CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

9 NOV 1976

Mr. Robert Visser
General Counsel
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 320 (76)

Dear Mr. Visser:

This letter acknowledges receipt of your complaint dated October 27, 1976, alleging violations of the reporting requirementsof 2 U.S.C. §431(f)(4)(C).

My staff has reviewed the reports and determined that the respondent labor organizations have filed reports of certain expenditures under the applicable statute. I have reviewed your allegations and have concluded that on the basis of the information in your complaint that there is no reason to believe that any statute within the jurisdiction of the Federal Election Commission has been committed. Accordingly, upon my recommendation, the Commission has closed its file in this matter.

Should additional information come to your attention which you believe established a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Laws, please contact me. The file reference number of your complaint was MUR 320.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: John G. Murphy, Jr.

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

CReed:pjg:11/9/76
cc: Chron file
MUR 320
CR

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704030241

PS Form 3811 Mar 1976

RETURN RECEIPT REGISTERED INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

GC

● **SENDER**: Complete items 1, 2, and 3. Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one).
   - ☐ Show to whom and date delivered..... 15¢
   - ☑ Show to whom, date, & address of delivery.. 35¢
   - ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY. Show to whom and date delivered..... 65¢
   - ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY. Show to whom, date, and address of delivery 85¢

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:

Mr Robert Visser

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	[illegible]	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.

SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☐ Authorized agent

[redacted]

4. DATE OF DELIVERY

POSTMARK

NOV 11 1976

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE:

CLERK'S INITIALS

☆ GOP : 1976—O-203-456

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 320 (76)
AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers of America, United Steelworkers of America, and all of the affiliates and locals of the unions	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on November 4, 1976, the Commission determined by a vote of 4-1, that there was no reason to believe a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, had been committed in the above-captioned matter. Accordingly, the file is now closed. Commissioner Springer dissented and Commissioner Tiernan was absent.

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

COMMISSION
COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

DATE OF TRANSMITTAL: 11-4-76

TIME OF TRANSMITTAL: 9:00 a.m.

NO. 320

REC'D:

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

Complainant's Name: President Ford Committee

Respondent's Name: AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers of America, United Steelworkers of America, & all of the affiliates & locals of the unions

Relevant Statute: 2 U.S.C. §431(f)(4)(C)

Internal Reports Checked:

Federal Agencies Checked:

7704000502

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATION

The President Ford Committee filed a complaint against the respondent unions alleging that the respondents failed to report expenses exceeding $2,000 for communications expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter or the defeat of Jerry Ford. In support of the allegation, the PFC cited the FEC index of October 27, 1976, in which it was reported that $130,366 was reported by unions on behalf of Jimmy Carter. The PFC alleges, based on their information and belief and on attached newspaper articles, that the respondent unions are spending substantial amounts of money expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter and that these sums are not being timely reported.

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

As a result of the Packwood amendment, labor organizations are required to report expenditures exceeding $2,000 for communications to their members expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. Although the Packwood amendment originally required reporting for expenditures for registration and get-out-the-vote drives, that portion of the amendment was rejected by Congress. The statute is ambiguous about the applicable reporting dates, but the Commission has issued a notice setting forth appropriate reporting dates. The dates are October 23, 1976 - covering from May 11th through October 18, 1976; and December 2, 1976 - covering from October 19th through November 2, 1976. The AFL-CIO has filed a report (attachment 1) and four of its state affiliates have filed reports. The United Auto Workers filed reports on September 10 & October 7, 1976. (Attachment 2 & 3). The United Steelworkers has filed with regard to a Senatorial race, but has not, as of this date, filed expenditures with regard to the Presidential race. Neither

RECOMMENDATION

Close file. Two of the three unions have filed reports; there is no evidence [illegible]

Date of Next Commission Review:

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS CONTINUED

the complaint nor the attached newspaper articles offer any evidence that the United Steelworkers has made expenditures in excess of $2,000 between May 11, 1976, and October 18th for communications (other than communications primarily devoted to other subjects) expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter or the defeat of Jerry Ford. The one reference to the United Steelworkers is in a newspaper article dated October 27, 1976, and talks of future plans of the union - i.e., their"hope to have 25,000 volunteers, coordinated by 40 full-time union political operatives, pounding the pavement and dialing phones for Jimmy Carter." Accordingly, the basis of the complaint is that the President Ford Committee "believes" that the Steelworkers have made reportable expenditures.

7704050243

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

SEPTEMBER 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

REPORT OF COMMUNICATION COSTS BY CORPORATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

(See Reverse Side)

1. (a) NAME OF ORGANIZATION

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

(b) ADDRESS (Number and Street)

815 16th Street, N.W.

(c) CITY, STATE, AND ZIP CODE

Washington, D.C. 20006

2. IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (Assigned by FEC)

3. TYPE OF ORGANIZATION (Check Appropriate Box)

X Labor Organization
___ Corporation
___ Trade Association
___ Other Membership Organization
___ Other _____ (Specify)

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Check One):

(a) XX October 23, 1976 (ten day pre-general election)

(b) ___ December 2, 1976 (30 day post-general election)

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

Type of Communication	Class or Category Communicated With	Date(s) of Communication	Check One: Support	Check One: Oppose	Identify Candidate, Office Sought, District and State, and Whether For Primary or General Election	Cost of Communication (Per Candidate)
___ Direct Mail ___ Telephone ___ Telegram ___ Other: _____ (Specify)	___ Executive/ Administrative Personnel ___ Stockholders ___ Members ___ Employees				See attached schedule	
___ Direct Mail ___ Telephone ___ Telegram ___ Other: _____ (Specify)	___ Executive/ Administrative Personnel ___ Stockholders ___ Members ___ Employees					

(NOTE: For additional communications attach separate sheets containing the same information as above.)

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR COMMUNICATIONS THIS PERIOD $ 378,371.87

I certify that I have examined this report, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Lane Kirkland
Type or print name

[signature]
Signature of person designated to sign this report

10/23/76
Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing [illegible]

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

ATTACHED SCHEDULE REFERRED TO ON FORM

1. Communications to AFL-CIO union members in support of the candidacy of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale in the general election for President and Vice President of the United States. (These communications were made through AFL-CIO State and Local Central Bodies, International, National and Local Unions during the period August 31, 1976 through October 18, 1976:)

(a)	Films: "Your Next President",	$56,490.12
	"Carter Speaks to Labor"	13,640.00*
(b)	Leaflets and posters	184,911.44
(c)	Materials for Union Newspapers	2,000.00
(d)	The AFL-CIO American Federationist, (September 1976)	8,909.10
(e)	Postage paid for items a-d above	11,344.98
(f)	The COPE News, issues dated 8/2, 8/30, 9/13, 9/27, 10/11 1976	16.500.00*

*Estimated costs for items not yet billed as of October 23, 1976

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

2. Graphic materials, layouts and texts used by AFL-CIO affiliates for communications prepared and mailed by those Labor delegates to AFL-CIO union members advocating the elections of candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives as follows:

Bentsen	Texas	P & G	Senate	1,390.57
Cannon	Nevada	P & G	Senate	2,320.52
DeConcini	Arizona	P & G	Senate	6,053.01
Green	Pennsylvania	G	Senate	2,459.70
Hartke	Indiana	P & G	Senate	7,552.56
Kennedy	Massachusetts	P	Senate	2,301.15
Lundine	New York	G	House	591.75
Maddin	Indiana	P	Senate	727.20
McGee	Wyoming	P & G	Senate	767.67
Melcher	Montana	P & G	Senate	1,376.79
Metzenbaum	Ohio	G	Senate	2,743.72
Moniban	New York	P & G	Senate	3,710.70
Montoya	New Mexico	P & G	Senate	4,173.86
Moss	Utah	P & G	Senate	6,353.20
Muskie	Maine	P & G	Senate	4,938.24
O'Hara	Michigan	P	Senate	5,132.30
Reigle	Michigan	G	Senate	798.00
Rupli	Maryland	P	House	807.27
Sarbanes	Maryland	P & G	Senate	9,905.18
Sasser	Tennessee	P & G	Senate	3,511.20
Symington	Missouri	P	Senate	9,314.00
Tunney	California	P & G	Senate	3,750.74
Zumwalt	Virginia	P & G	Senate	3,896.90

P - Primary

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA (UAW)

LEONARD WOODCOCK, PRESIDENT

EMIL MAZEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

VICE-PRESIDENTS

PAT GREATHOUSE • KEN BANNON • DOUGLAS A. FRASER • DENNIS McDERMOTT • IRVING BLUESTONE • ODESSA KOMER • MARC STEPP

October 7, 1976

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

We report the following expenditures pursuant to FEC regulation 100.7 (b) (5):

Date: 9/20/76
Payer: International UAW
Amount: $[illegible]
Payee: Century Litho, Inc.
Purpose: To inform retirees in the State of Michigan of the voting record of Congressmen Don Riegle and Marvin Esch.

Date: 9/[illegible]/76
Payer: UAW Retired Workers Dept.
Amount: $[illegible]
Payee: International UAW
Purpose: Printing of material to inform UAW retirees of the progress of Ford and the progress of Carter.

Sincerely,

Donald J. Moll
Administrative Accountant

DJM/sfw
opeiu42

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

LEONARD WOODCOCK
PAT GREATHOUSE • KEN BANNON • DOUGLAS FRASER • DENNIS MIDERMOTT • IRVING BLUESTONE • ODESSA KOMER • MARC STEPP

September 10, 1976

Federal Election Commission
1325 K. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

We report the following expenditures pursuant to FEC regulation 100.7 (b) (5):

Date:	6/2/76
Payer:	International Union, UAW
Amount:	$4,550.00
Payee:	American Mailers
Purpose:	Postage for communication with UAW members supporting Carter for President.

Date:	8/18/76
Payer:	New Jersey UAW Cap Council
Amount:	$2,275.00
Payee:	International Union, UAW
Purpose:	To reimburse for one-half of above reported $4,550.00 expenditure.

Date:	7/9/76
Payer:	International Union, UAW
Amount:	$1,294.80
Payee:	Goodwill Printing Corp.
Purpose:	Printing of letters and envelopes for communication with UAW members - supporting Carter for President.

Sincerely,

Donald J. Moll

Donald J. Moll
Administrative Accountant

DJM/eh
cpeiu42

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

77040860 3628 1184

DATE OF TRANSMITTAL: 10/30/76

TIME OF TRANSMITTAL: 9:00 a.m.

NO. MUR 320 (76)

REC'D:

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

Complainant's Name: President Ford Committee

Respondent's Name: AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers of America, United Steelworkers of America, & all of the affiliates & locals of the unions

Relevant Statute: 2 U.S.C. 431(f)(4)(C)

Internal Reports Checked:

Federal Agencies Checked:

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATION

The President Ford Committee filed a complaint against the respondent unions alleging that the respondents failed to report expenses exceeding $2,000 for communications expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter or the defeat of Jerry Ford. In support of the allegation, the PFC cited the FEC index of October 27, 1976, in which it was reported that $130,366 was reported by unions on behalf of Jimmy Carter. The PFC alleges, based on their information and belief and on attached newspaper articles, that the respondent unions are spending substantial amounts of money expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter, and that these sums are not being timely reported. A summary of the news articles attached in support of the allegation follows:

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

As a result of the Packwood amendment, the labor organizations are required to report expenditures exceeding $2,000 for communications to their members expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. Although the Packwood amendment originally required reporting for expenditures for registration and get-out-the vote drives, that portion of the amendment was rejected by Congress. The statute does not provide a reporting date, but the Commission has issued a notice setting forth reporting dates. The dates are October 23, 1976 - covering from May 11th through October 18, 1976; and December 2, 1976 - covering from October 19th through November 2, 1976. The AFL-CIO has filed a report (attachment 1) and four of its state affiliates have filed reports. The United States Steelworkers has filed with regard to a Senatorial race, but has not, as of their date, filed any expenditures with regard to the Presidential race. The United Auto Workers has not filed as of this date. Neither the complaint nor the

RECOMMENDATION

Open a preliminary inquiry; send the attached letters to the unions asking whether they have made expenditures which should have been reported in the October 23rd report.

[illegible] Next Commission Review

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATION CONTINUED

1. 9/21/76 - WALL STREET JOURNAL: AFL-CIO officials plan to make 60 million political mailings.

2. 10/27/76 - WALL STREET JOURNAL: "On election day, the United Steelworkers union hopes to have 25,000 volunteers, coordinated by 40 full-time union political operatives, pounding the pavement and dialing phones for Jimmy Carter."

"...the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, and affiliated union groups are said to be fielding at least 600 full-time organizers, 10,000 telephone callers, 70 million pieces of literature and thousands of volunteers. Their get-out-the-vote effort alone is expected to cost over $2.5 million."

3. 10/27/76 - WALL STREET JOURNAL: "The union (AFL-CIO) claims to have mobilized some 100,000 volunteers to get out the vote. It is spending over $1 million on political mailings in support of Mr. Carter and in opposition to Mr. Ford. It is operating telephone banks and using its big Univac 9400 computer in Washington to supply names to its campaign workers."

4. 10/26/76 - NEW YORK TIMES: The article states that "... labor is pouring millions of dollars and manhours into just such 'communications'". Additionally, the article states that the "United Automobile Workers are operating phone banks in the states in which the bulk of their 1.4 million members are situated," and the intended efforst of the AFL-CIO to get-out-the-vote.

5. no date - WASHINGTON STAR: The article is about a phone bank operation run by the United Auto Workers. The article indicates that while the strike was on, one member helped the local's Community Action Program sign up members as voters. In addition, one member "...resents being told so much about Carter in the union paper..." The article also states that COPE itself and major unions will be distributing between 75 and 80 million pieces of pro-Carter literature to the federation's 14 million members.

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS CONTINUED

attached newspaper articles offer any evidence that the United Auto Workers or United States Steel have made expenditures in excess of $2000 between May 11 and October 18 for communications (other than communications primarily devoted to other subjects) expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter or the defeat of Jerry Ford. The newspaper articles referring to these two unions are all dated after the 18th of October. Accordingly, the basis of the complaint

is that the President Ford Committee "believes" that the two unions have made such expenditures.

LETTER TO BE SENT TO THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS AND THE UNITED STEELWORKERS

Dear Sir Or Madame:

It has come to the attention of the Commission during the course of its normal supervisory responsibilities that your organization has not filed a report covering the costs of internal communications under 2 U.S.C. 431(f)(4)(C). As I am sure you are aware, a labor organization must report the costs directly attributable to communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate (other than a communication primarily devoted to subjects other than express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate) if these costs exceed $2,000 per election.

I have enclosed a copy of a notice which has been sent to organizations subject to reporting under this provision. The Commission has determined that the reports of such internal communications with respect to the 1976 general election are due October 23, 1976. This report is to cover the period from May 11th through October 18, 1976.

If your labor organization has made any reportable expenditures during this time period, we would appreciate you filing out the enclosed form and returning the form to the Federal Election Commission within ten days of receipt of this letter. If your organization has not made any reportable expenditures during the applicable time period, we would appreciate your so notifying the Commission within ten days of the receipt of this letter. No further action will be taken by the Commission until receipt of your response.

This letter shall remain confidential unless you inform the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

JOHN G. MURPHY, JR.

SEPTEMBER 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

REPORT OF COMMUNICATION COSTS BY CORPORATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

(See Reverse Side)

1. (a) NAME OF ORGANIZATION

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

(b) ADDRESS (Number and Street)

815 16th Street, N.W.

(c) CITY, STATE, AND ZIP CODE

Washington, D.C. 20006

2. IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (Assigned by FEC)

3. TYPE OF ORGANIZATION (Check Appropriate Box)

X Labor Organization
___ Corporation
___ Trade Association
___ Other Membership Organization
___ Other _____ (Specify)

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Check One):

(a) XX October 23, 1976 (ten day pre-general election)

(b) ___ December 2, 1976 (30 day post-general election)

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

Type of Communication	Class or Category Communicated With	Date(s) of Communication	Check One: Support	Check One: Oppose	Identify Candidate, Office Sought, District and State, and Whether For Primary or General Election	Cost of Communication (Per Candidate)
___ Direct Mail ___ Telephone ___ Telegram ___ Other: _____ (Specify)	___ Executive/ Administrative Personnel ___ Stockholders ___ Members ___ Employees				See attached schedule	
___ Direct Mail ___ Telephone ___ Telegram ___ Other: _____ (Specify)	___ Executive/ Administrative Personnel ___ Stockholders ___ Members ___ Employees					

(NOTE: For additional communications attach separate sheets containing the same information as above.)

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR COMMUNICATIONS THIS PERIOD $ 378,371.87

I certify that I have examined this report, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Lane Kirkland
Type or print name

Signature of person designated to sign this report

10/23/76
Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g or 437j.

ATTACHED SCHEDULE REFERRED TO ON FORM

1. Communications to AFL-CIO union members in support of the candidacy of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale in the general election for President and Vice President of the United States. (These communications were made through AFL-CIO State and Local Central Bodies, International, National and Local Unions during the period August 31, 1976 through October 18, 1976:)

(a)	Films: "Your Next President",	$56,490.12
	"Carter Speaks to Labor"	13,640.00*
(b)	Leaflets and posters	184,911.44
(c)	Materials for Union Newspapers	2,000.00
(d)	The AFL-CIO American Federationist, (September 1976)	8,909.10
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*Estimated costs for items not yet billed as of October 23, 1976

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DeConcini	Arizona	P & G	Senate	6,053.01
Green	Pennsylvania	G	Senate	2,459.70
Hartke	Indiana	P & G	Senate	7,552.56
Kennedy	Massachusetts	P	Senate	2,301.15
Lundine	New York	G	House	591.75
Maddin	Indiana	P	Senate	727.20
McGee	Wyoming	P & G	Senate	767.67
Melcher	Montana	P & G	Senate	1,376.79
Metzenbaum	Ohio	G	Senate	2,743.72
Monihan	New York	P & G	Senate	3,710.70
Montoya	New Mexico	P & G	Senate	4,173.86
Moss	Utah	P & G	Senate	6,353.20
Muskie	Maine	P & G	Senate	4,938.24
O'Hara	Michigan	P	Senate	5,132.30
Reigle	Michigan	G	Senate	798.00
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Sarbanes	Maryland	P & G	Senate	9,205.18
Sasser	Tennessee	P & G	Senate	3,511.20
Symington	Missouri	P	Senate	9,314.00
Tunney	California	P & G	Senate	3,750.74
Zumwalt	Virginia	P & G	Senate	3,096.90

P - Primary
G - General

CC #860
MUR 315

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

'76 OCT 27 PM 5:57

October 27, 1976

763229

Honorable Vernon W. Thomson, Chairman
The Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The President Ford Committee, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437(g), hereby files the following complaint against the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers of America, United Steel Workers of America, and all affiliates and locals of such labor organizations for failure to report expenses which exceed $2,000, made by such Unions expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter or the defeat of Gerald R. Ford as required by 2 U.S.C. 431(f)(4)(C).

On October 27, 1976, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) issued an Index of Communications by corporations and membership organizations, including labor organizations, listing the expenses incurred by corporations and labor organizations for communications to members advocating the election or defeat of Federal candidates which exceed $2,000. The Index of Communications encompasses the period from May 11 to October 18, 1976. The Federal Election Commission's Index notes that only $130,366 was reported for communications on behalf of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. Specifically listed within this amount were expenditures by the Retail Clerks, AFSME, Building and Construction Trades Department, Bricklayers, NEA and the Service Employees Union.

After reviewing your Index and the reports on file in the Public Information Office, it appears that neither the expenses nor costs for such communications by the AFL-CIO itself, AFL-CIO COPE, the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and a myriad of other similarly situated Unions have been reported. Based on our information and belief and

COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

on the attached newspaper articles, these Unions are spending substantial amounts of money expressly advocating the election of Jimmy Carter and according to the Federal election campaign laws, such expenses must be timely reported.

Accordingly, we request that the Commission through expedited procedures, request the AFL-CIO and other similarly situated labor organizations to fully report their expenses advocating Mr. Carter's election in accordance with the Packwood Amendment, and that such expenditures be released to the public prior to the November 2nd election.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

Timothy Ryan

T. Timothy Ryan
Assistant General Counsel

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: ss

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN before me, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, this 27th day of October, 1976.

Notary Public
My Commission Expires: My Commission Expires June 30, 1981
RICHARD-SCOTT BUROW

COMMISSION
COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

* * *

LABOR'S CAMPAIGN for Jimmy Carter may be cut back due to a court ruling.

AFL-CIO officials fear their campaign plans may be ruined by a federal court injunction issued against the Postal Service in Seattle, with apparent national implications. The order, sought by Seattle Republicans, requires the service to collect regular postal rates instead of cheaper, nonprofit rates, for sending union campaign mailings boosting a single candidate. Such mailings, it says, should be presumed to be illegal uses of the unions' nonprofit permit, because they may violate postal rules against "lending" the use of permits to outsiders.

Union officials blast the order as a political ploy by a Republican judge to nearly quadruple their fall campaign postal costs to $4.6 million from $1.2 million, forcing a cut in their plans to make 60 million political mailings. They complain that Seattle's U.S. attorney plans no appeal of the ruling, and worry that postal officials will order it applied nationally, to ward off Republican suits elsewhere.

AFL-CIO lawyers may try to swiftly win a new test on the issue in hopes of countermanding the order, at least until the election. Wall Street Journal 9/21/76

ESION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Bashful Business

Despite Liberal Laws, Most Companies Shun 'Partisan' Politicking

Labor Is as Active as Ever While Many 'Gun-Shy' Firms Prefer Neutrality

A Chiding From Sen. Dole

By DAVID IGNATIUS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH — On Election Day, the United Steelworkers union hopes to have 25,000 volunteers, coordinated by 40 full-time union political operatives, pounding the pavement and dialing phones for Jimmy Carter. The goal is nothing less than to get every registered voter among the union's 1.4 million members and their families to the polls.

U.S. Steel Corp., headquartered across town from the union, could legally conduct a similar, partisan political effort among its 11,000 management employes. But citing continuing "confusion about what you can and can't do" under the new campaign finance law, an unusually reticent U.S. Steel concedes it won't be ringing doorbells for President Ford, Mr. Carter or any other candidates this year.

Such sharp contrast in the political activities of a major union and a giant corporation is turning out to be the rule all across the country these days. COPE, the acronym, given the AFL-CIO's Committee On Political Education, and affiliated union groups are said to be fielding at least 500 full-time organizers, 10,000 telephone callers, 70 million pieces of literature and thousands of other volunteers. Their get-out-the-vote effort alone is expected to cost over $2.5 million.

Staying Non-Partisan

But a Wall Street Journal survey of 25 companies with a history of political activism has turned up only isolated, mostly low-key attempts to mobilize management employes this year through what the campaign law calls "partisan communications." Instead, many companies are sticking to non-partisan efforts, urging, as did U.S. Steel Chairman Edgar B. Speer in a company newsletter, that employes pay attention to what all candidates have to say on "the role of business investment."

This development may prove to be an important factor in next month's elections, where a major obstacle faced by both major parties is apathy among blue and white collar voters alike. It certainly frustrates Republicans who seek business support. Recently, for instance, Sen. Robert Dole, the GOP's vice presidential candidate, chided a group of Lexington, Ky., businessmen for their lack of political activism, telling them, "you're always so non-partisan, you're going to let George Meany take over the country."

Especially disappointed are those business trade groups that had hoped their members would take advantage of liberalized campaign laws. For while labor has worked actively over several decades to raise political funds from union members and has engaged in "partisan communications," parallel rights for companies have been clarified only in the past year. "Business is on the verge of a political renaissance, if only the companies would use the prerogatives that are available to them," says Joseph Fanelli, president of the Business-Industry Political Action Committee, but the problem, he adds, "is whether the will is there."

The Chamber's Role

Indeed, some trade groups have gone to considerable effort to encourage that will. Last month, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce sent 20,000 of its business members a pamphlet entitled "Get Out the Vote for Private Enterprise." The mailing described in detail recent amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act that said companies could use corporate funds for sending partisan political messages to management employes and stockholders, just as unions use dues revenue to support such activities as COPE's vote drives.

Yet many businessmen still "don't understand the system," laments Fred Quigley, vice president of Dow Chemical Co. and chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers' Public Affairs Committee. "They're afraid of a bad press. They're afraid that they will be accused of being illegal or of having undue influence. They're gun-shy."

Even corporate political action committees aren't living up to expectations. Widely touted earlier this year as a bonanza for GOP coffers, these committees supplement "partisan communications" in that they are allowed to spend company money soliciting up to $5 a year per employe; the funds can then be doled out to political aspirants in maximum amounts of $5,000 per candidate.

But by the beginning of last month, the nearly 600 committees formed by businesses and trade associations had contributed only $2.8 million to congressional races. And because the business committees have concentrated mostly on incumbents, over half of their contributions—some $1.5 million—have been received by Democrats. Meanwhile, the 225 committees registered with the Federal Election Commission by labor unions have given $4.1 million.

Winning Favors

The Republicans can't be blamed for not trying to win the favors of the corporate political action committees. In September, for instance, top officials of the Republican National Committee met with about 120 corporate and trade association leaders in four major cities. Their pitch: Business political action groups should focus on key, "marginal" congressional races, where pro-business candidates won or lost by margins of less than five percent in 1974, rather than continue to lavish money on well-entrenched incumbents.

Republican officials say those meetings did produce "some specific commitments" to contribute to Republicans who are challenging Democratic incumbents this fall. Meanwhile, GOP strategists are sketching grand designs for 1977 and 1978, including formation of a national federation of corporate political action committees to rival labor's COPE federation, and an attempt to

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Bashful Business: Most Companies Shun 'Partisan' Politics This Fall

Continued From First Page

persuade the business groups to hire about 50 Republican campaign managers who will be jobless next month.

Right now, however, the only company of the 25 surveyed by this newspaper that comes close to the aggressiveness displayed by labor's COPE is Budd Co., a Troy, Mich.-based diversified supplier to the transportation industry.

This year, Budd introduced a "discretionary bonus" plan for about 30% of its high-level managers that includes a monetary incentive for "involvement in government affairs." In grading this category (there are 11 others), a spokesman says Budd will review participation of personnel in local political campaigns, the number of letters written to Congressmen and other government officials on issues affecting the company and managers' ability to organize in-plant political education committees. Bonuses will average several thousand dollars, the spokesman adds.

The company also has a political action committee, which has raised about $10,000 this year, including about $100 from the company's 28,000 stockholders. But F. D. Fourcain, Budd's director of government affairs, says he tells prospective contributors that "we don't want your $5 unless you're willing to make a commitment and get involved."

Mr. Fourcain estimates that he has spoken informally with about 30 executives who wanted to work in campaigns, and he says about half of them are now spending their evenings ringing doorbells or making speeches, mostly on behalf of Republican candidates. The official is also planning a political "hot line" so that Budd executives can share current political information. And by next year, he expects to have a roster showing the congressional district in which every Budd manager lives.

Although an examination of Federal Election Commission documents found that 41 of Fortune Magazine's top 100 corporations have organized political action committees, at present there are only scattered instances of companies besides Budd that are using their new freedom under the campaign laws. For example, at least three small firms have sent letters to their executives endorsing President Ford. But more typical is Ciba-Geigy Corp., the U.S. arm of a Swiss pharmaceutical and chemical concern. A company division considered sending a Chamber of Commerce leaflet that grades the voting records of Congressmen members to U.S. employes, but decided against the project. The company's attitude, explains a spokesman, is "if in doubt, don't do it."

Coca-Cola Co., meanwhile, is one of the few concerns that has taken advantage of another provision in the new campaign finance law that allows corporate political expenditures when they are made without coordination or consultation with a candidate. Thus, Coca-Cola's political committee was able to pick up a $1,510 tab at New York City's posh "21 Club" for a luncheon attended by Jimmy Carter and 52 business leaders. Although the affair was sufficiently coordinated that Mr. Carter arrived on time, Coca-Cola's expenses were legitimate because the Atlanta-based concern didn't seek Mr. Carter's permission beforehand or co-host the luncheon at the candidate's request.

Would-be business activists could also take a lesson from the 60,000 doctors in the American Medical Association's political committee, AMPAC. In 1974, AMPAC doctors in Kansas supported Sen. Dole in a close Senate race against a liberal physician, Dr. William Roy, by placing pictures of the Senator in their offices and distributing campaign literature in waiting rooms, among other things. AMPAC hopes similar "success stories" will be repeated this year.

And then there are the accountants. Responding to convention-time complaints from Jimmy Carter's aides that the campaign finance laws are so complicated that campaign managers need an accountant in every city to help keep the books, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants established a "presidential campaign advisers program." Under this program, Democratic accountants are volunteering an average of several hours a week for Mr. Carter in 90 cities, while Republican accountants are doing similar service for President Ford's campaign in 75 cities.

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Is Meany Political?

George Meany has been yelling at CBS for turning down a paid "non-partisan" radio broadcast by Mr. Meany entitled "Your Vote Counts." Since Mr. Meany has already endorsed Jimmy Carter, CBS took the position that the Meany message was in fact a political broadcast and thus in violation of its policy of selling such time only to the authorized representatives of the candidate.

We sympathize with both sides. Both are making much ado over very little but it is only because they operate under a silly set of laws and guidelines applying to campaign practices and broadcasting. Let us not press our sympathy too far. To some degree labor and the broadcast networks, along with some other powerful forces are responsible for the silliness that regulates what they can and cannot do. Maybe they deserve the consequences.

Mr. Meany's broadcast, which was carried without protest by Mutual and NBC, indeed never once mentioned the name of a candidate. It was almost unctuous in tone—"The right to vote is the most precious of all rights." One would hardly know that it was salty old George Meany at the mike.

But by some mysterious coincidence, Mr. Meany's paragraph describing the "vital issues" to be decided next Tuesday sounded very familiar. Maybe that's because it is pretty much the same paragraph Jimmy Carter is using in his TV blurbs. We're not sure whether Mr. Meany wrote Mr. Carter's copy or Mr. Carter wrote Mr. Meany's lines. Since the cadences sound more like Carter than Meany, we pick Jimmy, but that's just a guess.

And of course Mr. Meany's radio message will be backed up by the biggest campaign effort labor has ever mounted--all on behalf of Mr. Meany's Georgia protege. The union claims to have mobilized some 100,000 volunteers to get out the vote. It is spending over $1 million on political mailings in support of Mr. Carter and in opposition to Mr. Ford. It is operating telephone banks and using its big Univac 9400 computer in Washington to supply names to its campaign workers.

Mr. Meany does indeed want to get out the vote. But it would be very easy to suspect that he only wants to get out the vote for Jimmy Carter and that his radio broadcast was meant to serve that end.

According to CBS, the AFL-CIO at first advised the network that Mr. Meany's broadcast would be a straight pitch for Mr. Carter. Then it changed, rather belatedly, to the non-partisan line. CBS was willing to accept the straight pitch as a paid political broadcast but not the non-partisan line.

We have no inside clues on why the union changed its mind. The original approach seems to us much more honest. Why shouldn't George Meany just admit that he wants to elect Mr. Carter? But then there are things in the campaign practices act that encourage subterfuge. And networks try to walk a tightrope under the FCC's fairness doctrine.

So just for the record, let us clear up a couple of points: George Meany has not turned apolitical and CBS still accepts paid political advertising.

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Labor's Drive for Carter Is Biggest It Has Made in a Presidential Race

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Oct. 24—In the drab, dusty basement of Sidney Hillman Hall, a continuous murmur of overlapping female voices is punctuated by the squeak of telephone push-buttons and the scratch of pencils on green and white computer printouts.

"Mr. Krupa?" Esther Yarbrough asked one of the 20 phones, "I'm calling from the union office. We're taking a poll of voter opinion. What do you think is the biggest problem facing us today? I see, inflation. In the election on Tuesday, Nov. 2, do you think you'll vote for the Democratic candidate, Carter, or the Republican candidate, Ford?"

Possible Key for Carter

A brief pause, then Mrs. Yarbrough said: "Oh, you're going for a change. Well, don't forget to get out and vote. Thank you, goodbye." Then she checked off a vote for Jimmy Carter on the precinct printout and moved down to the name and telephone number of Walter Malaski.

That call was an almost infinitesimal part of the biggest, most expensive, best organized and most sophisticated campaign that organized labor has ever conducted in support of a Presidential candidate.

If it succeeds, most national political authorities agree, Jimmy Carter will be the next President of the United States. If it fails, he very likely will not.

The Democratic national chairman, Robert S. Strauss, says that organized labor's ability to produce votes on Nov. 2 is critically important for Mr. Carter and his running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale. "Labor has to turn out where it is strong," Mr. Strauss declared.

"The labor vote is crucial," Stephen Schlossberg, general counsel of the United Automobile Workers, said. "It includes large numbers of blacks and retired workers and families of union members. The question is whether they'll vote. If they do, the Republicans are finished."

Relations between the Carter campaign and the labor bosses, like those with other elements of the old Democratic coalition, do not appear warm and personal as yet; after all, few of them backed him before his nomination. But political cooperation with labor's hierarchy seems as regular and carefully tended as the

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new campaign law and vestigial antagonisms will allow.

The pro-Carter status of Stanley Krupa, identified by the Cleveland phone-bank worker, was transferred to a computer-produced 3-by-5-inch card already carrying his name and address, which, in turn, was sorted into a small stack for canvassing along East 71st Street on Election Day. Then, some 900 labor volunteers will pay as many as three visits each to the homes of thousands of certifiable Carter voters in Cuyahoga County.

The labor campaign here, as in many other parts of the country, is sharply focused on precincts statistically identified as the most promising: they all have large numbers of union members, a high ratio of registered Democrats and relatively low voting turnouts in the past. Simply increasing the turnout almost automatically increases the Democratic majority.

Union Districts Stressed

The printouts and canvassing cards used here came from the in-house computer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization's Committee on Political Education, on the seventh floor of labor's nerve center two blocks from the White House. Stored there are the names, addresses, wards and precincts of most of the 14.5 million members of the giant labor organization, available for the first time in any national campaign.

Matched with registration, party enrollment and telephone numbers in a painstaking process over the last year, this massive information bank almost certainly represents the most powerful logistical weapon ever available to a Presidential candidate.

For the labor federation, not only the computer but the purpose that it is serving are new. For in 1972, led by an intransigent George Meany, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. withheld the endorsement it traditionally gives Democratic Presidential candidates from Senator George McGovern, and its campaign support was confined to Senate and House candidates.

Centrist labor leaders had backed Senator Hubert H. Humphrey for the nomination, and Mr. Meany, a hawk on the Vietnam issue, was not prepared to align himself with the amateurs, perceived radicals and young people who had managed to engineer the McGovern nomination.

A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders estimate that about half their members, lacking any union directive, voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972. But next week, they say, four out of five who go to the polls will support the Carter-Mondale ticket, reflecting labor's renewed moral and organizational commitment to the Democrats.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the 1976 labor drive is that it comes at a time when the Republican national candidates, for the first time in political history, are limited in the amount of money they can spend on their campaign.

In the past, labor has traditionally invested large amounts of money and manpower into Democratic campaigns, but the Republicans were able to compensate by raising and spending more money. Now, under the new campaign law, both parties are operating under $25 million ceilings for the general election, but the supplementary labor campaign remains completely legal.

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Labor page 2

Exemptions Under the Law

The law specifically exempts from campaign spending limits the cost of "communications by a corporation to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families or by a labor organization to its members and their families on any subject."

With only a week to go in the campaign, few if any corporations have taken advantage of this opportunity to support President Ford and Senator Robert J. Dole with mailings or telephone calls to their stockholders and executives, but labor is pouring millions of dollars and manhours into just such "communications."

At the President Ford Committee in Washington, activity aimed at winning a share of the labor vote has not risen above the perfunctory.

Ned Shreve, who is the one-man People for Ford operation, has distributed more than one million copies of a two-page leaflet showing the President talking with a hard-hat worker and stating that the Administration has reduced the inflation rate, increased total employment, opposes forced busing and favors capital punishment. The word Republican does not appear.

"We've only gotten a couple of labor endorsements," Mr. Shreve said, "but in my travels around the country, I'm not finding any strong feelings for Carter, particularly in the more conservative unions. We're taking the position that Ford has the working man's point of view and should get the working man's vote."

Auto Workers Active

While the A.F.L.-C.I.O. effort is by far the largest, a number of other unions, some inside the federation orbit and others outside, are conducting intensive political drives of their own. The United Automobile Workers, for example, are also operating phone banks in the states in which the bulk of their 1.4 million members are situated.

Leonard Woodcock, the auto workers president, was one of the first labor leaders to endorse Mr. Carter during the primaries, and personal enthusiasm for the Democratic ticket appears to run somewhat higher in this union than in some others.

The U.A.W. makes considerable use of many of its 250,000 retired members as campaign workers in the canvassing and telephone programs. They have continuing stake in the union, which bargains for higher pension benefits for those already retired, and they also have plenty of free time to volunteer.

The National Education Association, with its 1.8 million teacher members becoming more politically active, endorsed the Carter-Mondale ticket last month, the first time the organization has endorsed a ticket in a national election. The move was made by the group's 8,000-member Representative Assembly, which voted more than 80 percent for the Democratic candidates.

Breaking new ground for labor political activity, the N.E.A. conducted videotaped interviews with President Ford and Mr. Carter on education issues and then spliced their contrasting replies together into a film that has been circulated to all their state organizations.

Direct Mail for Teachers

Teachers present different sorts of campaign problems than do trade union members, according to Vaughn Baker, political organizer for the N.E.A. She said, for example, that direct mail was very effective because the teachers read more of what they receive than do other voters.

Another union developing into a political force, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, is conducting a separate computer-generated campaign operation, similar to the COPE project, among its 750,000 members, with telephone calls first identifying registered Carter voters and then prodding them on Election Day.

Generally, under the new campaign law, union political activity must be self-generating. If, for example, a union reprinted and circulated generally an official piece of Carter-Mondale literature, the act would constitute an illegal private contribution to the Democratic candidates.

Under last January's Supreme Court ruling, any person or group can spend any amount of money to support a candidate, as long as the effort is "independent" of his regular campaign and completely uncoordinated. Some unions have tried to go the independent route while others have shied away.

Al Zack, information director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., said the federation had not produced any billboards, buttons or bumper stickers on behalf of the Carter-Mondale ticket to avoid any possibility of making an illegal contribution.

The labor organizing effort has apparently reinforced a party registration drive that Mr. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, calls "the most successful ever made in American politics." While the unions were conducting parallel efforts, the national committee spent $1.7 million registering some three million new voters in 14 major states, more than twice its goal for the project.

Both party and union leaders caution, however, that registration drive figures are almost always higher than actual net gains, because large numbers of names are purged from the voting rolls periodically in many states and registration sometimes only reflects voters who have moved to new districts.

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The New York Times/Larry Rubenstein

Labor volunteers at the Sidney Hillman Hall in Cleveland asking prospective voters about Presidential candidates.

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NEWSFOCUS Mood of Workers on Organized Labor's Political Stance

By Lyle Denniston

Washington Star Staff Writer

BROOK PARK, Ohio — A bitter wind drives the columns of smoke horizontally from the stacks at Ford Motor's huge "foundry" — the Cleveland Casting Plant — and sleet makes the workers scurry into the union hall across the road.

They are coming to pick up the last of their strike checks, now that the United Auto Workers and Ford have settled.

All shifts are back at work at the foundry and the two engine plants next to it. But the mood at UAW's huge Local 1250 is still as gray as the day outside.

Nearly 11,000 men and women who wear the blue windbreakers of Local 1250 have been out of work for five weeks, and most thought they got a raw deal in the new contract. They voted strongly — but futilely — to turn it down.

Family budgets have grown very tight. A $2 meal ticket for the day is welcome to a member like Marlene Pierce, who has been helping keep the lists of those who are due checks.

While the strike was on, Pierce used some of her own time to help the local's "CAP Committee" (Community Action Program) sign up members as voters. She is not very pleased with the results (a total of 974 members registered).

Unions determined to prove influence

"I WOULD SAY the registration was very poor," she says. "Many of the people I talked to said they didn't want to register because it would mean they would get jury duty."

A quiet person, speaking so softly she can hardly be heard, Pierce has no doubt of her own political interest, and intentions. "I wouldn't vote Republican," she says.

Asked if her inclinations were shaped at all by the UAW's endorsement of Jimmy Carter for president, Pierce is blunt: "I would've went for Carter whether the union recommended him or not. If I make up my mind to vote some way, no one's gonna change it."

At the next table, Bill Cameron leans determinedly on his elbows, and insists that he, too, is making an independent choice. "This year, I'm going right back Republican. My general attitude is it doesn't matter who the international or the local endorses. You're supposed to be free to vote."

Cameron seems most eager to talk about the union contract. He thinks it wasn't much at all, and he blames Leonard Woodcock, the UAW president. Woodcock's early endorsement of Carter figures in this.

"We didn't like the endorsement hitting the papers before the contract was negotiated. If Carter wins, Woodcock's got a post at the White House, so what the hell does he care about us?"

Cameron resents being told so much about Carter in the union paper, he says.

THE MOOD IS BETTER a hundred miles down the Interstate, in the lunchroom at a Continental Can factory in Worthington, a Columbus surburb. But there, too, talk of politics brings out the firm claim that the union doesn't call the shots on how the workers will vote.

Fred Tomplin, in fact, is willing to go fairly far with that idea. "Take Ohio as a whole, the unions and such, I don't think they have an influence really."

At the same table, Bill Truman crosses his arms on top of his black lunchbox, and suggests that their union — the Steelworkers — hasn't been doing much.

"As far as membership contact goes, I don't think there's been much." Asked what he would expect, he says: "Contact here in the plant — if they really wanted to push."

See LABOR, A-8

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LABOR

Continued From A-1

Across the table, Arthur Townsend adds an echo. "I've seen their literature. So far as actually pushing, I haven't seen that."

Behind him, his brother Paul — "We're completely different; I'm a Republican" — says the union representatives have been talking up Carter a little at the union meetings.

Tomplin, lighting up a Vantage, notes that "We get a little political shot at every meeting. (Steelworkers President) I.W. Abel's made it quite clear who he's backing."

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT to Jimmy Carter to know what the nation's workers are feeling politically this year. That may be especially true of workers in Ohio — a state that Carter badly wants to convert from its recent habits of voting Republican. He can't do it without a lot of labor votes.

What seems evident is that there is some apathy among Ohio's blue-collar voters caused by a fair amount of economic insecurity, but that there is also a spreading awareness that Carter is labor's man and that something is being done to make the case for him.

The almost-routine assurance that a worker will vote as he pleases anyway does not deny the fact that they know that they are being propagandized. If that makes a lot of them think politics, then a lot of them will vote. And it is an axiom that a lot who do vote will vote Democratic.

It is the same across the country.

Organized labor is back into presidential politics, and it seems determined to prove that its influence will count.

After staying out of the 1972 race, because the AFL-CIO's leadership would not endorse George McGovern, the federation unions are making what they insist is as strong an effort for Carter as they ever made for their old favorite, Hubert Humphrey.

"When you get the endorsement of the AFL-CIO, everything is different," says Robert Keefe, a labor politics expert and now a top Democratic National Committee staff member. "A lot of things happen — and by direction, rather than persuasion."

Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, says: "This is by far the biggest effort we've made. We've got complete unity. I don't know of a single union, on any level, that is for the Ford candidacy."

Every two weeks, AFL-CIO President George Meany meets with a special steering committee of union leaders to keep their interest up and to test what specific efforts they are making.

COPE itself and major unions will be distributing between 75 and 80 million pieces of pro Carter literature to the federation's 14 million members.

Barkan's own effort to get unions to make political use of computer lists of all members' names, addresses and telephone numbers is beginning to work. That has been especially important this year, according to Barkan, in getting union members registered. There will be a 5 to 10 percent increase in labor registration, he predicts.

For most of the past month, activity by COPE, by the independent Auto Workers union, and by AFL-CIO member unions has stressed get-out-the-vote drives.

LABOR, OF COURSE, was somewhat slow in coming to the Carter campaign. Meany held back COPE during the primaries. And there apparently was some mutual sensitivity after Carter got the nomination.

But then the endorsement came, and relations got better. Barkan got acquainted with top Carter political advisers when they visited him in his room at Sibley Hospital, while he was recovering from surgery.

He assigned COPE's research director, Mary Zon, to Carter headquarters in Atlanta, where she now works two days a week on her COPE salary and three days a week on pay by the Carter campaign. Keefe is a contact man at Democratic headquarters.

Much of labor's political energy this year comes, of course, from deep-seated feelings of hostility toward President Ford. But it is also quite apparent that many labor leaders are reacting in part to suggestions that the AFL-CIO can't really perform politically anymore.

ALMOST SPITTING with resentment, Barkan denounces an idea that he says he is being "pounded" with, that "the more progressive unions have supplanted the AFL-CIO" in politics.

Pennsylvania comes into the conversation quite easily, because much of the criticism of labor's ability to make a political difference is based upon what the critics believed they saw in this year's presidential primary campaign in that state.

Sen. Henry Jackson, who had the only conspicuous backing of labor leaders in that state, was beaten by Carter. But Barkan and Keefe, among others, say it is "a bum rap" to blame that on labor.

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CARTER vs. FORD

A Promise of Progress

vs.

A Record of Recession

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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WHERE THEY STAND

Carter — JOBS — Ford

Carter says, "Our country's single most important priority must be a job for every American who wants to work. Every person has a right to a decent job."

"I am committed to the goal of full employment, and I am dedicated to positive programs to achieve that goal."

He supports basic goals of labor-backed proposals on unemployment and asserts joblessness can be cut substantially "without reviving double-digit inflation," thus challenging the Ford assumption that substantial government investment in reducing unemployment will cause higher inflation.

Carter hopes "the private sector can produce enough decent jobs for all." When it can not, he says, federal programs should be triggered to "provide funds for useful and productive public employment" in the cities and neighborhoods of the jobless.

He attacks those whose policies created unemployment and who would go slow in reducing it, saying, "When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job."

Under President Ford, unemployment soared to the highest levels since the 1930s—seven, eight, nine percent, according to "official" figures. But in real figures, which include millions of part-time workers and others so discouraged they've given up looking, joblessness has been 10-14 percent. In the construction trades, it has hit more than 20 percent, over 50 percent in some areas.

Yet, Ford vetoed four proposals that would have created 2.25 million jobs directly and potentially 1½ million spin-off jobs. He claims job-creating programs are "inflationary" and the country can't afford them. But the contrary is true.

For every one percent the unemployment rate can be cut, more than $16 billion in federal tax revenues will be generated and approximately $2.5 billion saved in unemployment compensation and related benefits for jobless Americans, reducing inflationary pressures, even leading toward a more balanced budget.

President Ford has made a decision to fight inflation by permitting continued high unemployment. As a result, we have both.

★ ★ ★ **INFLATION** ★ ★ ★

Carter contends one of the most effective weapons against sharply-rising living costs is jobs, says "our first task" in fighting inflation "must be to reduce unemployment." He points out "every one percent we can cut from the unemployment level will produce about $16 billion in federal revenues and will help forestall the kind of budget deficits that feed inflation."

"We will never end the inflationary spiral, and we'll never have a balanced budget," he says, "as long as we have 8 or 9 million Americans who are looking for jobs, plus another 2-3 million people who have given up hope."

He deplores monetary restrictions and high interest rates as anti-inflation weapons and calls for "increased attention to the supply side of our economy" and for "strict enforcement of anti-trust and consumer protection legislation."

At the cost of intolerably high unemployment, President Ford has reduced somewhat the double-digit inflation of the Nixon years.

But the cost of living has still soared by more than 14 percent since he took office. It still erases workers' wage increases. Indeed, Nixon-Ford inflation actually has put American workers behind their 1965 level in real spendable earnings—what they can buy with what they take home.

The Administration has proudly trumpeted the reduction in the rate of living cost increase. But it only looks good in comparison to the 10-12 percent inflation that preceded it. Certainly, when we have seven to eight percent inflation, no one can suggest the problem has been cured.

And the modest cut in the inflation rate has come at the highest of costs, joblessness for millions of workers.

The Vice-Presidential Candidates

From official scorecard of the AFL-CIO, the voting records of the respective Vice-Presidential candidates:

SEN. WALTER MONDALE (D)	SEN. ROBERT DOLE (R)
108 "right" votes	15 "right" votes
8 "wrong" votes	71 "wrong" votes

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ON THE KEY ISSUES

Carter — TAX JUSTICE — Ford

Carter calls for a "complete overhaul" and simplification of the tax system that would "lower taxes on middle income and low income families," and would discourage tax breaks for corporations that run overseas "while people who want work are begging for jobs back home."

He lashes the loophole-ridden tax laws that let "the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage-earner" and points out, "The average family earning $10,000 a year pays a higher proportion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of $1 million or more" and that "some of our largest corporations with extremely high profits pay no tax at all," because of loopholes. "There are not any hidden tax loopholes for people who draw a paycheck, but a lot of loopholes for people who are rich."

Carter says, "All my life, I have heard promises of tax reform, but it never quite happens. We are going to make it happen."

In two instances, President Ford has clearly demonstrated that "tax justice" is a phrase foreign to his vocabulary.

In late 1975, he proposed a tax program that would have cost families with incomes of $5,000 a year or less as much as $400 per year per family in additional taxes.

The same proposals called for actual tax cuts for others, but his plan rewarded the highest earners with the highest cuts. The AFL-CIO argued that the highest tax cuts should go to the lowest-paid.

In addition, Ford in December 1975 vetoed action by Congress that would extend anti-recession tax cuts for individuals.

In other tax areas, Ford says little about closing the loopholes for big corporations and wealthy individuals which cost the Federal Treasury billions of dollars. Indeed, he proposes new tax breaks for most of them. Ford's idea in brief: Soak the poor and the worker, relieve the rich and the corporations.

★ ★ ★ **HEALTH CARE** ★ ★ ★

Carter calls for "a nationwide, comprehensive health program for all our people." Too often, he says, "serious illness means financial ruin for a family, and too often a limited income means limited access to quality medical care."

He also urges "reform of health delivery service" and demands America have "quality health care available to all our citizens on a regular basis" under a "workable, efficient and fair system of health care," a system that would provide needed preventive medicine.

President Ford rejects a national health insurance plan that would protect all Americans. His major proposal has been for a "catastrophic illness" plan for the elderly only.

This plan actually is a step backward for seniors in health care. Only one out of 300 elderly persons hospitalized under medicare would qualify for any payments under the Ford plan. Meanwhile, for all seniors it would add up to $70 more a year in cost of medicare coverage and would more than double their out-of-pocket medical costs.

★ ★ ★ **WORKERS' RIGHTS** ★ ★ ★

14 (b) repeal—Carter says he favors repeal of 14 (b), which permits state open shop laws, and would sign a repealer if Congress enacts it.

Situs Picketing—Carter says, "As President, I would have signed the common situs (equal picketing rights for construction workers) bill that Ford vetoed."

Job safety—Carter says, "I will vigorously enforce laws protecting the safety of workers on the job. We must guarantee to every working man and woman a clean, safe place to work."

14 (b) repeal—As a member of U.S. House, Ford voted "wrong" on three key votes on 14 (b) repeal. Has said "my attitude today is precisely the same," meaning he'd veto a repealer.

Situs Picketing—Ford promised building trades unions more than once he'd sign equal picketing rights for construction workers if Congress passed it. Congress did. Ford reneged on his promise, caved in to industry pressure, vetoed the bill.

Job safety—Ford has supported constant efforts by conservatives to weaken Job Safety law.

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SUMMARY

The positions of the candidates on major issues show clearly which of the two would better represent the interests, needs and concerns of working people.

The issues are crystal clear: We have to get America back to work. We have to achieve full employment. We have to end intolerably high inflation. We have to win tax justice. We have to make it possible for all Americans to get the best health care possible.

We have to restore the people's trust and faith in their government, its institutions and its leaders.

We have to get the nation moving forward again.

The record shows President Ford has no program to achieve these goals. Jimmy Carter has. That is why the AFL-CIO has endorsed Jimmy Carter for President.

Vote CARTER and MONDALE

For President and Vice President

NOVEMBER 2

ENDORSED BY AFL-CIO

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George Meany, *Chairman* Lane Kirkland, *Sec.-Treas.*

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