



Olivier Rebbot — Black Star

LABOR LEADERS MUST LEARN FROM AMERICAN WORKERS

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■ FOR FORTY YEARS the leaders of our national labor unions and "Liberal" intellectuals have been working in tandem to push the United States toward ever bigger, more powerful, and more centralized government. The "Liberal" intellectuals from the academic world, the Establishment foundations, and the think tanks supplied the programs and the union

leadership delivered the bodies to the polls to elect politicians who would implement "Liberal" schemes into law. It seemed a cozy relationship for all involved. The collectivist politicians favored by the "Liberals" stayed in office — which in most cases was by far the best job they had ever had — and the union leaders kept the rank and file pacified by

It would be naïve to think that the American Right agrees with all the policies of every trade unionist; but the rank and file of our country's unions are now beginning to realize they have far more in common with Conservatives than they have differences. And that is panicking some of the radical, old-line labor leaders.

using government wherever necessary to deliver agreeable contracts on an annual basis.

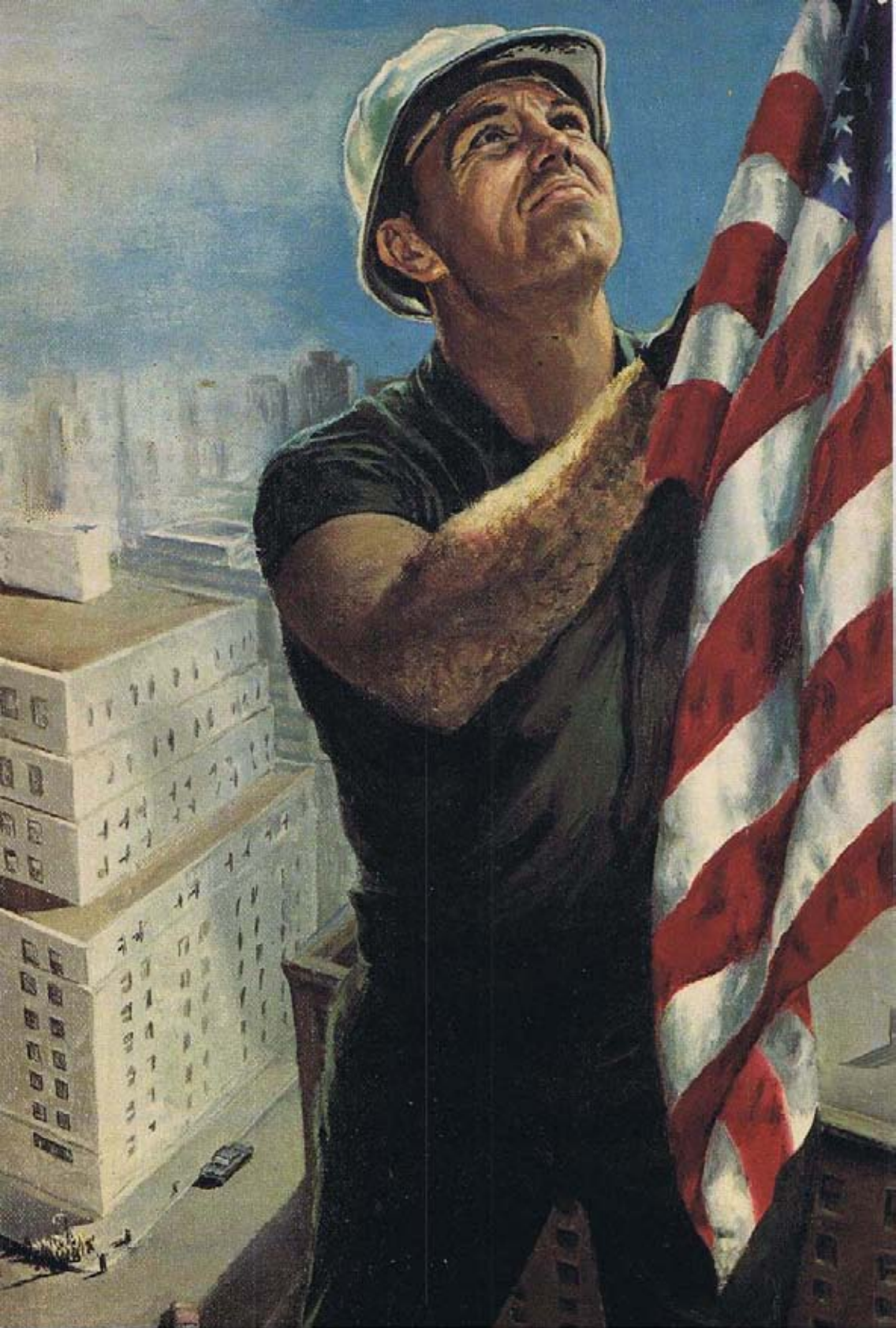
But there have been ironies and contradictions. The marriage between the "Liberal" intellectuals and the unions might look as if it were arranged by Dear Abby, but it is strictly a double-barreled affair. While Dr. Liberal Intellectual may "luv" the toiling worker as an abstraction, he certainly wouldn't want his daughter to marry one. In fact, he wouldn't want a union laborer tracking up his drawing-room carpet. Privately and individually, Dr. Liberal Intellectual avoids workers with dirt under their fingernails, referring to them collectively as Charlie Sixpack.

And Charlie is not too crazy about Dr. Liberal Intellectual either. He sees him as an arrogant snob who treats workers with a patronizing tolerance. The "Liberal" intellectual, Charlie supposes, is interested in ballet, opera, and "good books." He drinks Perrier, the imported French water. The man on the assembly line views himself as more interested in hunting, sports, and his youngsters. He drinks Budweiser. And he likes John Wayne, loves his country, and enjoys a good apple pie. While Charlie personally dreams of a night out with a cheerleader for the Dallas Cowboys, he secretly suspects Dr.

Liberal Intellectual has a crush on Truman Capote.

Still, despite such visceral suspicions, the marriage went forward over forty years like that of a rich, homely girl to a handsome spendthrift. Discounting everything else, each has something the other wants. In this case, Liberal Intellectual has dreams of power which he cannot achieve without the political muscle of the working man. The man with the blue collar wants a bigger pay check with improved benefits, and long believed that Liberal Intellectual helped him to work government to make these possible. So the odd alliance has endured. Unlike a real marriage, the two have not had to see each other very often. The average worker never comes face-to-face with Dr. Intellectual. Such things are handled by the men who run his union. They came up out of the ranks and he can identify with them. It's their hard luck that at the top they must associate with those Ivory Tower types.

Which is how the calloused hands of labor came to be intertwined with the delicate, silk-gloved fingers of the "Liberal" elite. Together they have put Big Daddy on the throne in Washington. Dr. Liberal Intellectual loves it, but the working man is having second thoughts. Because of his



increased productivity and resulting higher wages he is now the backbone of the Middle Class. He has a home in the suburbs complete with a picket fence and crabgrass. He has two cars and maybe a camper or boat. But he is worried about educating his children. He is drowning in taxes. He is being raped by inflation and is afraid his wife will be raped by a for-real thug if she tarries in the city after dark. Since he works hard for his money, he resents people who, being able, won't work; who are living on Welfare and Food Stamps paid for with his taxes. The working man is now beginning to realize that the strong federal government which his union leaders and Dr. Liberal Intellectual built so carefully, and which he formerly looked upon as his ally, has become his enemy.

And yet, his union newspaper now tells him in the wildest imaginable terms that his chief enemy is the "Right Wing," which allegedly wants to destroy "his" union. This curious attack on the Right is led by C.O.P.E., the Committee On Political Education, which is the political arm of the unions, used to promote the Big Brother programs being pushed by the labor leaders and "Liberal" intellectuals. In the wake of the revolt against Big Government which is spreading throughout the country, the boys at C.O.P.E. desperately needed a scapegoat and a bogey man to try to take the working man's mind off the problems caused by politicians and bureaucrats in Washington. They turned to radical hacks and were quickly supplied with antique sloganeering out of the Thirties.

With C.O.P.E. distributing laughable pamphlets and embarrassingly absurd movies attacking the opponents of Big Government on the Right, the Industrial Union Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. sponsored

a two-day forum in Washington at the end of August to whip up hysteria by trying to link sincere Conservatives in the United States with the Nazis. Never mind that Hitler's National Socialists in Germany believed in — and established — an all-powerful central government based upon an alliance between big business, big labor, and big government, complete with promises of cradle-to-the-grave benefits. To try to smear sincere people who stand for the exact *opposite* of this strains the credulity of anyone this side of Alice in COPEland.

Nevertheless, William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, told the assembled audience in Washington: "Like its spiritual predecessors in Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain, this army of the Radical Right has nothing but contempt for democracy and democratic institutions." Incredibly, Winpisinger then revealed where his own ideological bias lies. The *Washington Post* for August 13, 1978, quotes the radical labor boss as declaring: "I am convinced the only way organized labor can repel the armies of right-wing radicalism is by fighting for total redistribution of this nation's wealth." That is, to take it away from the huge Middle Class on which the tax burden falls and give it to the Welfare people.

For two days one radical labor leader followed another to the speaker's platform to shriek hysterically that labor's friend Big Brother was being disemboweled by the tax-weary forces of the Right. Typical of the purple rhetoric was a smear of Congressman Jack Kemp, sponsor of a proposed three-year, thirty-three percent income-tax cut. Al Barkan, the C.O.P.E. boss, called Kemp "a dou-

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WORKERS

ble-plated, triple-coated, four-faced, five-plyed phoney." It might be noted that Jack Kemp, a tough former professional football player who now represents the Buffalo area, attracts large numbers of votes from union members who know better.

What upsets the labor bigwigs and their "Liberal" intellectual cronies is that they are losing influence over their own membership. More and more, the men in the hard hats and blue collars are realizing that it is the Right which is working to stop inflation and protect their standard of living and that it is the "Liberal" intellectual and the big-spending politicians who are their enemies. It is the Right which is battling the Welfare drones, and the kooks out to save the world for the butterflies and beaver, and the gun-control fanatics, and the feminist radicals seeking to subject our daughters to the military draft.

Certainly the American Right has no quarrel with the man who earns a good wage through productive work. The Right's quarrel is with job-killing bureaucrats; the inflation-creating, spendthrift politicians; and, the multinational corporations which export jobs and sell out American interests everywhere in the world. While it would be naïve to think that those on the American Right — many of whom are union members — agree with all the policies of every trade unionist, the fact is that the rank and file of America's unions now have far more in common with Conservatives than they have differences. That is what is panicking some of the radical, old-line labor leaders.

While many Americans are not aware of it, things have not been

going all that swimmingly for the big business which is Big Labor. While labor-financed candidates have piled up huge majorities in Congress, union programs have taken a real beating in Congress. Defeats on such union-backed issues as common-situs picketing and labor "reform," as well as the tremendous popularity of Proposition 13 and other tax-limitation measures, put the radical leadership of Big Labor in a slump which has rivaled that of the 1978 Boston Red Sox.

Union leaders are concerned because their movement has not been marching forward. In 1955, thirty-three percent of the non-agricultural work force belonged to unions. Today the percentage has shrunk to twenty-four percent — roughly a drop of one third. *Newsweek*, whose management supports all the trendy "Liberal" causes, is normally very gentle with the union establishment since it promotes the party line of the "Liberal" intellectuals. But, in its issue for December 12, 1977, *Newsweek* catalogues the problems facing union leadership today. Consider:

"... the AFL-CIO — along with much of the rest of the labor movement — is in trouble. Its leadership, by and large, is old and uninspired. It represents 500,000 fewer workers now than it did at its last convention, and union membership as a percentage of the labor force has been declining steadily for years. The public generally holds big labor in even lower esteem than big business, and much of the rank and file, whose parents revered the unions, see them today at best as a painful necessity. Even labor's long alliance with liberals and the Democratic Party is shaky . . ."

The declining popularity of radical union leaders is further revealed by the declining ability of the unions to win representation elections. *News-*

week says: "The 'easy' targets for organizing — such basic industries as steel, autos, aircraft and mining — have long since been won. But despite widely publicized organized drives in the South, the unions conducted 12 percent fewer representation elections there last year than the year before — and carried the vote only 44 percent of the time, compared with 52 percent in 1970. Even worse, workers across the nation are voting in increasing numbers to decertify unions as their bargaining agents. The number of decertification elections doubled from 1970 to 1976, reaching 611 — and the percentage of workers who elected to stay with the union fell from 58 to 46."

William Winpisinger, radical head of the International Association of Machinists, groused at that Washington meeting: "Our Number One problem is our image. We're just behind Richard Nixon and just ahead of used-car salesmen."

Not only is the public disillusioned with the union leaders and their programs, but the rank and file share this disillusionment. A decade or two ago, union members followed their leaders with fanaticism. To listen to them you would have thought that the chiefs of organized labor wrote their proclamations in stone with a fiery finger. Many were fooled into accepting the false doctrine of class struggle preached by labor leaders. Today's Middle Class worker is a whole lot more skeptical because he is much more sophisticated. *Newsweek* confirms:

"... there's no blinking the fact that labor is no longer a sacred cause to most of its members. Complaints from the ranks range from too much concern for leaders' perquisites to outright corruption, but most of them focus on indifference or autocratic behavior by the leaders . . .

Time was when a union man carried his card with pride, saw the union hall as his club and felt a genuine sense of brotherhood. A few still do, and many continue to support their unions without the old-time fervor. For a growing minority, however, the union is at best a matter of necessity, and support is tinged with cynicism . . ."

An aerospace worker comments: "For a long time I thought having a union to bargain for me was like having an attorney in court. But the truth is the unions are part of the Establishment just as much as the company is. We all know that, but what can we do about it? We need them, too." An auto worker in Michigan sarcastically remarks: "The union and the company do the business. I do the work."

Even some union leaders are becoming resentful. One industrial union leader complains: "There's no longer a brotherhood of the oppressed. Everybody wants his and to hell with everybody else. If the teachers and the cops and the firemen and the street cleaners think the steelworkers and the coal miners are going to support them every time they get a case of the gimmees, they're crazy. Who the hell do they think is paying their salaries?"

A major source of conflict of interest within the labor movement results from the fact that the largest single union within the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is composed of people who "work" for a living only in the broadest sense. They are government employees. The union is the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees — known as A.F.S.C.M.E. (pronounced *Aff-sknee*). It is headed by a militant Leftist named Jerry Wurf — a man much more at home with the "Liberal" intellectuals and bureaucrats

than with the men in hard hats. Known to his detractors in and out of organized labor as the Wurf Rat or Wurf Man, the A.F.S.C.M.E. honcho now has a dues-paying membership of 750,000 members — which is triple the number on the rolls when he took over thirteen years ago. One must bear in mind that the number of people employed by states, counties, and municipalities has also virtually tripled during the same period.

While A.F.S.C.M.E. is the fastest-growing union in the United States, it is only one of a number that are organizing government job holders. Roughly half of America's eleven million public employees (including teachers) are now unionized, compared with twenty to twenty-five percent of the work force in the private sector. By contrast, in 1960, only one government employee in ten carried a union card. About one in four holders of union cards now works for the government and is paid with tax funds "contributed" by the other three working union members.

In addition to its 750,000 official members, A.F.S.C.M.E. also bargains for an additional half million workers who have refused to join. They work for municipalities which prohibit union shops or frown on agency shops which compel employees to contribute to the union whether or not they are members. These half-million men and women want no part of Jerry Wurf.

Nonetheless, America's public employees have become militant under Wurf's prodding and are striking in increasing numbers. They claim to feel unappreciated by the public and cite inflation as the cause for their ever-greater demands. They call for more, more, more of everything — including more public employees. But these demands put elected officials in a bind, because they are al-

ready faced with a tax revolt from angry voters. When the teachers, policemen, firemen, transportation workers, or trash collectors hit the bricks, it lets politicians off the hook. The public will then usually pay the ransom out of fear or inconvenience and the mayor and the city council are not blamed. Kenneth Tomlinson reports in the April 1977 issue of *Reader's Digest* that "our country faces the very real prospect of public-employee unions literally dictating what government workers earn and, therefore, the taxes citizens must pay." Those citizens include steel workers, coal miners, auto assemblers, and other union men and women.

Once considered underpaid public servants given to trading prosperity for security, government workers have come a long way, baby.

Non-military federal employees now average seventeen thousand dollars a year, nearly five thousand more than their counterparts in private industry. State and local government employees have generally gained salary parity with the private sector. In some cases, places like New York and San Francisco, public-employee wages are spectacularly higher.

When the union of bureaucrats met resistance on wages, it pushed up demands for benefits in maneuvers costly to the taxpayers but mostly too complicated for them quickly to understand. One of the major routes taken was that of increasing the pension program. The ploy used by the union leaders and the politicians was: "Settle now — pay later." It was a great deal for the elected officials. It got the unions off their backs, and the bill would not have to be paid until a later administration was in office.

Only after New York City's recent fiscal crisis did taxpayers learn what

the politicians there had bargained away. For every three dollars the city spends on salaries, it is committed to two dollars in fringe benefits. Under its twenty-year retirement plan, many city workers earn more as pensioners than they ever earned on the job. Even the normally pro-union *New York Times*, the darling of "Liberal" intellectuals everywhere, was forced to admit that "New York is working for its unionized civil servants, not vice versa."

Whether federal, state, or local, government pensions have one thing in common: The bulk of them are unfunded. In other words, the civil servant has a contract for a pension down the road, but the funds with which to pay that pension are usually not set aside. This means that when the pensions come due the funds will have to come from general tax revenues. As Associated Press reported on August 11, 1976: "Federal pension plans offer the best retirement deal in the nation to their workers, from the President of the United States to the mailman. But those pension funds also are among the most debt-ridden. The 21 major pension plans covering federal employees have an unfunded debt of nearly \$500 billion"

Actually, the Associated Press estimate is light. Way light. Pensions are computed by actuaries, taking into account the time span involved, the amount of the pension to be delivered, and the contributions made by the employer or employee calculated at a given interest rate. The rub is that the pension in almost all cases is calculated on a percentage of the employee's salary at the time he retires. For example, the pension might amount to seventy percent of the worker's final salary. Such salaries are being pushed ever higher by inflation. Until very recently, there

was no factor included in set-asides for most government pension programs to take inflation into account. Then, at the federal level, the union lobbyists were able to get a bonus for inflation written into the law. Associated Press reported February 16, 1975:

Federal retirees can get billions of extra dollars at taxpayer expense because a formula designed to keep their pensions in step with inflation actually propels them increasingly ahead. The unintended [sic] bonus could easily cost taxpayers \$100 billion or more by 1990, according to projections by the Associated Press — projections which Congress failed to make before it approved the formula

. . . at a point when the cost of living would have risen 46 percent since this employee's retirement day, his monthly pension check would be up by 57 percent.

The pension overpayments come about because under a 1969 law retirees are given an extra permanent one percent pension increase each time their checks are adjusted for changes in the Consumer Price Index the extra one percent compounds over the years, pushing retirement checks farther and farther ahead of any rise in the cost of living. In fact, the faster the cost of living increases, the farther and faster federal pensions move ahead.

Federal employees, congressmen and retired military personnel all qualify under the extra one percent formula, which Congress approved in 1969. Add in another 800,000 civilians already retired, try to estimate future retirements in the 2.5 million person federal work force, figure in nearly 1 million retired military personnel, who tend to retire earlier and draw benefits longer, and

the cost of these overpayments by 1990 could easily exceed \$100 billion.

Through the phenomenon which bankers refer to as "the magic of compound interest," this \$100 billion by 1990 will grow into trillions of dollars in succeeding years. At an average annual inflation rate of twelve percent, this inflation-plus-one escalator would add more than one trillion dollars to government pension obligations in the next fifteen years. According to Robert Myers, former chief actuary for the Social Security Administration, the scheme would at this rate grant government retirees a startling \$389 billion in profits from inflation.

Within a few years some former politicians and bureaucrats will be drawing hundreds of thousands annually for doing nothing. And, if the pension laws which make these rip-offs possible are not repealed, the day will come when politicians can become millionaires simply by serving ten years in Congress, and a bureaucrat a few years longer, as their over-adjusted pension checks go up, up, up and away. If one takes into consideration the unfunded Social Security obligations in addition to the unfunded government pensions, the total drain on the economy becomes astronomical.

To make the picture even more frightening, the ratio of those working to those retired is shrinking. Marjorie Boyd writes in the *Washington Monthly*: "Looking at all these unfunded government pensions together is sobering. The total unfunded liability for Social Security, military, and federal, state, and local employee pensions is about \$5 trillion. That's not \$5 billion, but \$5 TRILLION. At current rates, it's a debt equal to the total national budget for the next 20 years."

What this means is that the member of the public-employees' union is wildly exploiting his tax-paying brother unionist employed in private business. The taxes which will have to be laid on both the union member and his employer to support the retired bureaucrats in the manner to which they have become accustomed through outrageous pensions may well destroy the pension plans of every other worker in the nation.

Does this upset the president of the largest single union in the A.F.L.-C.I.O.? Not by the hair of your chinny chin chin. According to *Saturday Review* for March 5, 1977: "Jerry Wurf insists that pensions for the vast majority of public employees remain either modest or downright inadequate . . . Wurf blames the unwillingness of states to enact sharply progressive incomes taxes for the benefit of their cities."*

And Jerry Wurf is moving to make things even rougher for the Middle Class, taxpaying, union regular. A member of the Rockefellers' Council on Foreign Relations, the elitist organization of intellectuals and the Wall Street types who push Big Government, Jerome Wurf has a virtual temper tantrum whenever anyone mentions cutting your taxes. Lower taxes mean reduced government budgets at the state and local level where laws often forbid deficit spending. This means the drones will be removed from the public payrolls — and from the backs of the taxpayers. Wurf would rather slide down a bannister which turns into a razor blade than see his bureaucrats

*We do not wish to be impertinent, but we feel the public is entitled to know that Wurf, the great advocate of redistributing the wealth from those who work for private industry to those who are on the payrolls of the government, is himself paid a handsome salary of \$81,505 a year, plus fat benefits.

dispatched into the private labor market. Fewer bureaucrats mean fewer members of A.F.S.C.M.E. and less power for its leader.

Boss Wurf almost went beserk when Proposition 13, the California amendment to restrict property taxes, was approved in the Golden State. This despite the fact that it was, as *Time* magazine reports, "overwhelmingly supported" by union members. Such people were being taxed out of their homes in order to keep Wurf's boys feeding fatly at the trough. But so disgusting had it all become that even forty-three percent of government workers in California voted for Proposition 13, knowing that it might cost them their jobs. They figured losing their job was better than losing their home. This was high treason to Wurf. He told A.F.S.C.M.E. members assembled in Madison Square Garden: "My real fear is that demagoguery in the wake of Proposition 13 will destroy the viability of the nation's cities and states." For Jerry Wurf to decry demagoguery is like Raquel Welch coming out against sex. He continued: "The suffering comes down to you . . . as government employees, we suffer the most severe consequences." According to Wurftink, the terms "fiscal integrity" and "tough fiscal management" are simply vicious code words. The boss of the biggest union in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. claimed: "By that they mean worse schools, worse health care, worse environmental protection."

You begin to get the point that the largest union in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is dedicated to living out of the pockets of every other member. Indeed, of all of us. And there is yet another aspect of Wurftism which hurts the rank and file of labor. That is the use of illegal public strikes to force a city to its knees. Wurf boasts of

calling seventy-five illegal strikes in one two-year period. He announces arrogantly: "This is the decade of the public worker in the history of the American labor movement . . . This is why we have fashioned one of the most militant trade unions in the history of the American labor movement. We have confronted authority to achieve dignity for our workers, and we have gone out on illegal strikes to force public management to the bargaining table. We have been very successful . . ."

Jerry isn't just beating his gums. When Maryland's governor tried to persuade A.F.S.C.M.E.'s leader to let striking police return to work, reports the governor, Wurf declared "that Baltimore City would burn to the ground unless the city gave in to his demands." Never mind that many of those homes the humanitarian Wurf threatened to raze housed union members and their families.

The U.S. Labor Department statistics show that in 1958 there were only fifteen strikes among government workers. Some 1,730 workers were involved and 7,520 man-days of work were lost. By 1975, as the number of government employee bargaining laws enacted by states grew — laws which Americans are now coming to view as a serious mistake — these strikes had increased to 478, involving 318,000 workers and the loss of 2.2 million man-days. The *Reader's Digest* for April 1977 gives these three samples of what happens when radical Jerry Wurf's public servants, and their imitators, are on strike:

"Nellie Marley, a 68-year-old widow, watched helplessly as flames engulfed her home. Where were Kansas City's firemen? They had been on strike for four days, a period during which fires had occurred at more than twice the normal rate for this Missouri city. Many, like this one,

were described by police as 'well-planned arson committed by people knowledgeable about fires.'

"Slowly, methodically, four armed bandits took purses and wallets from 100 patrons in one of San Francisco's best known restaurants. When they were done, they wrapped the \$5000 worth of loot in a tablecloth and walked casually out the front door. Why hurry? Most of San Francisco's policemen were on strike. Those officers who remained on the job did so under the most chaotic of conditions — police cars were vandalized, tires slashed, ignition systems jammed and two-way radios dismembered.

"Mountains of refuse covered the sidewalks of New York. The city's sanitation men had walked off the job, illegally, leaving 50,000 tons of garbage rotting in the hot July sun. Desperate residents appealed to the city leaders to use the National Guard. 'If they call out the Guard,' one garbage-man told the press, 'we'll blow up the trucks.'"

Even some "Liberal" newspapers are starting to look at this situation like Dr. Frankenstein looked at his monster run amok. The *Christian Science Monitor* expressed the growing feeling that "policemen, firemen, and all other public employees have a civic obligation to look beyond their own personal demands. It is unconscionable that they should be able to hold a community hostage in time of calamity. Illegal strikes are not the way to win public confidence and support for union demands, however just . . ."

It is obvious that public-employee unions promote programs directly contrary to the best interests of other union members whose taxes must pay the freight for the extravagances of tax-supported employees. But, these are not the only unions whose activi-

ties threaten and do damage to the rank and file. In the case of the public-employee unions the situation is understandable if deplorable. These unions have a huge vested interest in Big Government. Anything which makes government grow builds their union at the expense of those of us who must pay the bills and suffer the consequences of rampaging politicians and bureaucrats. But, a great many of the political activities of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. bosses as a whole are just as much a threat to the Middle American union member as the fanaticism of Wurf.

The political activities of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., as we mentioned at the beginning of this article, are controlled by C.O.P.E., the Committee On Political Education, which is dedicated to every conceivable radical activity coming down the pike. Given the history of C.O.P.E., this is not surprising, for C.O.P.E. was the brainchild of Sidney Hillman who started it as the Political Action Committee inside the C.I.O. in 1943. Hillman was a very special person. Born in Lithuania, he immigrated to the United States at the age of twenty, and, though never a worker, became a labor leader and key fixture in the Roosevelt Administration. The F.D.R. order to colleagues to "clear it with Sidney" has become a famous remark of American politics. The "it" referred to the choice of the Vice Presidency on the Democratic ticket in 1944 — at a time when Hillman's incipient C.O.P.E. group and the Communists' American Labor Party, which he ran with Communist boss William Z. Foster, were the key to keeping the Middle Atlantic states out of the Republican column and saving the White House for F.D.R.

Hillman was closely associated with many known Communist Party

members and Soviet agents; was identified by former top Communist official Maurice Malkin as a Communist; and, raised more than a million dollars for Lenin. He was a very important agent in place.

Comrade Hillman intended for C.O.P.E. to be the means of electing radicals and pushing Leftist legislation through the Congress. Sidney soon handed the reins of C.O.P.E. over to Walter and Victor Reuther, who while working in the Soviet Union in the 1930s wrote home to their comrades in Detroit, closing the letter with the admonition to "Carry on the fight for a Soviet America." When the Reuther brothers returned to America they continued to do just that, and used C.O.P.E. as the tool to promote that dream. Their front men in turn were Jack Krol, James McDevitt, and (beginning in 1963) Al Barkin, the current commissar of C.O.P.E.

This helps to explain the crazy C.O.P.E. rhetoric against the Right when Conservatives seek lower taxes through less government. The men who run C.O.P.E. are extremists like Jerry Wurf who want more and more government — at the expense of the working man. But, because of their productivity, working people in America have too high a standard of living to join the kook parade to sovietize America. Despite their resistance, radical leaders at the top of organized labor still make common cause with the "Liberal" intellectuals who have never lost their lust for power over the private man. These people know they can't achieve their political dreams without manipulating the votes of the rank and file of labor. Therefore, millions are spent to convince union members to support the "social programs" of the C.O.P.E. hucksters.

The C.O.P.E. front does two primary jobs. First, with the help of

leading "Liberals," it formulates a program; and, second, it supports and finances candidates it believes will implement that program. And the technicians of C.O.P.E. are very good at delivering the votes on election day. Just how good they are is indicated by the "C.O.P.E. Box Score" printed in the *Memo From C.O.P.E.* of December 6, 1976:

"More than seven out of 10 COPE-endorsed candidates won election November 2, headed by the victorious presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter. Of 407 endorsed by COPE for U.S. House and Senate and gubernatorial contests, 290 won. With the exception of the presidential endorsement, which is made by the National AFL-CIO, all endorsements are made at state and congressional district levels. They are based on the performance and/or programs of candidates on key economic, labor and welfare issues. This year, 19 of 28 endorsed Senate candidates won; 262 of 365 in the House; nine of 14 for governor."

Ah yes, and what are those *key issues* by which C.O.P.E. tests local candidates? Douglas Fraser, ultra-Leftist president of the United Auto Workers, says in *Time* of April 11, 1977: "The future lies in fighting for issues like national health care, welfare reform and tax reforms. Broad coalitions can support these goals." The coalition embraces the radical anti-job environmentalists, militant feminists, the "Liberal" professors, unionized bureaucrats, and the bus-sing busybodies and disarmament fanatics.

Coalition is the current cry of labor leader William Winpisinger, who states: "The A.F.L.-C.I.O. is isolating itself . . . blacks, women, consumers and many others now perceive labor as the enemy. As a result our political influence is on the wane

and none of us has enough power. We need to swallow our pride a little and rejoin our liberal alliances and shove the politicians through to the necessary changes that have to be made."

From the standpoint of a lathe operator or assembly-line workman, Winpisinger is full of wind. These are the policies of, and for, the "Liberal" elite, the radical collectivists, and the Welfare slackers. Let's consider some of the laws which C.O.P.E. and this kooky coalition would like to push through Congress.

At the top of C.O.P.E.'s legislative laundry list is the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, designed in the original to tax at least \$40 billion to put the usual sort of people on government payrolls. Never mind that its author, Augustus Hawkins, has been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party, or that \$40 billion is \$5 billion more than it cost to run the entire federal government in the war year 1942. Another key piece of legislation pushed by the C.O.P.E. machine is a full-blown national health insurance program. If it had been enacted in 1976, economist Warren Brookes estimates, it would right now be costing \$195 billion — \$6 billion more than the entire federal Budget for 1971. And C.O.P.E. is pushing this huge tax eater despite the fact that almost all union members are well covered by private insurance plans. Yet another in the long string of expensive programs promoted by C.O.P.E. is the federalizing of Welfare programs. Senator Russell Long says the Carter Welfare plan, which is only a first step, would bleed the hard-pressed taxpayers of \$120 billion.

Does any of this help union members in the slightest? To the contrary. If C.O.P.E.'s legislative goals are reached, the working man is in deep trouble. It is obvious that, if any

substantial portion of the C.O.P.E. program should be passed through Congress, federal spending, already unbelievably bloated, would leap through the ceiling and take off for outer space — with the only beneficiaries being Jerry Wurf's organized bureaucrats. This would mean ever higher taxes, backbreaking taxes, which would mean transferring spending power from the citizens — most assuredly including union members — to the government. What the working men and women need is lower, not higher, taxes.

Here C.O.P.E. suggests that the answer is to tax the fat cats and not the working class. That sounds fine, but the so-called fat cats are already being taxed into oblivion. In a recent report the authoritative Tax Foundation finds that the top ten percent of American taxpayers — those earning from \$23,420 a year and up — already pay nearly *half* the total tax bill. The top five percent — those making \$29,272 and up — pay a little more than a third of the total sum. The lowest fifty percent account for just seven percent of the tax collections.

Suppose we put an outright tax of one hundred percent on all taxable income over thirty-two thousand dollars a year? Using 1973 as a base, this would have generated \$12.5 billion in additional revenue for the Treasury. Sounds like a lot. But that \$12.5 billion equals less than three percent of proposed current federal spending; it would keep the government running for less than ten days.

The brutal truth is that *everybody* is overtaxed. Like the people you see in the Alka-Seltzer commercial, everybody needs relief.

Even now the politicians don't dare tax for all the money they spend. Which means that, in order to keep the C.O.P.E.-"Liberal" coali-

tion happy without making the taxpayers too angry, the federal government runs huge deficits. Half of our \$750 billion National Debt has been piled up during this decade. The tab for the interest on that Debt will in itself cost taxpayers nearly fifty billion dollars next year, or about \$575 for every one of the eighty-five million American taxpayers.

The "Liberal" intellectuals used to tell us that deficits were not harmful. In fact, they were declared to be a positive good. Deficits were supposed to stimulate the economy, to "get things moving again." If that were true, with the deficits we have been running during the past decade by both Republican and Democratic Administrations, we should all be fabulously wealthy. Obviously the frauds who sold the idea to union leaders that we can "spend ourselves into prosperity" were dead wrong. Deficits did not produce prosperity, they produced galloping inflation.

What really happens with federal deficits is that, through the Federal Reserve and the banking system, these debts are magically turned into brand new money. The new money takes on value only by reducing the value of all the money already in circulation. It is like diluting the Vodka punch at a party by adding water — pretty soon you have to drink (or spend) great quantities to achieve the same result as small amounts produced earlier. The new money waters down the value of the insurance, savings, and pension plans of every union member as it circulates through the economy bidding up wages and prices.

It is pure logic. Ask yourself: Is it possible for almost all wages and prices to be rising constantly unless there is more money there to pay for them? Can you fill a quart bottle with a pint jar? While the unions, the

corporations, and the government all point accusatory fingers at each other, the real culprit is the Congress and the President, spending fifty or sixty billion dollars a year more than can be covered by tax income. Without this, the so-called wage-price spiral could not exist on any kind of economy-wide basis. If Congress continues to give in to C.O.P.E.'s big-spending demands, the situation will simply get worse.

Union members meanwhile realize only too well that inflation is their Number One enemy. Not only is there more month left at the end of each paycheck, unlike the situation with government employees, the working man's pension is being eaten alive by constant hikes in the cost of living. And inflation is not only wearing a hole in the working man's pocket, it has stolen the jobs of tens of thousands of his colleagues, and soon could steal his. Runaway corporations have abandoned the United States to manufacture overseas and export back into this country. It is the dwindling value of the dollar, caused by inflation, which has created the nightmare. But all this can be halted, and inflation stopped cold, with less government spending and a balanced Budget. Yet the union leaders don't propose that. Instead they urge that the problem be dealt with by applying quotas and tariffs — which would start an international trade war. Trade wars, one remembers, precede other kinds of wars.

The fact just will not go away: There is no group in the country which would benefit more from "fiscal sanity" than working people. Unions should be leading the fight for lower taxes and balanced Budgets.

Instead, over the past three decades, union leaders have pushed every conceivable inflationary spend-

ing program. A "little inflation" made the union leaders look good. In order to keep the rank and file happy, and the dues rolling in, the union has to make it appear that it is delivering the goods to its members. "What have you done for me lately?" is a question often heard around union halls. So, a "little inflation" gave the union a sound reason to get members a raise. A "little inflation" allowed the corporations to meet the union demands. A "little inflation" kept the politicians who are supported by C.O.P.E. in office.

The trouble is that you can't have a "little inflation" as a permanent condition. As we have seen, it escalates. With the result that the working man is now being ruined by the shortsightedness, stupidity, or radical malevolence of the C.O.P.E. operators and their "Liberal" allies in the Americans for Democratic Action, Common Cause, and the Committee for an Effective Congress.

This crowd has already been responsible for disastrous government policies which have seriously reduced the quality of life and standard of living of American workers. Now C.O.P.E. plays down its alliance with the "bugs and butterflies" crowd because of their overt calls to stop development and growth that will obviously cost union members jobs. But it is the C.O.P.E.-backed and C.O.P.E.-financed politicians who voted for the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency (E.P.A.) which has destroyed tens of thousands of jobs.

It has also been the politicians put in office by the C.O.P.E. gang, and the bureaucracy that has resulted, which created the energy *delivery* crisis. That crisis has ballooned the working man's cost of living; and, since industry depends on energy, it now threatens the very existence of

hundreds of thousands of American jobs.

It was C.O.P.E.-picked politicians who established the bussing programs and then funded them through the monstrous Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the bureaucracy which gets more of the federal Budget than goes for supporting and equipping all two million members of the Armed Forces. How many members of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. would cast a ballot to have their children shoved on a bus and hauled forty miles across town into a strange school in a hostile neighborhood? How many would vote to give the Health, Education and Welfare social workers \$130 billion a year to finance socialism? Yet it is C.O.P.E.-backed politicians who do these things.

We could go on and on. We could talk about the pro-Communist foreign policy, fully backed by the radicals who run C.O.P.E., which has transferred American technology to the Soviet Union. A policy which in turn forces us to spend ever more billions of tax dollars on defense and could ultimately cost us what is left of our freedom. We could talk about how the C.O.P.E.-backed intellectual complex sucked America into the no-win war in Vietnam, spilling the blood of a hundred thousand of our sons while it pushed schemes to build factories in the Soviet Union. It was that coalition which then turned its back on the whole mess and let the Communists take Indochina. Next time they get Africa.

Yes, we could go on and on. But we think we have made our point. What is more, we know union members are already disgusted at what has been happening. We know they are even now going to their leaders and shouting: "I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it anymore." Those leaders would do well to listen. ■ ■