

# Industrial Worker

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25 CENTS

## Carter Enjoins Rock Island Strike

Since the following article was completed, President Carter (on September 20th) ordered striking members of the Railway Clerks and the United Transportation Union back to work for at least 60 days. The President said that the inability of the Rock Island Railroad to move grain already had begun to glut storage areas, and constituted a national emergency. Earlier the line had said it hoped to operate at least some key grain lines with supervisory employees despite the strike.

During the 60-day cooling-off period, a Presidentially appointed federal mediator will engage in fact finding and attempt to get the parties to resolve the dispute. If a settlement is not reached within the 60 days, the unions would be free to resume the strike—at least in theory.

This marks the first time Jimmy Carter has exercised Presidential power to intervene directly in a labor dispute. His act comes at a time when he is desperately trying to salvage labor support for his re-election. What role his mediator plays in settling the strike against the bankrupt railroad may have considerable effect on whether he will be able to maintain any labor support at all. If the mediator recommends scrapping most or all of the union's demanded retroactive pay increases either to stay within the Administration's pay guidelines or because of the road's precarious finances, it could prove the excuse many labor leaders have been looking for to break with the Administration and bolt to Senator Edward Kennedy.

Meanwhile, the railroad took the opportunity provided by the back-to-work order to put the bite on the Government for an \$80 million infusion of cash. Rock Island officials claim the money would be necessary to start the railroad back in operation. The company announced plans to ask a federal bankruptcy judge for the funds, hinting that without the money, they simply would not resume operations.

Since the Second World War, it has been no secret that many US railroads have been bled dry of operating capital while roadbeds, rolling stock, and service have been going to pot. Profits generated by the roads have been drained off and invested in real estate, banks, and a thousand other schemes instead of being re-invested in the railroads. As a result, major lines are now in federal bankruptcy court or nearing collapse.

Now these roads, or the federal conservators appointed to supervise them, are trying to meet their self-created

financial crises by further cutting service and containing labor costs through layoffs and stingy contracts.

### UP INJUNCTION

Even prosperous lines like the Union Pacific are taking part in this latest assault on union rail workers. The UP, like the Santa Fe and other carriers fortunate enough to have the long, profitable, western transcontinental route, has done well in recent years, but has nevertheless maintained its campaign against its employees.

Smoldering resentment broke out in mid-August when 6,000 members of the United Transportation Union (UTU), including conductors, brakemen, yard workers, and firemen, struck the line for hiring conductors off the streets instead of allowing for brakemen to bid up into the job.

The railroad went to court in Omaha, Salt Lake City, and Portland to obtain injunctions stopping the strike on the ground that it was a wildcat. In fact the dispute had been smoldering for some time, and the workers were authorized to strike over contract violations by the UTU national office months ago.

Typically, judges in all three cities issued 10-day temporary restraining orders; but not before most of the road's 27,000 workers walked off in support of the UTU.

The railroads are asking that the injunction be made permanent and that the judges order mediation of the issue. At this writing, talks on the issue remain suspended, with workers on the job.

### ROCK ISLAND STRIKE A LONG ONE

More typical of the problems facing railroad workers is the strike against the bankrupt Rock Island Railroad. 1700 members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (BRAC) struck the line August 28th over the issue of a retroactive pay boost. They were joined two days later by 2500 members of the UTU, also demanding retroactive pay increases.

Both unions had been working for months under an expired contract. Both had generally come to terms with the road on new packages, but insisted they should be retroactive to the expiration date of the old contracts. The line's bankruptcy trustees maintained that they could not afford the back pay. The railroad had earlier signed

contracts with 14 other unions, mostly shop craft organizations, without retroactivity.

Despite the strike, the railroad was able to maintain some of its service by using supervisors as train crews and clericals, and by diverting Rock Island traffic to parallel roads. Twice the unions threw up picket lines against other railroads for aiding the Rock Island by taking its consigned freight. Picket lines were set up one day each against the Missouri Pacific and the Milwaukee Road, disrupting service on those lines.

The strike is expected to be a long one. The railroad, which has a severe cash-shortage problem, could profit by saving on its 15-million-dollar monthly payroll. If the Rock Island can operate its profitable grain trains with supervisory personnel, the strike could be a major wind-fall.

The fact that a prolonged work stoppage could benefit the company financially is probably the reason why the Carter Administration has decided not to order the workers back on the job.

### OTHER RAILROADS IN TROUBLE

The Rock Island is not the only line under federal trusteeship. The Milwaukee Road, a major Midwest carrier, is threatening to cease operations entirely if a federal judge does not allow it to abandon service on 6400 miles of track in the Midwest and west of Miles City, Montana.

Former Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie, the railroad's bankruptcy trustee, claims the line needs between \$40 million and \$50 million to operate through the end of the year. He projected a loss of \$138 million this year, despite nearly \$80 million in federal aid.

Meanwhile, the Chessie System, which is still solvent, announced the layoff of hundreds of railway clerks. In Baltimore alone 250 workers were placed on indefinite furlough. The railroad refused to release figures on layoffs in other areas. The railroad blamed the deteriorating US economy for the move. Other lines are expected to follow suit.

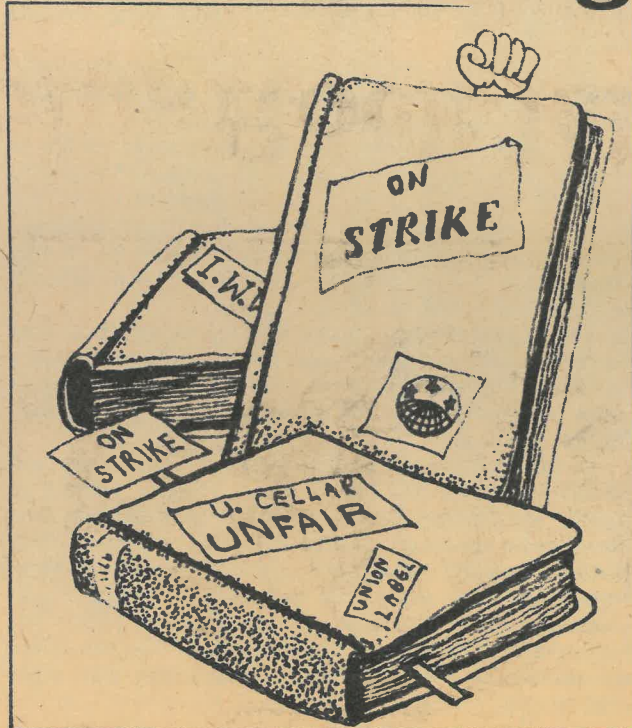
So as the need for an effective modern rail system grows daily, what we have left of the once great US rail system continues to fall apart daily. And it will continue to do so as long as the decisions about transportation in this country are not made by the workers themselves.

## Tentative Pact at UCellar But Management Waffles

Employees at the University Cellar in Ann Arbor returned to work August 17th after a two-and-a-half-day strike. A vote to return to work was taken on the morning of the 17th. A majority of the employees voted to go back to work after the negotiating committee had reported that six out of eight contract items that were strikeable issues had been agreed on. The two items yet to be negotiated were the agency shop and the economics package. At a marathon negotiating session on August 22nd, all items left on the agenda were discussed, language changes were agreed to, and negotiations ended. The union ratified the contract on Labor Day.

As of today (September 20th) management has not yet met to ratify the contract. At a Board of Directors meeting on September 10th a quorum failed to show up. A straw poll was taken of the members who had shown up on the agency-shop issue, and a majority of the Board members voted it down. At another Board meeting on the 17th, the Board refused to discuss the agency-shop issue, and would only pass a grandfather clause which would collect agency fees from new employees starting after September 2nd, the retroactive date of the contract.

In the meantime, the union has met and decided to issue some directives to management and the Board in the form of a timetable. Possible stalling and disagreement over the agency-shop issue may prompt the union to con-



sider taking a strike-authorization vote if management fails to get a quorum. Many union members believe that management is still playing games, and wants to delay ratification as long as possible.

The strike in August was very successful. Union members closed the store down. A prolonged strike would undoubtedly have destroyed the store. The union members were conscious of the power they had, and went back to work in good faith that management would continue to negotiate seriously and a contract would soon result. With the realization that striking had proved to be its most powerful weapon in the past, the union feels that it might have to use that weapon again to once again be taken seriously.

Union activity in the store has slowed down a bit, but upon ratification of the contract it's expected that the shop will become active again. Joint union-management committees set up to implement an alternative structure should generate enthusiasm and a willingness to participate in the new structure that the union has fought for over the last nine months. Anyone interested in getting a copy of the contract can send \$2.50 to cover postage and copying to FW Berg or Pestalozzi at 715 West Madison, Apartment 6, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103.

# Convention Charts IWW Course

Riding on the heels of an outstanding strike victory at the University Cellar in Ann Arbor, Michigan, spirits were high as IWW members met in Chicago for their 38th general convention, held September 1st and 2nd.

Delegates from all parts of the US and Canada worked together during the weekend to reach consensus on many issues and pass a number of resolutions on job organizing, *Industrial Worker* format, finances, labor struggles around the world, and the draft.

General Secretary-Treasurer Michael Hargis brought the meeting to order, and Penny Pixler was elected chairperson. Susan Fabrick served as recording secretary.

Area reports came from Boston, St. Paul, the University Cellar job branch and the Wordprocessors' organizing drive in Ann Arbor, and the Ann Arbor-Detroit General Membership Branch.

Also reporting were Albuquerque, Chicago, Houston, New York, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma.

The convention broke up into committees which dealt with Job Organizing, the *Industrial Worker*, Education, Graphics and Literature, Finances, Resolutions, the General Defense Committee, and Branch Structure and Function.

The Job Organizing Committee proposed a formal structure for the Industrial Organizing Committee, which has been acting effectively over the last year as an ad-hoc committee. The proposal, which included a full set of by-laws, was designed to make the IOC more available to those members interested in organizing and to provide more accountability to the organization. The proposal passed on the convention floor, and will be included in the fall referendum as an addition to the constitution.

The Industrial Worker Committee presented resolutions calling for a correspondence secretary for the editorial collective, free six-month trial subscriptions to mailing lists of local rank-and-file union caucuses and community organizations, and the return of the words Education, Organization, and Emancipation around the three stars on the flag of the paper.

Ideas on education included expansion of activity on the paper on the part of the membership as a whole, contacting local community-oriented radio shows, taking advantage of labor films and labor-education courses, and setting up labor-study groups.

It was recommended by the graphics committee that all English literature also be produced in Spanish, and that members write informational leaflets dealing with IWW-related issues. A graphics committee has been working together since the 1978 convention, with ideas for posters, silent agitators, a graphics library, and an IWW comic book; but they need money to operate. Donations should be directed to the Graphics Committee c/o Greg McDaniels, 630 East 16th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.



A resolution was passed urging all locals, branches, and groups to hold public educationals in October concerning the life of Joe Hill, and to circulate petitions demanding a belated pardon for Hill.

Resolutions were passed condemning anti-labor repression in Willacy County, Texas against members of the Texas Farm Workers, and asking that such a resolution be sent to the district attorney of Willacy County and the Texas Farm Workers Union.

The convention also passed a resolution on the draft which opposed the re-institution of the draft as a form of involuntary servitude, and provided that the IWW would give material aid through the GDC to those who choose to resist registration and the draft should it be re-instituted.

A resolution concerning finances, asking for a constitutional addition to provide GEB authorization to waive dues payments in the event of a strike or lockout, was passed at the convention and will appear on the fall referendum.

Under new business, the convention decided to send a telegram of international solidarity to the National Committee of the CNT for their convention in October.

Michael Hargis and Michael Walsh were both nominated for the job of General Secretary-Treasurer. Nominees for the General Executive Board were Terry Dennis, Richard deVries, Ingemar Eriksson, Susan Fabrick, Judy Lyn Freeman, Renzo Giromini, Eric Glatz, Elaine Godina, Liz Gotoff, Nancy Kellerman, Steve Kellerman, Carol Mason-Fineburg, Mitchell Miller, Dean Nolan, Mike Parisi, Joe Schaub, Bill Shakalis, Shelby Shapiro, Fred Thompson, Wendell Wettland, and Tim Wong.

The meeting was adjourned with everyone holding hands and singing "Solidarity Forever".



Picket line at Wordprocessors shop in Ann Arbor. Front to rear: Jim Forrester, Fred Chase, Jack Richman, and Mary McNamara. (Photo by Eric Glatz)

## Union Trails Jobs South

For two decades the furniture industry in the US has been abandoning plants and unionized workers in Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York to flee to the warm anti-union climate of the South. The United Furniture Workers of America, based in New York City for nearly 45 years, is transferring its headquarters to Nashville, Tennessee, now a center of furniture manufacturing. AFL-CIO officials hail the move, unprecedented in US labor history, as a milestone for the labor movement. That such a reasonable step as moving a union's headquarters to follow a runaway industry is seen as so earth-shaking shows how stuck in the mud most US unions are.

## Joe Hill Drive Picks Up

Since the preceding issue of this paper, the campaign for exoneration of Joe Hill has gone ahead. The Illinois Labor History Society has led this parade, and after exhausting its run of 10,000 petitions had a new lot run off.


On Labor Day, NBC News (John Chancellor's program) showed these additional petitions coming off the press, and also a brief look at a busy IWW Headquarters where they asked Fred Thompson why this widespread concern for Joe Hill.

A fair article in the *New York Times*, nationally syndicated, was reproduced in many papers. Local papers generated their own stories from interviews.

The IWW gives a fuller answer than it could on TV or through interviews in its new pamphlet, hot off the press, "Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter". Its 32 pages sum up the Hill story—his songwriting, his frameup, his almost legendary place in history—and also present the music for "Casey Jones" and "Pie in the Sky". It sells for a dollar (40% off on orders of ten or more).

The Illinois Labor History Society reports that Pete Seeger and Arlo Guthrie, in a strong spirit of empathy with Joe Hill, have signed the petition and sent in a generous donation toward the Society's expenses in circulating the petition.

In Chicago Joe Hill's 100th birthday anniversary will be celebrated by the Illinois Labor History Society at North Park College, Foster and Kedzie, with singers Chris Farrel (who appeared on that same NBC program), Fred Holstein (proudly a Wob), and Teamster singer Larry Penn from Milwaukee, along with the chalk artistry of Peggy Lipschutz and Bill Adelman's Joe Hill slide show. The festivities will begin at 3 pm on October 7th, the 100th anniversary of Joe Hill's birth. Other places plan other celebrations.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All One Union One Label One Enemy  
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THE FINAL DEADLINE FOR ALL COPY IS  
 THE SECOND THURSDAY OF THE MONTH

General Secretary-Treasurer  
 Michael Hargis

# UMWA at Crossroads

## Power Struggle Continues

Going into the December 1979 convention, the United Mine Workers is a union beset with a growing number of problems. Among the issues that are now being and will continue to be debated are the attempt to recall union president Arnold Miller, internal struggles in the International Executive Board (IEB), Miller's drive to consolidate the Western states' districts, and his call for a dues increase.

In March the membership of District Six re-elected Bill Lamb, a recall activist, to the IEB following his expulsion from the Board by Miller. Lamb was involved in the Miners for Recall, a movement begun during the 1977-78 contract strike to oust Miller. On his way to a Board meeting in Washington, Lamb was shot and wounded by unknown assailants. He has since been again denied his seat on the IEB by the union president. This sort of internal power dispute is typical of Miller's intolerance of any perceived challenge to his control of the union. Continuous attempts to effect a recall of Miller, although they have so far proven ineffectual, have met the same sort of response from the union's upper echelon.

A proposal for a dues increase despite the diminishing power of the union at the workplace also reflects Miller's desire for increased personal power. It is interesting to note that as Miller consolidates more power at the expense of union democracy, the union has grown weaker in the coal fields. This is shown to be a continuing trend in Miller's persistent attempts to consolidate the districts in the Western states, where the union is already weak, and organizing efforts could conceivably be hurt by such a merger. It would, however, strengthen Miller's control over those districts. The irony is that the convention will be held in the West, in Denver, far from the UMW strongholds in Illinois and Appalachia. It will be the convention of a union unsure of its direction, and will serve as a terrible advertisement for the union in the unorganized West.

For UMW members it has been a long road to this meeting. They have helped sweep out the old corrupt regime through support for a reform movement, Miners for Democracy. They won, and continued militant local activities. Now Miller, having bargained away the miners' medical program and other critical rights, is growing autocratic and resentful of local autonomy. The membership have seen the reform resolution go sour. They have lasted out more struggles in the last 15 years than any other union in the US, yet this has obviously not been enough.

## UMWA Losing Ground

If the UMW rank and file have persisted in this period, the same cannot be said for non-union members attempting to join. Counting smaller agreements as well as the contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the union represents barely half of US production. The move toward Western coal and strip mining further weakened the UMW's attempts to gain membership. Operators like Consolidation Coal, a division of Continental Oil, can afford to open up non-union mines in the West and pay miners \$125 to \$175 a day. This situation diminishes the threat of the UMW and its tradition of wildcat strikes.

In the East, the mines are sometimes organized into company unions or employee associations, and these workers are finding that their losses relate directly to the UMW's. The Scotia coal mine in Eastern Kentucky has such an association. In its negotiations, the association was told that Scotia Coal would pay 80% of medical and dental expenses. Previously, the company had paid 100% on medical and 80% on dental. It seems that cut-rate deals with the UMW will be followed by similar treatment for scab mines as well. Scotia offered big pay increases and a perfect-attendance bonus every month. These workers also have two extra holidays, March 9th and 10th (the days in 1975 that twin explosions killed 26 men).

Scotia Coal's sister company, the Stearns Mining Company, has beaten the UMW after a 35-month strike. The union agreed to an NLRB election that meant the scabs outnumbered the strikers, and a resultant sympathy wildcat was short-lived. The UMW cut off all strike benefits to the Stearns strikers as well as to miners at Jericol and St. Charles. These other strikers had been trying to win a BCOA-style agreement since December 6th, 1977. While some effort to spread this battle has occurred, this effort has been smothered at district and International levels.

Recent organizing in the coal fields has been an expensive, unsuccessful undertaking. Aggressive tactics such as those seen in the documentary "Harlan County, USA" are rarely suggested by union bureaucrats. In light of this, Miller's proposals for increased organizing are seen by many as a way to build a separate power base. To the extent that this is true, it is unlikely that the UMW will be organizing miners. The recent losses, the unimaginative approach, and the high wages and benefits available in non-union outfits all add up to a zero-growth UMW.

## Discontent Remains in the Ranks

Since the 1977-78 contract strike, the frequency and size of wildcat strikes has dropped drastically, leading the bourgeois press to speak of improved labor relations in the coal fields. The effect of a long and bitter contract strike has of course been more of a factor in the diminishing number of wildcats than any new and sudden reconciliation of company and worker. But the lull in worker resistance (not as peaceful as portrayed, since many incidents go unreported) is not entirely explained in terms of the contract strike. At this time there have been many layoffs in Appalachia due to a decreased market for coal. The possibility of future layoffs, coupled with those that have already taken place, has had a dampening effect on spontaneous worker militancy. Even absenteeism, a traditional recourse of miners, has been effected somewhat by the tightening economic situation, though it remains a better indicator of worker dissatisfaction than the drop in strikes.

Directly after the contract strike, a situation developed in which workers were not provoked as much as is usual in the coal fields, and for a while it seemed as if relations were improving. This has proven to be temporary if not totally illusory, however, as companies begin to take the hard line characteristic of work relations in the coal industry.

No group currently embodies the continuing discontent of the miners. The Right to Strike Committee, which

once had a good deal of credibility in the coal fields, no longer has an influence on the ongoing struggle in the mines. This is due partly to red-baiting tactics that have been aimed at all persons and groups seen as threats to Miller's authority; but also the Committee's failure to maintain close attention to the rank and file and its growing attempt to "lead" the struggle have isolated it and rendered it insignificant.

## New Tactics Needed

What has become obvious is that new tactics and forms of organization must develop if the struggle is to progress beyond its present stage. A recent event illustrates the need to get beyond this impasse. In what was the largest wildcat strike since the contract, a total of 2,000 miners walked out in Northern West Virginia in the early part of August. The strike began in a non-union mine which has been the site of an organizing drive frustrated by the legal delaying tactics of the company, Keister Coal of Barbour County. In the Belington Keister strip mine, an NLRB election ended with a tie vote and three contested ballots. After the election, but prior to any settlement, a few pro-union workers were laid off. Anti-union replacements were found shortly after this incident. On August 1st, one of the laid-off men and his family set up picket lines at Keister. Within a week 2,000 miners had walked off in sympathy with their fellow workers. The union's district officials scammed around trying to end the wildcat. A judge issued an injunction against pickets by name at a Consolidation mine where miners had walked out in sympathy, and Keister sued the district for damages. After about ten days the strike played out with no immediate results.

This event not only indicates continued discontent at the workplace, but also is singularly significant in having as its origin a non-union mine. Workers, whether union or not, are capable of perceiving their common interests and taking their own initiative in struggling against the companies.

If the mine workers' union is to survive as an effective organization in the coal industry, it must regroup and organize more workers. Concretely, this means at the very least a decentralization of the organizing apparatus, which would increase both efficiency and democracy within the union. At this point, the only possibility of survival for the union implies a radical democratization. Bill Cleaver, in the important pamphlet "Four-Way Tie For Last", has suggested that union locals "adopt" a non-union mine to assist in its organization.

The development of community-based solidarity with the union rank and file and non-union miners would be a natural basis for a class-conscious struggle capable of going beyond the limitations of bureaucratic business unionism. It would also redirect energies now being wasted in a struggle between the Miller and Boyle-oriented power groups over the control of the International, since neither machine would be capable of manipulating activities directly in the hands of the rank and file.

"Four-Way Tie For Last" is available from Bill Cleaver, Box 170, Doolin Route, New Martinsville, West Virginia 26155, USA.

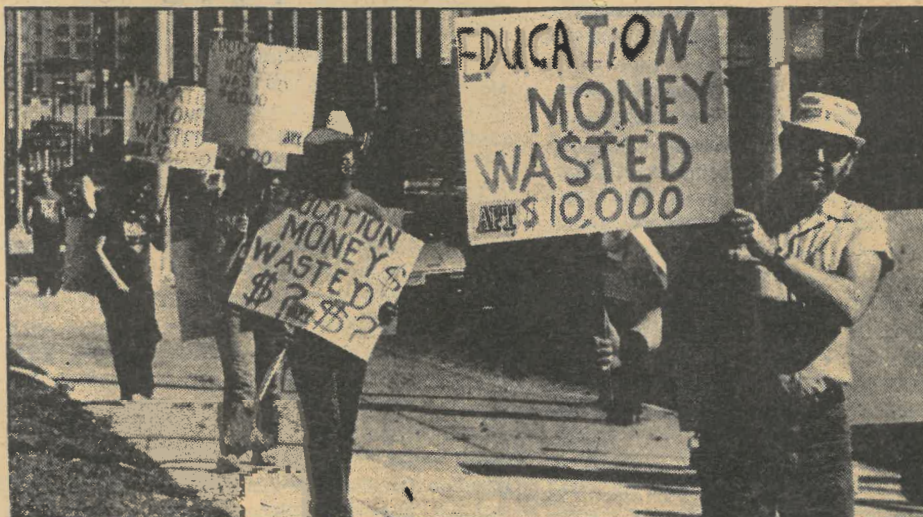
# Teachers Hit Bricks Again

Teachers throughout the US struck for higher pay in September. Over 40,000 teachers in twelve states were out toward the end of the month, affecting nearly one million students.

The big issue this year is wages. Inflation has sapped the buying power of teachers' wages every bit as much as those of other workers, and they were demanding wage boosts and cost-of-living clauses. School boards, of course, are claiming poverty as penny-pinching governments take the ax to social-service spending, including education. This, however, did not prevent the Superintendent of Schools for Chicago from raising his pay by \$26,500, bringing it up to a cool \$82,500 a year. Teachers, on the other hand, are professionals who are in the business for the sheer pleasure of serving and teaching children. Sure they are! If things get too tough, they can always eat their books.

While pay has been the major issue in this year's round of teacher strikes, other issues involve traditional concerns such as class size and more freedom to handle the job according to the needs and abilities of the students.

The reaction of local school boards was predictable. Striking teachers were vilified as heartless and greedy people depriving children of an education. In one Chicago suburb the entire teaching staff were threatened with firing if they did not return to work. They refused. Scabs have been brought in in several cases, at wages two and three times those normally paid to substitutes. It was also clear that fewer novice teachers were being hired to scab. The scabs for the most part were the same people who scabbed during the last strike. Teachers are learning that



it doesn't pay to be nice to scabs, even after the strike is over. Scabs at Niles Township, a Chicago suburb, were told to meet at a shopping center whence they would be bussed to school together. They were greeted by pickets. There is no place to hide.

No matter how this wave of teacher strikes turns out, it is clear that there will be more in the future. Economic woes will continue to plague school boards as government spending for education is cut in favor of "defense". The teachers' living standards will be under attack along with those of the rest of the working class, and they will be

forced to defend themselves like the rest of us. The last aura of "professionalism" may be chipped away by this process, revealing to teachers, and other workers as well, that they are simply wage slaves. Perhaps when this happens we can do something about the endless cycle of strikes by eliminating the economic system that causes them.

M. H.

# Transportation: A People's Policy

If you were alive in 1900, and someone were to tell you that in sixty years people would be going to work in large "carriages" weighing upwards of three tons, lining them up six abreast and going slower than a horse, even though these "carriages" had engines with the power of hundreds of horses, you would dismiss this prophet as a nut. After all, you could see fast trains and trolleys in most cities, and more being built every day. Yet here he is, right as rain. Consider the following:

(1) \$46 billion was spent last year on the automobile in the United States.

(2) 25% of the average income of Americans goes for auto-related expenses.

(3) Rail transportation, the most fuel-efficient form, is being attacked by the very administration which considers the energy problem "the moral equivalent of war".

## The Origins of Auto Slavery

The automobile and its production were fast moving toward their present position in American life before World War II. It was already an energy, material, and labor-intensive industry allowing for disposal of great amounts of capital. Heavy advertising of the auto as a status symbol and a ticket to freedom, and production of more easily affordable models, made rich men out of people like Henry Ford. This industry also promoted a great lobby to encourage the building of highways at public expense.

After the War, industry strategy changed. Reliance upon the lobby and Madison Avenue was not enough. The industry set out to make the automobile not a luxury, but a necessity.

To aid in this process, General Motors and Standard Oil of California set up a company named National City Lines for the purpose of buying up streetcar and inter-urban electric lines around the US. They started in Los Angeles in 1938 to dismantle the 1,000-mile Pacific Electric Lines. Their strategy was to buy the transit lines, then privately owned; tear out the tracks; and replace the trolleys with (what else?) GM busses. Later they tried to discontinue the bus service, and the cities (45 of them including Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis) would be forced either to buy up the systems or to go without.

In April of 1949 GM was convicted along with Standard of California and Firestone Tire of conspiracy to monopolize transit lines and replace electric systems with GM diesel-powered busses. They were fined \$5,000. The court also convicted H. C. Grossman, treasurer of GM and a director of the LA operation, and fined him one dollar!

Thus the conversion to an automobile-dependent society was in full swing. The coming generation was the generation of the shopping center, the expressway, and the two-car family.

Consider the absurdity of those things. Think of the shopping center and its supermarkets and stores. Think of the vastness of its most important feature: its parking lots. Think of the land used for nothing more than a temporary resting place for cars.

Next, the expressways. They are everywhere. But they are nowhere else as absurd as in Southern California, and nowhere else as exposed for their insanity as Chicago, where they have rapid-transit lines running down the center dividers. This last system shows that people can be more speedily transported without the automobile. The right of way for these trains is no greater than about 25 feet, or one lane for cars. The roadway is six to ten times as wide, and required huge sums of money to acquire. It also displaced a good many people from their homes.

The roadway needs to be repaired more often and is more susceptible to seasonal weather damage (like pavement buckling) than the rail system. The average life span of a rail tie is thirty years, and a rail can last ninety. Not that this would be true on a well-used line, but you get the idea.

Then consider the two- and three-car households necessary in today's society. Think of the thousands of dollars wrapped up in a couple of cars. You can't go anywhere without thousands of dollars worth of steel, plastic, rubber, and volatile liquid around you. Your kids can't walk or bicycle anymore safely. Have you taken a look at your air lately?

If that same prophet we talked about earlier were to tell you that the Government would build a vast highway system and that trucks getting about five miles to the gallon would be hauling cross-country freight instead of steam-diesel or electric-powered railroad trains, you'd be sure this guy was a lunatic. But again, the facts speak for themselves.

The greatest absurdity of the last trucking strike is that the strike could have so much influence. By that I mean: What's all this stuff doing going by truck anyway? Could it be our friends the highway lobbyists? Tax-built highways as opposed to tax-paying rail lines?

GM did not limit its influence to just highway transportation. When steam engines were on the wane, along came the diesels. More efficient than steam, but not more efficient than electric trains, which they also replaced. The largest producer of the diesel locomotive: the Electromotive Division of General Motors.

Those of you who live in the East are aware of the electric locomotive. There was also electric power through the West in Montana. Because of the steep grades, electri-

fication was used by the Milwaukee Road. The last of these trains replaced by diesels in 1973 were most ingenious. As a train went downhill, the motors were turned off and the train coasted, thereby turning the motors, which thus became generators. (A curious thing is that a motor and a generator are essentially the same thing, the difference being the direction of the power—in or out.) The "generator" helped to supply power to the trains coming uphill, and the resistance in turning the generators helped to brake the train downhill. This system died at the dawn of the '73-'74 energy crisis. The efficiency of the electric locomotive is matched only by its long life and light maintenance.



A look at some interlocking directorates shows that some oil companies share directors with some railroads. This goes a long way toward explaining why the diesel maintains hegemony as motive power, and why the railroad bosses discouraged passenger trains. (Although not the railroad workers: See the July *Industrial Worker*.)

There is much evidence to suggest that the railroads are competing with a tax-supported air and highway industry while having to pay taxes themselves, and are thus at a disadvantage (hence the condition of the railroads today). Much of this is true; but as the *Industrial Worker* reported in July, railroads were once the toys of financiers—and I say they still are. They are immensely profitable; but that profit is taken out of the railroads and invested in other ventures, leaving tracks and equipment broken down and making the railroads unsafe.

Up to now we have looked at some of the ways the capitalist economy has non-managed transportation. Let's look at what a little good sense and planning can do to fix this.

In the short term, if the Government can build highways, airports, and parking garages and provide depletion allowances for oil barons and bailouts for aircraft kings, they can build and maintain rail and public transit. The subsidy for Amtrak is howled at by the right-wing media, but it is so tiny compared to the expenditures extracted by the highway lobbies that it is laughable. The recent proposed cuts in Amtrak funding, which would mean the discontinuation of 43% of its service, would pay for four miles of eight-lane expressway! Besides, transportation subsidies go back to the days of Roman roads.

The improvements of shifting to mass transit and rail transportation would obviously mean that some aspects of life as we know it would change. Some things, like going to work with your neighbor on the bus, streetcar,

or train rather than cussing him out for changing lanes, would mean a little less animosity in the world. And the corner store and corner bar within easy walking distance might come back.

On a larger scale, there would be a more efficient distribution system, with trucks used only as a "last leg" pickup and delivery system. (Though in times past, streetcar and interurban systems which ran through streets would handle those services when passenger traffic was light, as at night. This would be a way that urban systems could augment income. Chicago's CTA delivered coal to a coal yard up to a very few years ago.)

With the waning of the auto industry would come the

real answer is obvious. All those new trains will require, at least at first, new cars and motive power. Tracks will have to be upgraded, train crews staffed, and towers and yards built, maintained, and operated. But here's the kicker, ruling class: We need a four- or six-hour day. The ruling class created this crisis, and hasn't much choice in its solution. There's enough work out there—productive work—for lots of people; but it will take shortened hours.

Before we go too much further, the forgotten part of American society—the rural part—must be addressed. Can the rural areas really do without the automobile? To a large extent, yes. What about bus and electric service? It is not difficult to string overhead wires over existing track. Then, because train scheduling can be greatly expanded with modern computer methods, rural areas could have interurban trolleys again. There is also the mixed train in which passenger cars are added to the end of freight trains. This is done in parts of Canada and Alaska.

All of these ideas and doubtless many more are practical and energy-efficient. They are also environmentally desirable. While the corporate stooges in Washington try to balance (or play off) energy efficiency against environmental quality, there are obvious solutions staring us in the face.

We have hinted at the most important point throughout this article: that Capitalism is unable to make good transportation policy. The technology of the railroad was and is too big for the bosses. Transportation must be a servant of the people, not a means to a profit racing irrationally and erratically all over the land. It requires the intelligent planning that only a group of all its workers can execute democratically.

Robin L. Oye

## A GAS CRISIS?

With gas prices soaring upward, we are currently paying well over a dollar a gallon. The next time you pull the old tin lemon into the friendly neighborhood service station, please keep the following in mind:

- The Federal Trade Commission admits to holding evidence that the major oil companies are not making use of the available supplies of crude oil, and the gasoline crunch we now find ourselves in may be contrived.

- Gas shortages in California are cause for some raised eyebrows since the *New York Times* reported April 3rd, 1978, that the Alaska Pipeline has caused an oversupply of oil on the West Coast despite the export of some of this oil to Japan.

- Oil currently lying in tar-sand deposits in the state of Utah could potentially make this state an oil-producing area equal to that of Iran. What stands in the way of this is that, although oil companies now have the equipment and technology to extract oil from tar sands, the investment return and profits for the oil companies would not be as high compared to more traditional means of locating and obtaining crude oil.

- Oil-refinery workers report that the oil companies are now storing vast quantities of crude oil. Furthermore, these companies continue to rake in huge profits every quarter while the members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers' Union remain chained to Carter's 7% wage guidelines, and the oil companies are pressuring employees to help them lobby in Congress for decontrol.

- As for OPEC, they will be, according to predictions, producing an excess capacity of twelve billion barrels a day by the end of the year.

- The General Services Administration has charged the oil companies with the biggest ripoff of the American consumer ever by setting up dummy corporations selling oil to their customers.

- The increase in oil prices cannot be blamed on the drop in oil exports from Iran. Oil produced in Iran accounts for only 4% of oil supplies in the US. Other OPEC countries more than compensated for this drop in American oil supplies by steadily increasing their production.

- Though OPEC increased the price of their oil exports 100%, the actual increase in the price of gasoline for the consumer is over 150%.

- President Carter claims that America must lessen its dependence on foreign oil. This will not lower the cost of gas at the pump, though Carter and the oil companies are claiming that the high costs consumers must pay for gas are due to the OPEC oil-price hikes. As far as consumers are concerned the chief villain is not OPEC but the American oil companies, which have more to do with the price of oil than does OPEC.

- De-regulation and higher prices will not mean greater availability of oil. Observation of oil companies' actions in recent years has shown that higher profits do not mean more drilling for oil.

What is in store for the American public? The high prices now being pushed for by the Carter Administration, despite the recent shuffling of the Carter staff and claims that America must be energy self-sufficient, simply add more to the current spiraling inflation rates, and will hasten another recession.

Eric J. Glatz, IU 630

# UAW, GM Settle Without Strike

For the first time in 15 years, the United Auto Workers (UAW) has settled with its "target" auto firm without a strike. Hours before the strike deadline, the union and General Motors announced a settlement, which is expected to set a pattern for Ford. The union previously announced that it would consider somewhat lesser terms with the financially-crippled Chrysler Corporation.

The atmosphere surrounding this year's talks was markedly different from that of past occasions when the UAW and auto management have taken tough public stands against each other, and bitter and lengthy strikes have been launched. But this year the whole US auto industry is in deep trouble, as the soaring cost of gasoline has markedly reduced the demand for large cars, and inflation has driven the cost of a new car beyond the means of many prospective buyers. Even mammoth GM, the nation's largest corporation, controlling 60% of the US new-car market, has felt the squeeze. Like other US producers, GM vastly overestimated the continuing market for large, fuel-inefficient autos. As a result, many of the company's plants have unsold 160-day inventories of autos when fewer than 30 is the norm.

Recognizing the problem, the UAW announced early that if it came to a strike, it would not be company-wide as in past years, but would be selective in those plants producing the small cars that are in the most demand. Union President Douglas Fraser pointed out that it would simply make no sense to strike plants with huge stock inventories.

In addition to the economic problems of the industry, the state of the economy as a whole was said to be of major concern to the union leadership. The conventional wisdom is that an auto strike, particularly a long one against an industrial keystone like GM, has a severe recessionary impact. Coming at a time when the economy was already sliding rapidly, a lengthy strike could have accelerated and deepened the decline considerably. In fact many economic analysts had based their predictions of a deeper recession on the assumption that there would be a long auto strike. After the settlement was announced, some were quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as saying that the recession may not now be as severe as was earlier predicted.

Given this background, it is not really that surprising that talks culminated in a settlement before a strike that neither the industry nor the union leadership had really wanted. Many observers also noted that there had been significantly less "strike fever" among rank-and-file workers this year, although traditionally militant. With over 80,000 auto workers on layoff at GM alone, steady employment probably looked good to many.

The clearest signal of an early settlement came when the union called off some two-day mini-strikes that had been scheduled against seven key plants. The ostensible reason for the strikes was to have been lack of progress on local production standards. The union denied that

they were linked in any way to negotiations on a master contract, but despite that claim the leadership called off those strikes as GM began making concessions in the national talks.

One of the rockiest moments of the talks came after a brief wildcat at a Framingham, Massachusetts plant in protest against workers' being docked pay for participating in a nationwide five-minute work stoppage. During the brief stoppage workers were to write letters to President Carter and Congress demanding that action be taken on the energy crisis. The five-minute stoppage was a pet project of UAW President Fraser.

When GM announced that it was docking all workers participating in the action, the Framingham workers walked out for half a work turn. The company lost production of about 180 units. While the union criticized GM for being "foolish and petty" in docking pay, it downplayed the brief walkout and did not allow it to affect the ongoing talks.

The new three-year contract contains substantial gains for the UAW. Although the union failed to satisfy one key demand to link pensions of already-retired workers to the cost of living, it did manage to get hefty boosts for those workers—totaling 24% to 60% over the next three years. In addition, workers who took early retirement will be eligible for the increases. In the past such workers had to wait until they were 62 to receive fixed annual increases.

Of course the biggest cost factor in the new contract is hourly wages. With an enrichment of the COLA raises in the third year, wages would rise \$3.10 per hour to \$12.17 per hour at the end of the contract. Workers will not receive all of the boost directly, however. One cent an hour of each quarterly cost-of-living raise during the first two years will be diverted to benefits, with two cents of each COLA raise held back during the third year. This would mean that the average worker would forgo boosts totaling 14¢ per hour assuming an 8% inflation rate. The union says these withheld funds will be used to finance pension raises and other benefits.

The union made good on its commitment to shorten the work week in order to boost employment. It won a total of 26 paid personal holidays, up from 12 in the last contract. Workers will get eight such paid holidays in the first year, and nine each in the next two. These days off will be spread through the work week, and at contract's end workers will be getting one paid day off every two weeks in addition to regular holidays and vacations. The UAW hopes to win a standard four-day work week in the next contract.

Another important union gain was GM's agreement to procedures that will effectively give the union automatic recognition at new plants that make products "similar to" those produced at plants where the UAW already represents workers. This goes beyond the "neutrality" pledge in the old contract. This was important to the union because GM had violated the neutrality pledge at its huge new production facility in Oklahoma City, actively en-

couraging workers to reject the union in a representation election held there this summer. Despite that, the union won the election in Oklahoma handily, and GM may just have been bowing to the handwriting on the wall in allowing their new Southern and Western plants to be unionized without an expensive fight.

The UAW also won a stock-ownership plan under which the company will purchase stock for workers and give them the opportunity to purchase additional shares with matching company contributions. And the pact also contains a boost in health-care benefits, group life and disability insurance, and funding of supplemental unemployment benefits.

On the negative side, the company won agreement on a scheme to reduce absenteeism. They picked a strange way of going about it. New workers, who routinely have the highest absentee rates, begin at wages 60¢ an hour less than the base rate for the first month and 35¢ less for the next two months. Certain health benefits wouldn't become available until a worker had been employed for three months, and other benefits would be phased in over a year. The company maintained that this would develop a "grow in concept" for new employees, creating an incentive for their regular attendance and continued employment. Most observers, however, believe it was a trade-off at the expense of not-yet-hired workers to win higher wages for current union members.

With the GM settlement as the pattern, the UAW will now turn to Ford and to GM and Ford's Canadian operations. All are expected to routinely accept all or virtually all of the pattern settlement. No one, however, seems to be quite sure what will happen at Chrysler, except that President Fraser has already ruled out any strike there and has indicated that the union will accept a somewhat lesser contract. Just how much lesser remains unclear. The UAW already deals separately with American Motors, a pigmy compared with the Big Three giants.

Next the union's attention turns to the agricultural-implementation talks. Armed with a huge and unused strike fund and facing a thriving industry often referred to as "depression-proof", the UAW has taken a tough stance. In the past the agricultural-implementation talks had followed the pattern of the auto talks, with one of the industry's three leaders—Caterpillar, Deere and Company, and International Harvester—chosen as a target company. This year, however, President Fraser announced that all three will be targeted, raising the possibility of nearly industry-wide talks. Smaller firms like Massey-Ferguson, Allis-Chalmers, Siemens-Allis, and Fiat-Allis also will soon be entering the talks.

The UAW will seek an agricultural-implementation agreement substantially like that in auto. Traditionally, ag-imp contracts have lagged behind auto in both pay and benefits. But this year all the companies are bringing in record or near-record profits, and the union feels in a good position for a prolonged strike if necessary.

## BART Workers Locked Out

At a time when shortened energy supplies and skyrocketing inflation have made urban mass transit more vital than ever, transportation workers in many cities are facing increased challenges to their ability to run those systems safely and efficiently. Officials of one transit district after another, faced with sometimes staggeringly-high fuel bills and other escalating costs at a time when the public is little disposed to raise taxes, have opted to keep expenses down by cutting labor costs. This has meant layoffs, changes in work rules, schemes to bring "discipline" to the work force, and, inevitably, attacks on workers' standard of living at contract time.

### BART WORKERS LOCKED OUT

The case of the workers at Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) is a dramatic example of this trend. Represented by Amalgamated Transit Union (ACT) Local 1555 and United Public Employees (UPE) Local 390, 1650 train operators, mechanics, station attendants, and clerks found themselves locked out by management on August 31st, stranding approximately 80,000 commuters served by the modern, highly-mechanized, 71-mile system.

Tension between the unions and management had been brewing long before the contract expired July 1st. From the beginning of the talks BART officials stuck by demands downgrading the current cost-of-living adjustment, which matches the Consumer Price Index point by point; instituting mandatory overtime; and ravishing the grievance procedure.

BART officials have been anticipating a prolonged work stoppage for months—indeed, engineering it. According to a statement by BART workers at the Concord repair shop who initiated a sit-in on July 30th: "BART accuses us of maintenance slowdown, since fewer cars are going on the tracks every day. But for years they have thrown 'pink-lined' (unsafe) cars onto the tracks. Since June 30th they have been holding them back. They've gone from 360 cars a day in service all the way down to

189." The purpose of this maneuver was to bring public pressure to bear on the unions by accusing them of a slowdown, and to provide an excuse to bring in recently-hired supervisors to replace the Concord shop workers. The sit-in was called to prevent the transfer. It ended August 7th when BART officials agreed to reopen negotiations.

Worker militance, however, was limited by union officials who were afraid that a strike could not be won. A strike vote was carried by Local 390 when the old contract expired, but it took the ATU local another four weeks to take a strike-authorization vote. Even then officials were reluctant to call a strike, even in the face of management provocations and intransigence. Then they announced that a final "for real" strike vote would be taken on August 23rd.

At that meeting the rank and file seemed determined to strike. Labor leaders from the San Francisco area were brought in to offer their "support and solidarity" by forming an ad-hoc committee to take over negotiations, with authorization to call a strike when it felt ready. Officers, desperate to avoid a strike, hoped that the public entrance into the negotiations by a broad representation of labor in the heavily-unionized Bay Area would give them some leverage. As Local 390 President James Danzy told the workers: "Any dodo can take you out on strike. The problem is whether he can win that strike."

But the entrance of piecards did nothing to change management's position; indeed, they seemed downright peeved that a strike had not been called so they could flex their muscles. They even rejected a union offer to forgo all pay increases in the first year of a two-year contract, including COLA, if the company would assume the portion of pension contributions that is now paid by the employees. This would have amounted to 7% of gross pay.

Naturally, in such a situation workers increased direct action on the job, engaging in a kind of guerrilla war with management. As management allowed service to drastic-

ally deteriorate, blaming disruptions on workers to stir public resentment, they also sent defective and unsafe cars into service. After a small fire in the brakes of one train on August 30th, 45 angry train operators all caught the flu as they brought their trains into the Concord yard, and went home.

The next day the management closed down the whole system, claiming concern for public safety. BART officials virtually acknowledged that they anticipated that the lockout would be a long one. They told the press that they were "studying the possibility of operating the system with supervisory personnel", but that it wouldn't be done for two weeks. The strategy evidently was to get commuters enraged at the workers for the disruption of service and get support for the use of scabs to put the system back in operation. It is a strategy to effectively break the unions.

Official response to the lockout was at first timid. Union leaders did not even put up picket lines in the first days, in the hope of making it clear to the public that it was BART management that was responsible for the collapse of services. It was also an attempt "to keep the lines open to management". Picket lines were eventually set up as it became apparent that the eventual use of scabs was likely.

The BART lockout is an unprecedented affront to all of organized labor. Many of San Francisco's most important labor leaders have placed their prestige on the line by participating in the ad-hoc committee or by pledging solidarity. But when the fight gets rough, will they have the courage to do what is necessary to defeat this assault on labor? Will they have the courage to call the entire transportation system in the Bay Area out in support? Would they call a general strike if pressed to the wall? The answer, unfortunately, is probably no, even in the strongest union town in the US. But the rank and file of the Bay Area could do it. Indeed, if they fail to support the transit workers to the fullest, they will find their own necks under the ax next.

## sound of a distant drum

### TRADE UNION CIRCUS

Blackpool is a popular seaside holiday resort given over to the good life of comic pornographic postcards, overeating, steady boozing, star-time entertainment, bingo, and good clean randy funplay by dynamic duos under the pier while the tide is out. Apart from philosophers, mystics, and political heavy breathers, it is a mecca for the Island Race, seeking for three weeks to shake off the shackles of the factory and the office. Here, once a year, arrives the caravan of Britain's top tribal gods from each and every union, resting their feet and their minds in their Hilton Hotel caravanserai as they plot and scheme how to hold onto office without selling the rank and file down the river—unless by necessity. The great Trade Union Congress, like the Presidential "Favorite Son" final nomination rally, is good TV circus. But you know and I know, comrade, and the union-card-carrying worker on the shop floor knows, that whatever is achieved for or against his or her interests will be negotiated in private rooms at private dinners and private bars.

I am not holding up my hands in horror, for this is the nature of the beast and the game. Union delegate after delegate go up to the rostrum and read out their delegated resolutions and make impassioned pleas for social justice, take their applause, and step down and out of history. And I am now waiting with others for tomorrow, when "good old" Len Murray, boss of the mighty TGWU, will make the usual winding-up statesmanlike speech warning Ma Thatcher and her band of lunatic ax men that he, Len, will not tolerate any attacks on the standard of living of his union members. Good, sound, bombastic stuff that will scare the shit out of the old ladies of both sexes in the Island's suburbs; but every card-holding member knows that "good old" Len will not lift a single pretty little pink finger in defense of historic principles until he is forced to do so by the shop-floor rank and file.

And the first waves for and against are now taking place with the two-day strikes called for by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, and there has been the inevitable display of blacklegging, fanned into fury by the national right-wing press. Led by Michael Savage, a one-time union shop steward at Leyland's massive motown, about a thousand workers are said by Savage to be ready to walk across the picket lines, for no other reason, I would argue, than that they object to losing two days' pay in strike action. But in every action and in every battle there are the weak, the whiners and the greedy, and the test will come when the great mass of rank and file across Britain mount the picket lines.

## Valencia General Strike

There are those who think that the last word has not yet been spoken on the bureaucratization and reformist framework within the Spanish working class: that they cannot liquidate in a few years the experiences of the self-organized struggles and the historic memory of anarcho-syndicalist and revolutionary practice. A general strike, illegal and practically spontaneous, in Valencia, came to give certain force to this hope, to which the daily reality offers little assurance.

The death of a worker at the hands of the police—of a militant of a "minoritarian" and marginal union like the CNT—unleashed the general work stoppage and the most important demonstration since before the civil war. Curiously, the press has been almost entirely silent about the action.

Valentin Gonzalez, a member of the Transport Union of the CNT, initiated, along with several hundred fellow workers, a strike on the loading docks of the market which fulfilled all of the legal requirements—notice, papers, and the like. The workers then occupied the market entrance to keep out any scabs and to avoid any other maneuvers by the bosses. Then, a police charge, as brutal as it was unexpected. Valentin tried to protect his father, a dockhand like himself, who was being beaten by the cops. Almost immediately, a rubber bullet, fired at close range, ripped through three ribs and destroyed his heart. Death was instantaneous.

After the first moments of stupor, the reaction was not long in coming. One could not resolve the issue with the classic communications of protest, the petitions for the resignation of the Governor, or the usual press releases. The words "General Strike" began to be heard on everyone's lips. Many thought that to speak of good faith was insanity; that there was much fear; that there was no time for "organizing" anything. But this same morning, before the unions could even get together and call for the general strike, in large factories like Astilleros Elcano and Ford, the machines stood still; the assemblies began. In a few hours the call for a strike went out. For this nobody asked for permission, but the strike received more adhesions and "seconds" than had the classic, domesticated "days of struggle".

The British employers and their American motown bankers fear this mass action by the rank and file, for they are giving the front pages of their right-wing national press to praise of Savage and his blackleg breakaway group—news coverage that they would never have been accorded if at any time in the past they had taken an isolated strike action. But in the harsh winter that lies ahead for the British working class, let us not deny these sad sacks their inglorious moment of right-wing applause as they metaphorically kiss the Governor's collective arse.

One wanders through lush Bond Street on the way to the Royal Academy for the "A View From the Iron Bridge" exhibition, given over to the artists' bourgeois interpretation and glorification of Britain's "great leap for mankind" as the nation stumbled from the field into the factory: good Stalinist, State Academy social realism of glowing furnaces and clean-shaven, muscle-bound mummies posing in the studios of that age as simple, honest workers. It is an extremely well-mounted exhibition, and the organizer was extremely pleasant and helpful, but as always in this situation one is hurt by the lack of social comment regarding the women, the men, and the children who were worked to death to produce the "wealth of nations".

In one section of the exhibition is a metal and wood foot-operated heavy hammer, and of the group of wine-holding sophisticates not one could understand what this primitive machine was or how it operated, until I pulled away the small piece of 1979 wood that was placed there to stop the cultured lads and lasses from playing with it, and, wine glass in hand, demonstrated how this ghastly foot-operated punch was worked 14 to 16 hours a day by a small child. And I felt that I had a right to flaunt my ego and my ancient skill, for fifty years ago I used to sit facing a blank brick wall and for eight and a half hours a day pull and pull on a huge iron hand punch.

These ghastly conditions are not the aesthetic past, comrades, for they have taken place in my lifetime; and comrade, no matter how young you are, they are still taking place now. This is what the struggle is about. Prakash Hanzir Sukhdev is 28 years of age and come from India. In the great suburban sprawl of Middlesex lives Jawahan Lal, the first secretary in the consular section of the British-based Indian High Commission; and Jawahan Lal kept Prakash as a house "slave", paying him six dollars a week for him to send back to his family in India, and compelling him to use newspapers on the concrete garage floor for a bed.

It was a 72-year-old retired shopkeeper, Frank Payton, who befriended the Indian "slave" and contacted the Indian Community Association. Lal the "slave" owner seems indifferent, and, one feels, so do the Indian High Commission. It is claimed that six dollars a week is the pay rate in the Indian homeland, so that is all Prakash is entitled to. His conditions have been slightly upgraded because of the efforts of his friend Frank Payton, but this is a situation not peculiar to the life style of Britain's high-living, low-morality, highly-paid Civil Service, the Indian Overseas Service.

Nobody paid attention to the threats and lies with which the press tried to smear the action. In one of the local dailies, *Levante*, the workers imposed notes and entire pages. If not, the daily never made it to the streets.

The strike extended itself to the point that the entire city was paralyzed, including public establishments. The transportation did not function from the very beginning. By three o'clock in the afternoon, thousands and thousands of workers converged on the Clinical Hospital from which the body was to be taken for burial. The local press spoke of more than half a million people. The world hadn't seen anything like it since before the war "since the burial of Durruti", said one nostalgic. There were people who covered more than ten kilometers on foot, in an impressive atmosphere from all points of view.

There were two interesting developments, perhaps: the exemplary unity and confraternity above organizational insignias (when the big chief of the Workers' Commissions demanded the card of a member whom he caught breaking the windows of a bank, he was told to "shut up" by some members of the same organization, who forgot, for a day, orders and discipline); and the presence of the highest local and national authorities: president of the Council, Alcalde, head of the deputation (socialists), in the middle of the demonstration, yet presiding over nothing—a demonstration where they were called "assassins" by all those who deserved the name.

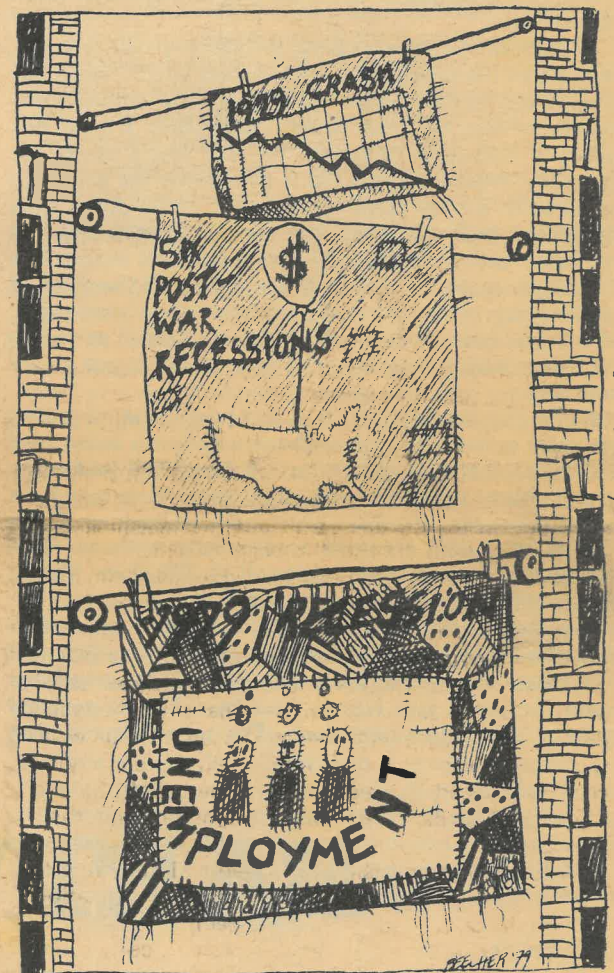
Also deserving of being pointed out is the good judgment of the CNT, for not trying to capitalize on or exercise excessive protagonism in an action which can only be capitalized on by something collective, above insignias or momentary slogans. Along these lines were the words spoken by Enrique Marcos (General Secretary of the CNT's National Committee), who spoke a few words of concern for the family of Valentin Gonzalez before the coffin covered with the Confederal colors. What use is triumphalism when they continue to kill the people for striking, like a hundred years ago?

(from *Bicicleta*, Number 19)

Again to the Royal Academy to view the horses of San Marco and to run one's hand over these lovely life-size copper horses that will no longer stamp their proud beauty above the heads of the tourists of Venice. The gold and the gilt have long gone as each conquering army took them as the loot of war, but now they are permanently museum-bound. Man has always loved horses and honored them in art, from the paleolithic cave carving to the Greek carvings of the Parthenon frieze to the beautiful horses of San Marco; but man has always betrayed them. I think of the horses of San Marco and Prakash the "slave", and in Bond Street stand a small group of Air India staff members who have been locked out for asking for British wages while working in Britain and protesting against the scab labor being flown in from India. Prakash, mate, your problem hits the highest and we the lowest.

And to the British Museum for the garish "Golden Age of Venetian Glass". Four hundred years or so of ornate bad taste hiding good craftsmanship, and an abject, cringing, genuine hand-on-heart apology to the lovely Colleen who handed me my catalogue and said: "I've got a bone to pick with you, Arthur; I'm not conservative with a big C or a little c." But she smiled, and I said that I would say I am sorry in print. Ah, we have our problems, Prakash, my old mate, but Colleen's smile and the horses of San Marco lighten our load.

Arthur Moyse



## EL SALVADOR FACTORY TAKEN

On August 16th some 700 workers seized the Apex and Molinas textile factories on the outskirts of San Salvador, the capital city of El Salvador. They were striking in sympathy with 19 metal workers who had been on hunger strike since the beginning of August in support of their demands for wage hikes of up to 75% (the average unskilled worker in El Salvador earns about \$2 per day) and improved health and safety conditions.

To back up their demands, and to protect themselves from military reprisals, the strikers took a number of management personnel hostage, including the American manager of the Apex firm, William Boorstein. The Apex factory is partly US-owned and manufactures clothing sold in the US. Lawyers for the company said they would accede to all demands if the hostages were released, and the news media publicized the strikers' claims. However Boorstein somehow escaped on August 26th, leaving only one hostage remaining: Colonel Escobar Izeta, an assistant manager.

The final outcome of this particular struggle is not known, but it is an indication of the growing unrest in this militarily-ruled Central American country. Somoza is gone, but his Salvadorean counterpart has still to go.

# SUSTAINING FUND

(Received August 16th Through September 20th)

Vienna Libertarian Center	\$20.00
Joe Ruby	\$40.00
Shelby Shapiro	\$ 5.00
Steve Kellerman	\$10.00
Bob Markholt	\$50.00
Joe Ruby	\$50.00
Abe Turovitz	\$12.00
J. T.	\$ 1.00
Shelby Shapiro	\$ 5.00
Steve and Nancy Kellerman	\$10.00
Erness Ellae	\$ 3.00
X18584	\$50.00
Gilbert Mers	\$10.00
Bernie Hovden	\$21.00
Anthony Thompson	\$ 5.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$292.00</b>

Thanks very much, Fellow Workers. Keep them cards and letters coming in, folks, overflowing with cash. Keep the Industrial Worker working.

## I.W.W. Videos

Stewart Bird and associates at the Center for Educational Productions in New York announce that their documentary film on the IWW, titled "The Wobblies", has been accepted for exhibit at the New York Film Festival this fall. It will be screened twice there between October 8th and October 13th. This group traveled from coast to coast and down into Florida to interview old-timers and others to develop material for this movie.

This summer the Illinois Labor History Society also undertook the production of half-hour TV documentaries on a dozen or so unions. So far they have completed these on the IWW, the Pullman Porters, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They expect that these will be used on educational and public TV stations.

### PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The Working Class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries in fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever there is a strike or a lockout in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work", we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword "Abolition of the wage system".

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday fight with capitalists, but also to carry on production once capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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CALIFORNIA: Greater Los Angeles Organizing Committee, PO Box 25072, Los Angeles, California 90025.

San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 10, Frank Devore, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140. Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609. Phone 415-658-0293. Industrial Union 450 Branch, Pam Morgan, Delegate, Synthex Press, 2325 3rd Street, Room 415, San Francisco, California 94107. Phone 415-626-6040.

San Diego IWW Group, Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4765 Mount Longs Drive, San Diego, California 92117. Phone 714-278-6704. David Swarens, Delegate, 4045 Wilson Avenue, San Diego, California 92104. Phone 714-283-7948.

Santa Rosa IWW, Robin Oye, Delegate, 1679 Orchard, Santa Rosa, California 95404.

ILLINOIS: Chicago General Membership Branch, Fred Thompson, Branch Secretary, 752 West Webster Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614. Phone 312-549-5045. Meetings held the first Sunday of every month at 3 pm. Child care available if notice is given beforehand to the Branch Secretary.

INDIANA: Fort Wayne IWW Delegate, Tom Lewandowski, Box 155, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801. Phone 219-442-8513.

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NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW Delegate, Henry Pfaff, 77 Ekbert Street, Buffalo, New York 14207. Phone 716-877-6073.

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TEXAS: Houston IWW Group, Henry Weissborn, Delegate, PO Box 35253, Houston, Texas 77035. Phone 713-723-0547, or Gilbert Mers, 713-921-0877.

Red River Women's Press, JoAnn Mulert, Delegate, 9080 West 12th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

Rye IWW Delegate, Fred Hansen, Box 728, Rye, Texas 77369. Phone 713-685-4878.

WASHINGTON: Seattle General Membership Branch, 309 Federal Avenue East, Seattle, Washington 98102.

Tacoma-Olympia General Membership Branch, Ottilie Markholt, Branch Secretary, 2115 South Sheridan Avenue, Tacoma, Washington 98405. Phone 206-272-8119.

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# UFW Wins in Cal, FLOC Fights in Ohio

After more than a year of bitter struggle, the United Farm Workers (UFW) have won their first contracts in California lettuce and tomato fields. The breakthrough came at West Coast Farms in Watsonville. The new lettuce contract, which covered about 350 workers, called for wage boosts from the current \$3.70 to \$5.71 over the course of the three-year contract. It also included increased piece rates for pickers, a cost-of-living increase, and employer medical contributions. Earlier, two tomato growers with a total of 550 workers had signed similar contracts.

The agreement with these relatively small growers paved the way for the UFW's major contract. On August 31st the UFW and Sun Harvest, a subsidiary of United Brands, signed a contract along the lines of the West Coast Farms pact. Sun Harvest was one of six major growers struck by the Farm Workers last year. The company had broken earlier with other growers to negotiate separately with the UFW. More than 2,000 workers are covered by the contract.

In response to the contract, the UFW announced that it was ending its boycott against United Brands products, including Chiquita Bananas, and will concentrate instead on the boycott of non-union head lettuce coming from the five other Imperial Valley growers.

The UFW hopes that the breakthrough with Sun Harvest will provide a pattern for the other still recalcitrant growers. At this writing, however, none of the others seem willing to give up their fight to stay non-union. Strikes against these growers have been marked by attacks on pickets and other acts of violence, including the murder of one picket and appearances by the Ku Klux Klan.

## OHIO FARM WORKERS BUSTED, LAWYER BEATEN

Meanwhile, half a continent away, another group of farm workers, those represented by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), face an often violent fight for their rights in the Ohio tomato fields. FLOC has been organizing in Ohio for more than ten years, and has been successful in cutting off the once abundant supply of cheap labor in the tomato fields in its drive to improve wages and working conditions. Tomatoes have been rotting in the fields because local farmers are afraid to defy Campbell Soup and Libby's, two of the nation's largest canners. Both companies refuse to buy tomatoes from farms employing FLOC pickers, insisting that growers use mechanical harvesters.

The canners and the anti-FLOC growers have a ready and willing ally in Putnam County Sheriff Robert Beutler, who has been routinely attacking and harassing FLOC members for years. On September 1st sheriff's deputies beat and arrested 30 FLOC members in a tomato field near Gilboa, Ohio, and charged them with riot and trespass.

When union attorney Jack Kilroy arrived later in Ottawa to arrange bail, he was attacked by a group of five or six deputies who knocked him to the ground and beat him for five minutes. He was picked up unconscious and covered with blood and charged with blocking access to a tomato field with his car, obstructing justice, and resisting arrest. Kilroy suffered a fractured skull during the unprovoked attack.

There were so many witnesses to the attack that Sheriff Beutler was forced to file assault charges against Rob-

ert Sutter, an area farmer who had been deputized to assist in attacks on farm workers. Witnesses testified that Sutter repeatedly smashed Kilroy's face into the concrete pavement. Beutler's regular deputies, who also participated in the attack, were not charged, however.

Even after this incident Sheriff Beutler continued his systematic harassment of FLOC. On September 6th he appeared at organization headquarters in Belmore, Ohio with armed deputies and announced that the FLOC staff were being evicted. The Sheriff left only when challenged by a FLOC lawyer who happened to be in the office. Under Ohio law there is no such thing as an oral notice of an eviction, and only an owner may prepare a notice to evict, and it must be in writing.

The fight in Ohio promises to be a long and dangerous one. FLOC asks your help by joining in its year-old consumer boycott of Campbell and Libby's products.



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