law degree is trying

that money and incumbency and red-baiting are no sure tickets to success either.

Nor, evidently, is the support of the powers that be, which Church has. The 16 million-member AFL-CIO and the coal companies are both inclined toward him.

Says an AFL-CIO official of the 45-year-old Church: "He may not be a super-sophisticate, but he's a solid trade unionist, and everybody from [AFL-CIO president] Lane Kirkland on down likes him. He's brought a certain stability to the union, as well as support of our programs."

Church surely has had some pluses. He has, for example, successfully fought Reagan administration moves to freeze mine inspector hiring and to tighten eligibility requirements for federal black lung benefits.

But he also suffered a humiliating setback negotiating the 1981 national coal contract. He reached a tentative accord with the companies and then saw himself vilified as "Sell-out Sam" by members who overwhelmingly rejected the agreement. After a 72-day strike, the final pact brought heftier wage and benefit hikes, but labor lawyers believe it also further opened the door to more nonunion operations and emasculation of a multiemployer pension plan.

Beyond this, Church has been tarnished by involvement with the UMW-founded National Bank of Washington, the capital's third-largest bank, whose suspect loan practices prompted the government to end union control. While Church staunchly denies wrongdoing, the episode has raised questions in some people's minds, and Rich Trumka tries his best not to let them forget it. (One of Church's two campaign co-chairmen also happens to be a man who was once convicted of misusing the union's funds.)

To the coal companies, Church is a known quantity and, at least in bargaining with them, relatively moderate. As for Trumka, they don't really know quite what to make of him.

"Miners are a naturally dissatisfied lot, and despite what the Church people may think, this will be a horse race," says a concerned top management source.

You can confirm that by listening to Charles Heflin, a stout, 43-year-old miner doffing a baseball cap as he entered a Carrier Mills, Ill., high school to hear Trumka talk in the spring. "Well, it's like this," he said. "I've never heard or seen this man. But I do know one thing. If you've got a stove and it ain't givin' out no heat, you gotta get another one."

Watch out for Rich Trumka.

Trumka's task is not merely articulating miner dissatisfaction but bridging genera-

tions. He'll need all the help he can get from both retired and active miners (245,000 whom are eligible to vote), and chatting with those who do know him or have listened to him talk suggests why he's been scoring points with both groups.

Start with the elderly, with 72-year-old Biondi Vecchiolla, who heads a UMW pensioners' group in Trumka's neck of the Pennsylvania woods. Trumka, it turns out, has been running what amounts to his own free legal clinic there for anyone affiliated with the union.

"He helped me get my black lung benefits," Vecchiolla says. "Everybody with problems he'd help. He'd come to their house, let us explain our problems all evenin' and help us fill out our forms. A lot of the attorneys here were socking our people with big fees. Rich took these cases himself and did it for nothing. He never turned any of our people down."

Or, on a rainy night in Canton, Ill., listen to Trumka, clad in gray suit, white shirt and burgundy pin-dot necktie, address a gathering of 150, primarily pensioners.

He starts with tragedies that bind the generations, with memories of the more than 100,000 miners who have died in accidents this century: "I've worked as a deep miner for seven years. I laid track, laid pipe, ran a shuttle car, ran the continuous miner, was a timberman and roof bolter. I witnessed death and injury. One of my best friends was a helper on the continuous miner and was in an accident and was killed before my eyes."

He goes on to bemoan UMW problems: "He won't cooperate with the company like Church, discusses pension trouble, health and safety issues, the share of coal from nonunion mines growing from 25 to 50 percent in 10 years. There's loud applause and a pensioner with a cane is touched: 'That kid seems a lot smarter than that fat fellow Church,'" he says.

That's no small gain for Trumka, since pensioners traditionally are counted in the column of the incumbent.

Nearby stands a rugged, handsome young man in down jacket and blue jeans. He's a 21-year-old high-school graduate named Darr McCombs who'll earn \$40,000 this year working above ground at one of the strip mines that increasingly dominate America's coal fields. McCombs, too, is impressed.

"He speaks real well and stressed the things that are important to young people like me, like safety," he says.

Young people like him are also critical of Trumka. Young people like him have been jumping into coal miners' ranks in growing numbers, particularly since the 1970s energy crisis made coal a prized commodity again.



ka

## to take over the UMW

1965 a mere 11.7 percent of the union's membership was 34 years old or younger. Today, 52.7 percent is 34 or younger.

"The younger miner is in many instances newly married, in the process of buying a house," says Trumka back in his camper. "They're a lot more educated in some aspects than the older men. We have miners with master's degrees in business, engineering and teaching. The older miners were required to fight to get a union in. The newer miners haven't had that same struggle. Their fights are shifting into different areas. They're forced to battle through the grievance procedure, through the courts, through legislation."

In the camper he's surrounded by this new kind of union. The seven staffers and running mates on this trip are all miners, nearly all college educated and with one exception (John Banovic, head of the union's 20,000-member Illinois district), 35 or younger.

A couple, like Trumka's vice presidential running mate, Cecil Roberts, are Vietnam veterans, and they get particularly angry with any red-baiting by Church people. At one steamy, emotional meeting at a Du Quoin, Ill., VFW Hall, Roberts shouts, "The only communist I ever saw had black pajamas, and he tried to kill me and I tried to kill him!"

Watch out for Rich Trumka's guys.

Rich Trumka didn't start out to be in union politics. His mother recalls him sitting near the Monongahela River with her father, spending hours listening to accounts of the union's history. In 8th grade Rich asked his grandfather how to best devote himself to miners. Politics? No, said his grandfather. Become a lawyer.

When he did, Trumka joined the UMW staff in Washington, at a time when the mine workers were recovering from the turmoil that followed the 1963 ascent of W. A. "Tony" Boyle to the UMW presidency. Boyle had blatantly misused union funds and, running as a convicted felon in 1968, arranged the murder of a reform-minded opponent, Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, and Yablonski's wife and daughter.

When the government ordered a new election, Boyle was defeated by Arnold Miller and was soon sent to federal prison for ordering the Yablonski killings.

A retired miner, Miller galvanized two separate forces spreading about the coal fields — one for greater democracy, one for legislation to compensate black lung victims. These drives lured a flock of activists, including VISTA volunteers, college professors, journalists, former seminarians and recent

U.S. Supreme Court law clerks, to the UMW. One who came was Rich Trumka.

Miller turned out to be a leader woefully lacking in administrative skills and ridden with anxiety — some say paranoia — about conspiracies being hatched around him. He even had the door from his personal secretary's office removed. Before long the newly attracted intellectuals started leaving, one by one. But not Trumka.

A former member of the Miller inner circle, now practicing law in Washington, recalls: "Rich was different from the rest of us. We always knew we had different choices, always knew we could leave. It was different with Rich. He always had one foot in the mines."

Miller was reelected in 1977, but the end was near for him. Among other things, his health deteriorated, and in 1979 he quit. Church, then a vice president and onetime Boyle ally, was appointed Miller's replacement.

Trumka served the early Church administration in Washington. He was versatile, and they knew it. Though young, he was savvy enough to be a political troubleshooter in the fields and a crack litigator in court. Church men could badmouth the "egghead" Eastern liberals Miller had brought in — the left-wing schemers Church sees — but not Trumka.

Their miner-lawyer hybrid, however, became frustrated. A friend recalls Trumka in his office, for example, cursing the union for not using the law to its advantage. He wanted to sue the companies more, especially on safety matters, rather than always be on the defensive.

"I thought our position was foolhardy," Trumka says.

He also felt Church was limited, didn't like his violent streak, and objected to his reliance on aides — his publicist, his key outside consultant and fund-raiser — who weren't union members.

It wasn't long before he concluded that to make a real difference, to bring the UMW into the new era he sees, he had to be an elected official himself. So Rich Trumka went home again to the mines of southwest Pennsylvania, and he ran for his district's seat to the union executive board. He was the underdog — and he won.

Now he's running again, with far more at stake, and he's still the underdog. He's very young, up against the established machine, short on funds, often exhausted as his rented campaign camper rumbles down pitch-dark country roads with a dying alternator and failing lights.

Is it all worth it? With most of his campaign crew asleep, he muses about the time, the effort, the obstacles, his weariness, his girlfriend, his hopes to marry and settle down. But he keeps heading for the next stop, the next talk, the next vote, in November.

Watch out for Rich Trumka.



## UMW lobbyist blames firing on union politics

Longtime United Mine Workers lobbyist Jerry Hawkins said Monday he was fired because of an internal union political battle.

Hawkins, 38, of Du Quoin said UMW President Sam Church ordered him fired Friday because he supports Church's opponent in the November election for the UMW international presidency.

"I decided to support Rich Trumka for president last year and that is why Church fired me," Hawkins said. "I don't hold any animosity toward Church, he's just not smart enough to do the job."

A spokesman for Church in Washington said Hawkins was fired because he has been campaigning for county commissioner in Perry County instead of doing his union job.

The firing "has nothing to do with union politics," said spokesman Arnell Church, who is not related to the UMW president.

"He has been campaigning full-time for commissioner in Perry County. We need all the help we can get in fighting Reaganomics and that's a full-time job."

Hawkins said Sam Church sent two teams of union investigators to Illinois to "try to find something on me" at a cost of \$15,000. The first team audited all of his expense account records for the eight years he has served as a lobbyist, Hawkins said, and found no irregularities.

A second team attempted to determine whether he was campaigning for the county job when he was supposed to be working for the union. Hawkins said it found that his secretary "typed a couple of thank-you notes to people who put up my yard signs."

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tion at the time, and he previously had told the secretary not to help him with political chores on union time.

Although he said he was not familiar with the two investigations, Arnell Church said the incident with the secretary "substantially confirms" the union's allegations against Hawkins.

Hawkins said the firing will weaken the union's ability to fight acid rain regulations now being discussed in Congress, and he predicted it also will hurt Church's chances of getting votes in Illinois.

John Banovic, the president of the UMW district that covers Illinois, is running on Trumka's ticket as a candidate for international secretary-treasurer.

Hawkins will return to work as an underground miner next week at the Peabody Baldwin Mine near Marissa. He worked in underground mines for four years before assuming the



TO: FRIENDS AND MEMBERS OF THE UMWA  
FROM: INTELICO, INC.  
SUBJECT: RADICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY BACKERS  
OF TRUMKA-ROBERTS CAMPAIGN

The Trumka-Roberts takeover effort inside the United Mineworkers of America is part of a dangerous, radical campaign to make the American labor movement an "Italy"-modelled communist force.

Victory of this campaign could significantly weaken U.S. coalfield production performance, and undermine the perceived reliability of the U.S. coal industry in domestic and foreign markets.

Key Trumka-Roberts supporters include the Communist Party U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialists. These groups are also active in, among others, the steel, Teamsters and postal unions, and hope a Trumka victory will further similar aims in these unions.

The radicals provide Trumka's slate free publicity, and feed pro-Trumka propoganda to sympathetic national press. They stand ready to fundraise for Trumka among sympathetic "limousine liberals" and fellow travellers on both coasts.

Trumka and Roberts may in part be dupes of these forces. The candidates are opportunists, and appreciate the campaign manpower provided by revolutionaries and Marxists in their corner.

But the revolutionists would undoubtedly fill key staff positions in a Trumka-run UMWA. Their goal is to use 180,000 union miners as a force for radical and international causes.

An early signal of this goal: Trumka backer Steve Weber, International Executive Board member from UMWA District 31, invited a speaker from El Salvador's pro-communist National Liberation Front to address a District 31 convention. (The NLF, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, support expropriation of American businesses in Central and Latin America.)

Trumka gives every indication that he knows he "owes" his radical supporters should he win. His constant references to using the union for "broader political and social issues among its members" is the relevant signal.

Should Trumka win, a major push would be made for UMWA endorsement of anti-American guerillas in Central

(more)



America. U.S. foreign policy goals in that region could be seriously undermined.

There is a well-known precedent for the current radical drive inside the UMWA. In the late 1960's and early '70's, radical SDS veterans and government "poverty" operatives seized staff positions within the union. Before they were finally fired in 1975, these men -- with Rich Trumka as their staff ally -- created coal-field chaos.

These radical veterans see the Trumka-Roberts campaign as the culmination of their decade-long struggle to take over the union.

This fact sheet, prepared through two months of on-the-ground investigation, phone interviews, and study of union archives, is for use of dedicated UMWA members and friends of the union. It is the distillation of a larger report previously submitted, and details the radical organizations supporting the Trumka-Roberts campaign.

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#### COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

The Communist Party U.S.A. has several assets in the Trumka camp which the Party hopes will give it a coalfield presence unmatched since the 1920's.

Trumka's unofficial press liason, Paul Nyden, is an active Communist Party supporter according to testimony of leading Trumka supporters (Edgar James interview, 5/6/82). Nyden's wife, Linda, writes for the Communists' newspaper, the Daily World, and enthuses that "most miners in the world are socialists" (eg. Poland, Chile, Yugoslavia).

Nyden held a strategy session with Trumka in Beckley, West Virginia, on June 18 and has handled such assignments as publicizing Kentucky locals' support for Trumka-Roberts to national press he has cultivated. Nyden is also employed by the Charleston Gazette, his "cover" for feeding pro-Trumka stories to "fellow reporters."

Fired from his professor's position at the University of Pittsburgh (for incompetence) in 1978, CP supporter Nyden became an international revolutionary cause célèbre. Two leading professors from the Soviet Union denounced his firing as a violation of the Helsinki accords, while such radical U.S. scholars as Betram Gross told Pitt trustees that "Marxists (like Nyden) are needed on campus." Nyden, a leading Angela Davis supporter, was expelled from



the 1977 UMWA convention under resolutions prohibiting communist and radical participation.

Other entry points into the Trumka campaign for the Communist Party are the Highlander Center and the ultraleft Council on Southern Mountains (CSM). The CSM has publicly endorsed the Communist-linked "Citizens for Social and Economic Justice" and also prints Paul Nyden's coal coverage in its journal, Mountain Life and Work. CSM actively promotes efforts of UMWA dissident and Trumka backer Bill Lamb, and helped sue the union's pension fund in 1978. CSM chief Dan Hendrickson makes his stand clear: "Sam Church is still not as aware as Trumka, and is less apt to act on any of his convictions than Trumka."

Highlander is an Appalachian "left" resource center which publicly maintains leadership ties with the Communist-founded National Lawyers Guild and the All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Highlander trainee Janet Gamble of the Southern Appalachian Labor School trained Cecil Roberts, and remains his acknowledged mentor.

Gamble similarly plugs in to the dissident-training "Labor Studies program" of the West Virginia university system, a program featuring such leaders as former SDS "regional traveller" Tom Bell.

The Communist Party's principal objective is promotion of Eastbloc economic advancement. The Party's Daily World therefore cheered the crushing of Polish miners by Soviet-directed troops: Cheap Polish coal means U.S. coal won't breach European and Eastbloc markets.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

The Trotskyite I.S. is one of the most radical groups in the U.S. today. Sample quotes from its magazine, Changes: "We stand for: support for all genuine national liberation movements. Victory to the African liberation fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Free Puerto Rico . . . Our job (in the U.S.) is to build a revolutionary movement to overthrow our own capitalist, imperialist working class."

I.S.'s "labor" publication is called Labor Notes, and the group has made dangerous inroads into such U.S. unions as the Teamsters, Steelworkers, and UMWA. Labor Notes backs Trumka, and has repeatedly given him prominent coverage (11/23/81: "Slate Formed to Oppose Sam Church in Miners Elections" - lead story. 1/21/82: "UMWA

(more)



Presidential Candidate RICH TRUMKA Talks About the Challenges Facing the Miners.")

There are recent, troubling indications of the kinds of commitments I.S. expects from "its" labor leaders. I.S. Teamster activist Mel Packer, who is publicly linked with leading Trumka backer Bill Lamb, recently was the guest of Khomeini radicals in Iran. (Lamb was a former member of UMWA's International Executive Board, and was expelled, with prejudice, from the board.)

I.S. is particularly active in UMWA's District 6, and its Labor Notes conferences receive backing from the Council of Southern Mountains. I.S. was the principal backer of socialist Ed Sadlowski's presidential campaign inside the Steelworkers union, a campaign proven in Supreme Court testimony to be the recipient of non-union, East Coast-based financial contributions.

#### THE "WILDCAT LEFT"

Concentrated in Districts 17 and 29 of the UMWA, these loosely-affiliated (often Maoist) groups instigated destructive and chaotic anti-union wildcats in 1977-78. The leading such group was the Right to Strike Committee, a front for the extremist Revolutionary Communist Party.

A leading pro-wildcat activist is John Taylor, UMWA's District 17 attorney in that period under district vice-president Cecil Roberts. Taylor's outlook is illustrative of what national UMWA staff would be like should Roberts win this fall.

Taylor came from Detroit, where he had infiltrated the United Auto Workers as a Marxist-Leninist organizer. As Taylor boasts in the book, Detroit, I Do Mind Dying: "Up front, let me say that I am presently a member of the Motor City Labor League, a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary group." Taylor's Maoist cell provoked such destructive wildcats at Detroit plants that UAW President Doug Fraser personally denounced Taylor.

Taylor, still active as an attorney for several District 17 locals, is known to support Trumka-Roberts in '82.

#### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Perhaps the most extreme group on the U.S. left, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party runs U.S. support activities for the anti-American partisans of El

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Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. SWP also backs gay rights and revolution for the United States.

Like all left sects with chapters in Appalachia, the SWP is backing Trumka -Roberts. Bill Havland, SWP candidate for Congress from Charleston, West Virginia, declares: "I think there's a general disappointment in Church's leadership . . . I'm personally backing Trumka at this point."

#### INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The most prominent anti-capitalist "think tank" in the United States, the Washington, D.C.-based IPS is officially affiliated with the anti-American Transnational Institute of Amsterdam. Transnational is the most prominent resource base globally for revolutionary activists. Through such IPS luminaries as leftist MIT professor Noam Chomsky, the Institute maintains contact with Italian and Palestinian terrorist groups. IPS fellow and Castro crony Saul Landau on the case of Huber Matos, Cuba's most-celebrated political prisoner: "He was put in jail for correct reasons."

The IPS-linked Working Papers magazine is advised by indicted "Weatherman" riot organizer Bo Burlingham, and by Weatherman and gay rights leader Andrew Kopkind.

Trumka supporters abound within IPS, which has stated its goal to be takeover and transformation of the U.S. Democratic Party. The connections to the UMWA: (1) Fired UMWA staffer Edgar James, a Trumka backer and member of the clique which disrupted the union in the early '70's, is an unofficial adviser to Working Papers; (2) IPS fellow Curtis Seltzer, the U.S. left's premier "coal expert," has backed Trumka and is the source of slanders in the Washington Post against the UMWA's National Bank of Washington; (3) Working Papers prints coalfield news stories by Paul Nyden.

In These Times, the IPS-published newspaper of American "democratic socialism," is also on the Trumka bandwagon with a recent Dave Moberg piece. Moberg, who boasts privately that supporters of Steelworker socialist Ed Sadlowski and poised to back Trumka, writes: "Trumka can appeal to the obviously deep-seated opposition to Church's leadership in the last contract . . . and to the desire for forceful, intelligent leadership."