

Industrial Worker

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25 CENTS

AFL-CIO: Will It Change?

The quarterly meetings of the AFL-CIO Executive Council are usually covered by the press dutifully, if unenthusiastically. The sessions lack the high drama which appeals to television cameras. The high point, at least for the media, has traditionally been George Meany's press conference, and the only question that usually gets national attention is "Who will you support for President?"

But this summer in Chicago the Old Man (84) was not there, and the press took notice. They all wanted to know who will take his place. And so they all studied Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, Meany's 57-year-old lieutenant and the heir apparent.

George Meany, who at some point in his life was rumored to be a plumber, has been "Il capo de capos" of the AFL-CIO since the merger of the two previously competing labor federations was formed. Kirkland has served as Secretary-Treasurer since 1969. He is widely considered, in the words of one staffer, "Meany's ideological clone."

When the American Federation of Labor merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, it was informally agreed that Meany, a staunch AFL craft unionist, would eventually be replaced by a CIO man. No one expected Meany to live so long or to cling to power so stubbornly. Nearly 30 years later, the old CIO lies torn asunder and is in no position to elect a president of the joint body. Two of the US's largest industrial unions—the United Mine Workers and the United Auto Workers—lie outside the fold, while another giant, the United Steel Workers, is wracked by internal dissension. The presidents of other big CIO unions are either too new at their jobs or too "leftish" to be considered.

At one point it was thought that a representative of the public employees, the fastest growing segment of the unionized work force, might provide post-Meany leadership. Jerry Wurf of the State, County, and Municipal Employees and the ever-ambitious Albert Shankar of the Teachers were frequently mentioned. But in the end they stand no chance.

If Meany decides not to run for another two-year term this fall—and given Meany's tenacity that is a big if—Kirkland is virtually certain to get the job. Kirkland, a former Merchant Marine officer, seems destined to keep the nation's largest union body firmly in the hands of those who cherish a conservative craft-unionist approach. It is telling that the more leftish industrial-union leaders, with some allies among progressive AFL leaders, have tried to drum up support for two building-trades craft leaders to challenge Kirkland. But neither Martin Ward of the Plumbers and Pipefitters nor J. C. Turner of the Operating Engineers really stands a chance.

So Lane Kirkland, the heir apparent, presided over the Executive Council, and many eyes were turned to see how



Reading the AFL-CIO Executive Council's resolution on SALT are Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, Murray H. Finley of the Clothing Workers (who dissented on the vote), and Lloyd McBride of the Steel Workers. (AFL-CIO NEWS Photo)

he performed. Soon the *Wall Street Journal* and other establishment papers were agog over what they perceived as a shift to the left. It must have been a shift of at least two centimeters. Here is a roundup of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council session:

While generally supporting President Carter's energy program, the Council called for broadening and strengthening it while warning that if oil companies "fail to adequately serve the public interest, consideration should be given to nationalization". This is not the first time that the usually conservative leaders of the AFL-CIO have broached the topic of oil nationalization. Two years ago, at a similar gathering, George Meany made a similar threat. But this is simply a threat, one which the thoroughly conservative leadership would have nightmares pressing for in earnest. But the Council did urge the Government to assume control of oil imports, negotiating solely for purchases, then allocating petroleum to "best meet the needs and interests of all segments of society". It also urged a heavy windfall-profits tax of 85% to develop new energy sources, improve mass transit, and provide the energy needs of the poorest citizens.

The Council took a surprisingly "dovish" position by endorsing the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), although this was tied to the deployment of the new MX missile system. Many observers thought the AFL-CIO would take a much harder position on the Treaty, given

the organization's traditionally cold-warrior, anti-communist stance. But the organization is now deeply split between the old guard and a somewhat younger generation of "doves", making the compromise essential to maintain some kind of public unity. As it was, two important members of the Council, William Wimpisinger of the Machinists and Murray Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, voted against the resolution because it was linked to increased military spending. That Wimpisinger, whose union represents thousands of workers in defense industries, transcended narrow craft interest is indicative of the thinking of some of the younger members of the Council.

The Council issued a joint statement with the Group of Ten (the AFL-CIO's choice as the official labor voice in Chile) condemning the new labor decrees by Chilean President Augusto Pinochet. The decrees ban strikes in any activity that affects the "national security", make payment of union dues voluntary, legalize strikebreakers and lockouts, and limit union recognition to single factories, farms, and other work units, effectively banning the formation of federations. The resolution was accompanied by claims that the new labor code would favor well-organized Marxist groups "while it condemns the democratic union movement to a slow but sure death". The resolution also denied reports that the AFL-CIO had helped put the current Chilean Government into power.

The Council unanimously appealed to the Governor of Utah for a pardon for IWW songwriter and organizer Joe Hill, who was executed in 1915 on trumped-up murder charges.

At a press conference, Kirkland denounced the NLRB and wondered aloud if the labor movement might not be better off if the National Labor Relations Act were repealed and unions and employers were allowed to bare-knuckle it out. Kirkland cited the familiar delays in elections and in handing down often toothless decisions, and the fact that the current labor law has stripped unions of many of their "time-honored weapons". None of this talk is new, but it is noteworthy coming from the top level of the AFL-CIO. It is unlikely, however, that the giant federation will push very hard to dump the NLRB. They have come to rely on it as a substitute for direct action.

The lesson of the meeting seems to be that Kirkland, in his heart wholly a Meany man, seems to be willing to go an inch or two to his left to secure himself in command. How really deep that commitment is remains a mystery.

Inflation, national health insurance, the J. P. Stevens boycott, and the general attack on labor by employers and the Right were also discussed and resolved on by the Council.

IWW STRIKES U. CELLAR



In a phone call today, just before our deadline (August 16th), it was learned that the strike may be longer than anticipated. At the bargaining session held the evening of August 15th, the date of the strike's beginning, the employers' negotiators seemed to harden their position in reaction to the strike. The next day, however, the store remained closed. A more detailed account of the strike will appear in the October *Industrial Worker*.

On August 15th workers at the University Cellar Bookstore in Ann Arbor, Michigan struck to back up their demands for a contract. After months of fruitless negotiations and several marathon sessions, the fellow workers voted to strike 22 to 11 at a meeting held August 14th.

The main issues separating the two sides have to do with store structure. The union is demanding more departmental autonomy over such matters as hiring and firing. It also wants better job descriptions and a union or agency shop. One interesting development is that the in-store management has been pushed aside, and the union is now dealing directly with the Board of Directors. What has come out of this relationship has been an offer to allow two union members to sit on the Board. But until other issues are resolved, this will be a hollow gesture.

Picketing on the first day of the strike resulted in a complete shutdown. Nobody crossed the line, including rush employees (temporaries employed during book rushes) and workers in the art department, none of whom

are union members. The line was joined by members of the striking Skilled Trades Council and by members of the Graduate Employees Organization.

The mood of the strikers is cautious and concerned. They have no desire to hurt the store, and they expect a short strike. Negotiations were to resume the night of the 15th, instead of the next day as originally scheduled. The Board of Directors know as well as the workers do that a prolonged strike at this time would jeopardize graduation and the whole school year. The union hopes this realization will force the Board to accede to the workers' demands. Further developments will be reported in the next *Industrial Worker*.

GENERAL CONVENTION

The 38th General Convention of the IWW will open 9 am Saturday, September 1st, at Northcoaster Hall, 1940 West Irving Park, Chicago, where it has met in recent years.

There will be a social evening Friday, August 31st at the same address.

A full report will appear in the October issue of the *Industrial Worker*.



The perennial controversy continues over gun control here in Freedom Land, and is no closer to resolution than when it started. Yours truly feels it would be a good idea if there were no guns at all, anywhere! One is more apt to think it over while going it over bare-knuckle style; and can you imagine draftees being sent out against each other armed only with pea shooters?

The only logical method of gun control would be to take the guns away from the cops and generals as well. Do away with the damn things altogether, along with the bombs and other infernal implements of destruction. But such a thing, of course, will never happen as long as the cussed human race is the way it is. And the system we now live under is not conducive to changing the human race for the better.

Those Archie Bunker types who are lobbying strongly against gun control cite the US Constitution's admonition that the people have the right to bear arms, and constantly harp on the growing threat of the violence-prone minorities.

The liberals, on the other hand, citing the disproportionate incidence of gun deaths among the poorer segment of our affluent society, are lobbying for strict gun control, saying that angry, frustrated people can do less harm to each other if they don't have guns, and asking that these people voluntarily give up their guns.

One wonders how you are going to convince a worker who has to go home late at night, when the inferior public transportation is even more inferior than usual, and the guardians of the public safety are spending their shifts gabbing with some waitress in a well-lit all-night restaurant and only occasionally cruising the well-lit streets, where they exercise their vigilance against some burned-out drunk or harmless eccentric, or extract some freebies from streetwalkers whose pimps don't swing enough clout, professional's well-guarded high-rise condominium to leave the gun out of her purse when she goes to wait for the bus in her dim-lit, unpatrolled low-rise neighborhood? No more easily than you are going to convince the two-fisted macho factory stiff who has to maneuver the streets in the wee hours after putting in his night shift.

These liberal anti-gun people should take a good look at the statistics that even conservative statisticians admit, showing that the violent-crime rate increases proportionately to the rising unemployment rate; sneeze the dust off their brains; and aim their crusading priorities in more logical directions. Of course the liberals have just as much of a stake in the present system as their reactionary brethren, so we need not hold our breaths waiting for them to storm outdoors asking to be issued red cards.

Violence begets violence, and we live under a violent system.

Not only is this year the 100th birthday anniversary of Joe Hill, but it is also that of Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican Indian revolutionary whose organized peones helped break the 40-year tyranny of dictator Porfirio Diaz. Last month the Mexican Government held an official national celebration of his birthday. After all, the ruling party of Mexico calls itself the "Party of Revolutionary Institutions", and there is a gigantic monument in the capital city which commemorates the revolutionaries who fell in the struggle against Diaz.

It was to this monument that they wanted to transplant the earthly remains of Emiliano Zapata from his grave in the town of Cuautla in his home state of Morelos. Zapata's son, however, refused to give permission for the transfer, saying that the people his father fought for are still oppressed, and stating further that he would not permit any such reinterment until all political prisoners and peones in Morelos were freed. Some of the very men Zapata fought alongside became members of the Mexican Government now in power, but the son of Emiliano is still a rebel.

Jane Fonda, who will not only speak out her own anti-establishment opinions, but will also put her money where her mouth is, was nominated for a post on the California State Arts Council. However the California politicians rejected her because of her controversial activities, citing particularly her trip to Vietnam before the pollies themselves had come to the conclusion that the whole venture was an exercise in futility. One state senator by the name of Ruben Ayala, who had better not run into the son of Zapata when he visits the land of his ancestors, was especially vociferous in denouncing Fonda as a traitor.

Those are the kind of people who have control over what is considered art in our society. Whether art is patriotic on this side of the Ocean or conforms to the party line on the other side, our present World system is not conducive to creativity and free expression.

There is a school in the Mexican barrio of this city where the School Board has graciously consented to have a mural painted provided that they approve of it. They are especially uptight about militant art, as they recently told a group of artists. It is an agonizing situation when people who don't know a damn thing about art can impose their limited outlook on those who are artists, not to mention the rest of the community.

C. C. Redcloud

Joe Hill Forever

Sunday, October 7th will be the 100th anniversary of Joe Hill's birth, and preparations are being made in various cities to observe it. Where nothing has been planned yet, Wobblies should secure the co-operation of good union folks outside their own ranks, and kindred spirits generally, to celebrate Joe Hill's 100th birthday anniversary on the theme "Don't Mourn—Organize", for Joe belongs to all of us.

Interest in celebrating Joe's birth (October 7th, 1879 in Gavle, Sweden) rather than memorializing his execution (November 19th, 1915 in Salt Lake City, Utah) was initiated last fall by Anthony Mazzocchi of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers. Michael Hargis, General Secretary of Joe Hill's union, the IWW, welcomed the idea and also proposed that labor organizations urge action by the State of Utah, similar to that of Massachusetts regarding Sacco and Vanzetti, to clear Joe of the murder charge lodged against him. These ideas were taken up by other labor people, including the Illinois Labor History Society and the Labor Attache of the Swedish Embassy, which had tried to save Joe's life. At its meeting in Chicago on August 6th, the AFL-CIO Executive Council joined in the request, an echo of the AFL convention resolution three days before Joe was shot asking for the new trial he had demanded.

Petitions to the Governor of Utah requesting a belated pardon were first prepared by students at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus and circulated among Chicago unions. The Chicago membership of the IWW printed similarly-worded petitions, and are circulating them along with a leaflet explaining the case and the request for a pardon. Readers are welcome to these, and they should be returned to us for transmission to the Governor.

The Illinois Labor History Society has printed thousands of another form that may be more suitable for circulation at AFL-CIO gatherings. On the back it reprints as explanation an article from the recently issued *Labor Unity*, the paper issued by the December merged Textile and Clothing Workers unions. Ask for these from the Illinois Labor History Society, PO Box 914, Chicago, Illinois 60690—or if you want some of both the IWW can supply you.

The *Labor Unity* reprint includes a reduction of Carlos Cortez's Joe Hill poster, and the news release on the AFL-CIO Executive Council action is accompanied by another of his drawings: Joe behind bars.



The Chicago General Membership Branch of the IWW is publishing a new Joe Hill pamphlet by Dean Nolan with an assist from other Branch members. The New England Free Press expects to have it ready before Labor Day, and the price will be \$1.

So in planning the 100th birthday celebration for October, plan to have this pamphlet, sheet music of Joe Hill songs, his favorite little red song book, and other appropriate material on hand. It takes time to get other groups to co-operate in making such arrangements, so don't leave this to George. "Don't Mourn—Organize."

In Chicago, the October 7th celebration will be at the North Park College, 5000 North Spaulding, at 3 pm, with folk singers Chris Farrell, Larry Penn, and Fred Holstein. William Adelman will repeat his Joe Hill slide show—so well liked when shown on CBS TV here that the American Federation of Teachers got him to bring it to their Frisco convention.



Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the Communications Workers of America convention, being taken into custody by Secret Service agents. Margolis was detained without charges while President Carter spoke to the delegates. (VILLAGE VOICE Photo by Jon P. Fishback)

EDITORIAL

Federal Goons

An ominous threat to union democracy occurred at the convention of the Communication Workers of America on July 16th of this year. Jane Margolis, an executive-board member of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco and an elected delegate to the convention, was seized by Secret Service agents, handcuffed, and held in a back room of the convention hall for about 35 minutes. The SS claimed that they had received word that she had threatened the life of the President of the United States, who was scheduled to address the delegates that day.

Margolis is a socialist, a supporter of the Trotskyite Spartacist League, and wanted to present a motion to the convention protesting the use of the platform of the CWA convention as a forum for the anti-labor policies of President Carter. While we certainly have many strong differences with Margolis's politics, we are certainly in agreement with her right to present her views at a convention of her union. This writer would go even further and agree with her that a union convention is no place for the chief representative of our class enemies to vent his anti-labor sentiments.

The removal of Jane Margolis from the floor of the CWA convention, simply because she wished to protest the appearance of Carter, is a threat to every union member who dares to voice any of his or her views which may be at odds with those of the leadership. Readers of the *Industrial Worker* should protest this blow to union democracy.

Michael J. Hargis

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

Wordprocessors Shop To Take Union Vote

As a result of an organizing drive that began several weeks ago, the employees of Innovative Wordprocessors, an Ann Arbor printing and copying business that employs 25, will vote August 28th to determine recognition and representation by the IWW. The shop is made up of workers involved in printing, typesetting, typewriting, CPRT operations, and graphic arts.

So far Wordprocessors owners James and June Smith have been obstinate in dealing with the union, insisting that the union deal with the attorneys representing the store. The union offered to produce proof of our majority to them in the presence of a mutually-agreed-on third party, but management declined. Since that time management has committed several unfair labor practices, ranging from laying off a pro-union employee to soliciting the employees as to what their status with the union might be.

Wordprocessors is a workplace in the sweatshop tradition. The employees start at the minimum wage (\$2.90) and few receive more than \$4. There are no paid vacations, insurance benefits are not available until an employee has been there for some time, and then he or she must pay for a good part of them. The printers make \$2.50 to \$3 an hour less than their counterparts in Detroit. There are no sick days, and because there has been no union there is no job security. Working conditions are very bad due to the high level of heat put out by the machines. During the summer the temperatures inside the shop rise to about 18 degrees higher than outside. The writer noted only one small air conditioner, which looks very inadequate to cool a shop as large as Wordprocessors.

The members of IU 450 appreciate the support they received from the community and other unionists during our boycott, especially the support from various unnamed Teamsters and Local 3550 of the American Federation of Teachers.

Though management continues its campaign and practice of intensified employee harassment, the drive remains strong in its commitment to get a union in the shop. If our friends and Fellow Workers wish to show their solidarity, we welcome telegrams, mailgrams, and donations to the drive. Make checks payable to the IWW Detroit-Ann Arbor with a memo or note specifying that your donation should go to the IU 450 drive.

Eric J. Glatz, IU 630

LET'S GET ORGANIZED

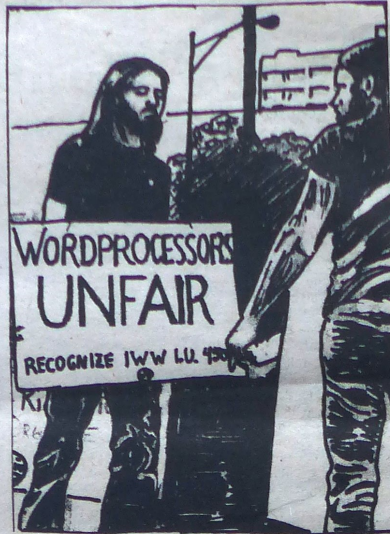
The essence of organizing is getting workers in a shop to feel that they are part of a team, and to work together against the boss to better their condition. Workers must feel that they are the union, to think of it in terms of us instead of it.

The best way to get workers to realize their power is to get them to use it successfully. At a pizza joint I once worked at, the workers usually made themselves a "crew pie" each night. One day we were told that we would no longer get a crew pie except on special occasions, and we would have to satisfy ourselves with the bad orders: pizzas which could not be sent out or which were returned. Since we worked ten-hour shifts with no lunch break, the idea of just having cold pizza to eat made us sore.

Some of the cooks decided to do something about it. The cheese man would wait until an order for a good, expensive pizza came through. He would slip a handful of cheese under the crust. The cheese made the pizza stick to the screen. For good measure, the oven man would jostle it a bit when he tried to get it off the screen, so it would look bad and couldn't be sent out. It was still okay to eat, though.

We did this several times each night, and lo and behold, a few days later the word came down that we could again have a daily crew pie. Everyone realized we had won out over the boss. In fact, the drivers and the phone answerers figured out ways to get into the act, to "do it better next time". There was lots of talk, and there were lots of good ideas.

There were several things that made this a good action. Perhaps most important was that it was for an immediate goal that everyone wanted. It involved several people all working together, but since the boss couldn't pin it on any one individual, no one really risked anything. These things all made people more willing to try it. Also, although it was important to us, one pizza a night was a minor thing to the boss, so it was easy for him to give in. And it was obvious to everyone involved that he had no choice but to give in: Either we got one official crew pie,



Miller Arrested

Camalla Miller, a former IWW member, was arrested last month in Eureka Springs, Arkansas on charges of kidnapping and robbery.

Several years ago, during a family financial crisis, Camalla asked her parents, who live in California, to care for her children for a short time until the family got back on their feet financially. When she asked for her children back again, her parents refused and won a custody suit to keep the children.

Some time later, Camalla's son died of asphyxiation while in the grandparents' care. Camalla, grieving over the death of her son and remembering her own unhappy childhood with her parents, went to California, took her daughter and her daughter's clothes, and returned to Eureka Springs to try to raise her child there.

The FBI got into the act because Camalla had taken the child across state lines. They finally found her in Eureka Springs, and she is now in jail awaiting extradition to California for trial.

Camalla is in ill health, and the unhealthy environment of prison weakens her daily. She was raped in jail, and now fears for her safety.

It seems a gross miscarriage of justice that Camalla must face a prison sentence and endure extradition to California for the kidnapping of her own daughter and the "theft" of her daughter's clothes.

Letters of protest should be sent to both Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Governor Jerry Brown of California, without whose signatures the extradition cannot take place. A defense fund has been set up by the Toronto General Defense Committee, and contributions may be forwarded there in care of Gary Jewell, PO Box 306, Station E, Toronto, Canada, or to the IWW General Headquarters, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

or four unofficial ones.

You can probably think of similar actions at your own job. Use your imagination and that of your co-workers. You know your job best, and know what you want. The *Worker's Guide to Direct Action* (25¢ from Headquarters) can provide some ideas. Remember, the real goal of the action is to get your co-workers to work together and use their power successfully. Start with a small, easily won issue. Involve as many workers as you can, and let everyone know (informally) that you won this gain, despite the boss, by acting together.

The point of organizing is to build union among the workers, so that when you show your cards you have the strength to back them up. This takes time, but is the key to success. When workers have union, and know they have power and can use it effectively, they will easily see how that power can be magnified by uniting with the IWW. And until then, there is little the IWW can offer them. The OBU cannot organize workers; that is the task of the workers on the job—like you.

Go to it, and good luck!

X328120

(This is the first of what will hopefully be a regular column on organizing on the job. I want to include information, news, hints, new ideas for direct action, analyses of drives, pitfalls to avoid, and whatever else would be useful to workers organizing. Any ideas are welcome. Send in your successes and failures: what worked and what might have worked. No one knows everything, but we all know a lot. Address feedback to X328120, c/o the *Industrial Worker*, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Illinois 60614.)

Frank Gould's Murder Confirmed

Frank Gould, a free-lance reporter and IWW member who disappeared in the Philippines in 1974, was assassinated by a special unit of the Philippine police in October of that year. Gould had been in the Philippines covering the Moslem rebellion against the Government on the island of Mindanao. He had gotten close to the Moro insurgents and was documenting reports of Government atrocities, including the napalming of refugee camps.

Fellow Worker Gould's parents, Jean and Wesley Gould of Oak Park, Michigan, have been trying for five years to find out what happened to their son, hoping against hope that he might still be alive. Now they have information that convinces them that he was in fact murdered. According to a statement made by a high-ranking officer of the Philippines' Integrated National Police to free-lance reporter Lawrence Johnson, Gould and two Moro guides were ambushed by a police "U-2" squad. The sole function of the squad, according to the officer, was assassination. Gould and his companions were buried in a common unmarked grave.

Paul Van Buren, a Methodist missionary who knew Gould on Mindanao and was one of the last people to see him alive, believes that the Government ordered the assassination to suppress Gould's revelations about the war. "It would have exposed the military. They were dropping napalm bombs on refugee camps. There was no organization behind him, so there would be no problem if he disappeared."

Gould was at work on a book, and had forwarded the first chapter to the National Council of Churches of the Philippines, which had provided minor funding for the project. After Gould's disappearance the Philippine Government confiscated both copies of the manuscript. Some of Gould's last dispatches were, however, published in the May 1975 *Industrial Worker*.

Jean Gould is now working on a biography of Frank. Fellow Worker Gould was an active member of the Chicago Branch before going to Japan to write and edit. He covered strikes and rebellions there, in Korea, and in other Asian nations before going to the Philippines. He was no stranger to danger.

Mrs. Gould would appreciate hearing from anyone who has personal remembrances of her son. She can be written to at 21611 Whitmore, Oak Park, Michigan 48237.



Frank Gould, murdered by Philippine police

GREETING ADS IN NOVEMBER

The IWW has traditionally honored its fallen members in the month of November. In recent years individual members, branches, and groups have marked the month by purchasing greeting ads in the *Industrial Worker's* annual "In November We Remember" supplement. These ads not only honor our dead and extend your greetings to your fellow workers, but are an important source of revenue for the *Industrial Worker*.

To place a greetings ad, send your message to the *Industrial Worker*, 752 West Webster, Chicago, Illinois 60614, in time to reach here no later than Thursday, October 18th. If your ad is not camera-ready, include instructions along with the text as to how you want it laid out, and any photos or drawings you may want used. If your ad will need to be enlarged or reduced, tell us what you want its final size to be.

Ads for candidates for political office and ads that seek to recruit members for or otherwise promote a political group or party or anti-political organization cannot be accepted. Ads will be accepted from union-shop commercial enterprises, and such ads may mention the location and nature of the work done so long as specific products and prices are not mentioned.

Payment for ads should be enclosed with the copy. Checks and money orders should be made out to the *Industrial Worker*.

GREETING RATES

Full Page	\$100
Half Page	\$50
Quarter Page	\$25
Eighth Page	\$15

From Workers' Control to...?

September 28th through 30th, at the premises of the Centro Studi Libertari "G. Pinelli" in Milan, Italy, libertarian activists, social scientists, and researchers will meet to discuss the question of "autogestion" (self-management). This conference comes at a time when ideas of self-management, workers' control, workers' participation, and the like are being widely discussed—not only by working people, but also by the enemies of working people: capitalist politicians, economists, trade-union bureaucrats, and the like. This issue of workers' control and/or self-management is an important one for the working-class movement to take up, because within it lies the very content of socialism (libertarian communism, industrial democracy, co-operative commonwealth, or whatever you want to call it). What we understand by workers' self-management, workers' control, and the like and how we go about achieving same is most important for the real emancipation of the working class.

WORKERS' CONTROL OR WORKERS' MANAGEMENT

From the very beginning it is essential to distinguish between the concepts of workers' control and workers' management. It is important primarily because enemies and advocates of workers' power very often use the terms interchangeably. This can cause no end of confusion when our bosses start talking about the subject. Maurice Brinton in his book *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* distinguished between the two concepts in this way: "... to manage is to initiate the decisions oneself, as a sovereign person or collectivity, in full knowledge of all the relevant facts. To control is to supervise, inspect, or check decisions initiated by others. 'Control' implies a limitation on sovereignty, or at best a state of duality of power wherein some people determine the objectives while others see that the appropriate means are used to achieve them." Workers' control signifies a situation in which there is still a separation between the conception and execution of projects; between mental and manual labor. Workers' management, on the other hand, implies the unification of these things, and a lot more.

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

In the last analysis, the class struggle is about power. The fight to build union has been a struggle over who is to control the workplace. Collective bargaining over such

items as line speed, work rules, hours, health, and safety is an expression of this struggle. Capitalists recognize this tendency in unionism, and that's one reason why they fight it. However many far-sighted capitalists have realized that it may be better to co-opt this tendency rather than fight it head-on. This new tack on the part of employers can be seen in the proliferation since World War II of schemes for co-determination, job enrichment, participation, and the like, most notably in Western Europe—particularly in Germany and Scandinavia, but also in Great Britain, France, and Italy.

The British Government's "White Paper on Industrial Democracy", published May 23rd, 1978, spells out just what the capitalists mean by these programs: "Industrial democracy is necessary to improve the efficiency of our industries and the prosperity of our country." *The Times* editor adds that: "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the more formal kinds of industrial democracy which many of them [our competitors] have developed and enacted contribute positively to their higher rates of productivity." The name of the "participation" game is to get the workers to participate more fully in their own exploitation. How better to do this than to get workers to feel that they have a stake in "their" enterprises?

FROM WORKERS' CONTROL TO WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT

While the goal of workers' self-management has been an objective of every working-class revolution in this century, it has often been forced to pass through the struggle for workers' control. In a situation in which an insurrection or a general strike has toppled a government, yet left its economic infrastructure shaken but intact, workers have often set up factory committees, workers' commissions, and other organs to see to it that the employers, who may not be happy about the new state of affairs, do not sabotage the revolution by sabotaging production. The Portuguese revolution of 1974-75 is a case in point, but the Russian, German, and other revolutions could also be pointed to. The factory committees set up by workers in sectors like the Lisnav shipyards and TAP were originally organized to purge fascists from the management. Later they developed into control commissions aimed at keeping production going against the wishes of the bosses. The pitfall in this type of control is that it tends to foster a "productivist" view and militates against the real goal of the workers' movement: less work and more free time. On the other hand, the Lisnav committee

in particular recognized the pitfalls inherent in workers assuming management functions in a capitalist economy.

The fact that workers can manage industry is no longer debatable. It has been proved any number of times. The question now is whether workers' management is feasible within capitalism. There have been cases in the last few years, the most notable being the LIP watch-factory take-over in France, in which workers faced with layoffs have either bought or simply taken over their workplaces in an attempt to save their jobs. Yet despite their ability to continue production without bosses, these experiments have failed over the long haul. Why? Because there are certain economic laws which govern capitalism which any enterprise, whether owned by an individual, a corporation, or a workers' collective, must adhere to or go out of business.

Basically, any enterprise in a market economy must turn a profit if it is to survive. This means holding down costs, and within a capitalist economy this means holding down labor costs, either by laying off workers or by cutting wages or by increasing working hours. Self-managed enterprises have ended up doing all of these things or going out of business. Yugoslavia, which purports to run under a system of workers' management, was forced several years ago to open up its borders for emigration so that thousands of unemployed workers could travel to Germany and France to look for work.

It should be obvious that any struggle for self-management must be combined with a struggle against capitalism, both private and state. Separating the two can only strengthen capitalism. This is why it is important to build a union movement whose goal is the abolition of the buying and selling of labor power; the abolition of the separation of the worker from the means of production (of goods and services); the abolition of the separation between mental and manual labor: between conception and execution—a union movement whose goal is the elimination of bosses of all kinds and the institution of workers' self-management. Such a movement would not shy away from the elementary struggle for workers' control; yet it would fight against any illusions that "what's good for business is good for the workers". It would fight for workers' control as preparation for workers' management once capitalism has been overthrown. Such a union movement would embody within itself those values of direct democracy, direct action, and self-government which are its goals. Such a movement is the IWW.

Mike Hargis



Striking members of the Service Employees sleep in a BART car during a sit-in against the San Francisco area transit line. (SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER Photo)

BART WORKERS STAY IN!

On July 30th, at 12:05 am, 52 workers barricaded themselves into the Concord maintenance facility of the Bay Area Transit system. They were protesting a management scheme to transfer the Concord workers to other facilities and replace them with non-union labor.

The 52 members of Public Service Employees Union Local 390, along with 1650 other union members in the system, had been working without a contract since July 1st. While union officials refused to call a strike vote or authorize any other job actions, BART management continued to stonewall negotiations, which broke down on July 7th.

Then management made known its transfer scheme, alleging that the Concord shop employees were engaged in a month-long slowdown. The workers refused to go along with the plan and occupied the premises, figuring that if they walked out management would simply replace them with the scabs anyway. The occupation lasted five days amid threats of suspensions and criminal charges as well as real acts of solidarity by other workers in the system. The occupation finally ended with a court order obliging the management to withdraw its plan and hold off on disciplinary measures against the workers pending arbitration.

It was a clear victory for the workers, although threats of firings and trespassing charges are still hanging over their heads. More importantly, this action showed what a little imagination and direct action can accomplish. Let's hope other workers take a tip from these fellow workers.

Forked Tongue Capitalism



Less than five hundred years ago the Western Hemisphere was invaded by alien barbarians, and the natives of this hemisphere have been suffering the lot of colonized people ever since. While at one time the white imperialist nation states occupied most of the World's surface, since World War II areas previously considered not prepared for self-determination by the leading World statesmen have been engaging in their own power politics and lobbying in World affairs, and are playing the white imperialist powers off against each other. Nations that once were not thought of as civilized, by reason of different pigmentation and different cultural patterns, are now being fervently cottoned to by both the United States and Russia, to mention but two examples of the fair-skinned race. Whether these former colonials are much better off under rulers of their own pigmentation than they were under the Herrenfolk is something that is being borne out one way or another through recent events.

The main thing is that throughout most of the World, white supremacy is thought of as something belonging to the distant past, as blacks, Orientals, Polynesians, Melanesians, and Micronesians can be found in the halls of the United Nations representing sovereign and "independent" countries.

One of the last bastions of white supremacy remains alive and well right here in the Western Hemisphere in that bit of real estate known as the United States. With the exception of ninety days at Wounded Knee, South Dakota a few years back, the original inhabitants have been captives within their own land.

The reservations on which they live are administered by whites who are operating not in the interest of the Indians, but by making concessions to outside developers who find it cheaper and more expedient to steal the last bit of land that is supposedly reserved for the Indians. A survey was made some years back of all the broken treaties that had been written throughout the World, and over half of those treaties contained the phrase "as long as the grass shall grow". That phrase was a standard part of every treaty that was made between the United States and the Indian nations that were the original inhabitants of this country, and it is interesting to note that here in the land of equal opportunity, wherever the grass grows the least, there is where you are likely to find an Indian "reservation". The term reservation is known in other parts of the World as "Stalag of Oblast".

One would think that on these last desolate hunks of land, which occupy less than a fraction of one per cent of their original land base, the roughly one million Indians who managed to survive a two-hundred-year campaign of extermination would be left to languish unmolested. But such is not the case.

If there are not huge deposits of coal or uranium lying under Indian land, the tourist industry is casting greedy eyes on the last bit of unspoiled landscape. It is far more expedient, as well as cheaper, for these developers to hand a little clout to the Government agents who are the guardians of the Indians' welfare than it is for them to negotiate with private owners, nor to mention that in these areas of chronic unemployment a cheap labor supply is to be had.

The excuse for the ravaging of the last bit of the original people's territory is the energy crisis. The age-old excuse for the initial robbing of the Indians' land was that "They weren't doing anything with it." The whites with their capitalism naturally did a lot with the land they took over from the Indians, as decades of dust storms, forest fires, farmed-out land, and polluted waterways will eloquently testify. In their Protestant-work-ethic zeal to change the face of the Earth, they have already started to work on the last bit of unspoiled land which remains.

Uranium slag piles are killing off the sheep in Navajo land, as well as causing terminal cancer among Navajo

miners who have not been forewarned of the job hazards by either their employers or their Government agents. Many reservations today are bisected by the ugly scars of open-pit mining, with the resulting pollution of the little natural water they have. Where there is some natural water remaining on Indian land, it is being siphoned off by industries which use it to clean ore or to produce slurry. Slurry, with its interestingly appropriate onomatopoeia, is a mixture of ore, chemicals, and water that can be easily sent through pipes that stretch across the countryside, making it much cheaper to transport than by more acceptable means that would require a large labor force. The inevitable leaks and ruptures of these pipes result in further irreparable damage to the countryside.

Many nuclear installations are on Indian land, including many even more hazardous than the one at Three Mile Island that figured recently in the news. The Alaska Pipeline is a further incursion on Indian land, and the Indians in Alaska and Canada are up in arms about it. Canada, while officially being a part of Her Majesty's Commonwealth, is far more closely tied to the New York Stock Exchange and its lackeys in Washington DC than to Windsor Castle, by virtue of capitalist enterprises such as the Alaska Pipeline, geographic proximity, and plain economic reality. The Indians of both Canada and the US, who never had any boundary lines between them in the old days, considering themselves citizens of the North American continent, are well aware of this, especially that they are being threatened by the same profit system. It is little wonder that the native nations are being

for their practice of polygamy, but today is giving tacit approval to their campaign to destroy the culture of the native nations. If that in itself does not constitute a form of genocide, the massive program of forced sterilization of Indian women by Government-placed medical interests is a heinous example of the destruction of a people by a government. Already some native nations face extinction within a generation.

Prior to the voyages of Columbus, there were about ten million people living in the area which is now the US. During the last century that population shrank to less than three hundred thousand, while since then the Indian population has rallied to around a million. The actual figures vary accordingly to who the US Government considers Indian and who the Indians consider Indian, but they constitute unimpeachable evidence that genocide has taken place. And while some may point to the recent depredations of Hitler's Germany, and the rationalists of the US may protest that there is no comparison, the murder of seven million people in less than twenty years by one country and the murder of the same number of people in over two hundred years by another country differ not on the basis of morality, but simply on the basis of technology.

One may wonder what a paper dedicated to the economic struggles of workers in an industrialized society is doing devoting column space to the plight of a people not yet part of that industrial society. The life style and respect for the gifts of Nature that were and still are practiced by the native nations when they have the opportunity represent a set of values that is badly needed in our present World of overpopulation and rapidly diminishing resources. The Indians had the closest thing to a classless society that has been known in this World. The Indian chiefs and headmen did not inherit their positions, but were elected by the members of the tribe on the basis of their ability. The founding mothers of the US had closely studied the constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, and it is historically evident that only after contact with native confederacies by European explorers did the republican form of government begin to replace the absolute monarchies on the home continent.

Despite the strides that are being made in space exploration and the possibility of eventual space travel, most of us are going to be grounded on Mother Earth for the foreseeable future, and it's high time we began to respect the gifts she provides. Too much has been wasted already, and it is only appropriate that the rest of the World take some lessons from a people that never wasted anything.

Those of us who are working to build an industrial democracy have far more in common with the native nations of the North American continent than we have with their oppressors.

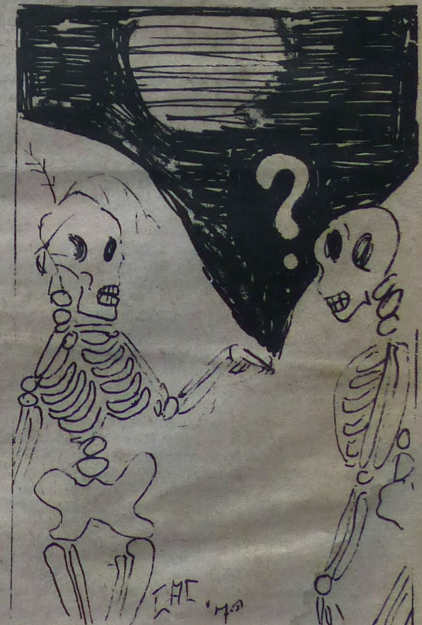
Carlos Cortez



threatened, with the Cheyenne Nation sitting on top of one and a half trillion tons of coal and the Jicarilla Apache Nation sitting on top of two trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 154 million barrels of oil, while the Four Corners area containing the common boundaries of the Navajo and Utah Nations will soon be producing an annual output of 94 million tons of coal. The once-beautiful semi-desert landscape of the Four Corners is fast becoming an ugly scar of pollution at the hands of the industrial companies gouging the resources without regard for the ecological consequences for future generations, Indian or White.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a government agency that was founded for the purpose of protecting the rights and economic welfare of the native nations. It is that agency which grants these companies permission to move in on Indian land, and is helping them to shortchange the Indians. The BIA also controls the tribal treasuries. It will give money from these treasuries to religious missions to set up schools on the reservations, but will not let the Indians use their own money to alleviate their economic conditions. The only consistent policy the United States Government has toward the Indians is one of genocide. This is illustrated by the purposeful extermination of the vast buffalo herds that were once the economic mainstay of the plains nations and the sending of smallpox-infested blankets to Indian villages unless the Government was sure it could outnumber the Indians with federal troops.

The same policy of extermination is being carried out today by kidnapping Indian children from their homes and families to send them off to boarding schools far away for the express purpose of deculturating them. One of the most notorious participants in this program is the Mormon Church, an overtly racist organization that seeks to make "white men" out of the Indian children. The US Government persecuted the Mormons in the last century



Did You Notice?

Reported rapes more than doubled in the decade from 1967 to 1977: from 27,620 to 63,020. The 1977 figures came out to a forcible rape every eight minutes, giving every woman a 1-in-15 chance of being raped in her lifetime. Rape victims become pregnant at the same rate as women who have unprotected intercourse (about 3%). A Justice Department study in 1978 showed that only 1 out of 4 rapes results in an arrest, and only 1 out of 60 results in a conviction. The FBI reports that convicted rapists have a recidivism rate of 70%.

States like Arkansas and Delaware that have passed genetic-drug laws have cut the price of drugs by an average of 20%, according to a Federal Trade Commission study. The laws enable pharmacists to dispense a lower-cost but therapeutically-equivalent "generic" drug for a more expensive brand-name drug indicated on a prescription.

In 1977, the unemployment rate for whites with 1 to 3 years of high school was 13%, while the rate for blacks with equal education was 20%. Whites with 1 to 3 years of college have an unemployment rate of 6%, blacks 13%. The unemployment rate for blacks who had finished college was 6%, which is similar to that of whites who had only finished high school.

For years Customs Bureau inspectors physically measured all petroleum imports, either aboard tankers or at tank storage farms on shore, giving the Government its only independent check of oil-industry statistics. In June the Carter Administration ordered Customs to completely halt oil-import checks. When the National Treasury Employees Union, which represents the Customs inspectors, asked about the rule change, they were told that it was an "economy move"—a means of cutting overtime.

Illinois prisoners may serve terms longer than their sentences, according to the Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, the John Howard Association, and its special Prisons and Jails project. It seems the State of Illinois can't keep track of who's doing how long a stretch where. Prisoners' "good time" is not being recorded either.

Almost once a minute someone between the ages of 10 and 18 tries to commit suicide in the US. This figure does not include drug overdoses and deaths politely attributed to accidents. The rate of successful adolescent suicides has doubled in the last 10 years in many industrial countries, including the US, France, West Germany, and Japan.

In Washington DC the new Metro subway system has begun an experiment whereby commuters can ride their bikes to a subway station and park them in rented lockers. In San Diego and Seattle mass-transit riders can quickly lock their bikes into bike racks on the backs of special commuter busses.

Chicago's finest have struck a new blow for public safety. Wide-sweeping raids have cleansed the sidewalks and concert halls of folks who have the nerve to sell flowers and T-shirts on Sundays.

According to *Progressive* magazine, a Texas state legislator has introduced a bill that would require utilities to store their nuclear wastes in their corporate executive suites.

DISTANT DRUM

Cont. from page 8

their precarious living. I admire actors, be they Shakespeare's mummies or walk-ons for television commercials; and I took my small place within the long demonstration, and with genuine sadness I wondered how all these thousands of fantasy folk could ever find living work.

But we marched. They, to their credit, were all there; and at 65 I plodded along behind the 77-year-old Sir Ralph Richardson, and around us were the known and the unknown, the famous and the forgotten. And we plodded along Piccadilly, past the police-guarded mansion of Britain's Arts Council, while the jazz group played and the actors'-union banner bent and fluttered in the warm wind, and then into the union meeting within the gold-and-silver interior of Covent Gardens' Royal Opera House, where working union members sat with drawn plastic swords and stage makeup ready to hurry off to the tourist afternoon performances. It was so sad, but so beautifully futile—like unto Polish lancers charging Nazi tanks; for the mummies of our hired fantasies have no industrial muscle. Nay, I wrong them! Comrades, black out television with an actors' strike, and you must surely win.

Arthur Moyse



Guidelines Fatten Fatso

"Any industry or labor group that holds down its prices or wages 'in the social interest' is not contributing toward stopping inflation. All it is doing is pinching a big balloon in one corner, just driving the air somewhere else."

Those words come from America's most noted conservative economist, Milton Friedman, explaining economics to the *Chicago Daily News* July 28th, 1970, almost ten years ago. He backed up his argument with this long range of experiences:

"The trade unions in the United States were as strong in 1960 to 1964 as they were from 1965 to 1969. You had inflation in the second period but not in the first. You can go around the world and find countries that have had strong unions and no inflation, and there are many cases of inflation with no trade unions. After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, prices rose rapidly until 1860, but there were no significant trade unions. From about 1890 to 1913 prices over the world rose about 3% or 4% a year—in countries with trade unions and in countries without trade unions."

Dr. Friedman thinks the quantity of money has something to do with levels of inflation.

J.P. Stevens Takes Heat

Even though the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers saw their attempt to prosecute J. P. Stevens, the nation's second-largest textile firm, turned down by a New York Federal District judge, they have seen progress on other fronts in their attempts to unionize the nation's most notorious anti-union firm. Judge Charles S. Haight Jr. ruled that the union doesn't have a claim that can be properly redressed under the Federal anti-trust laws, but noted: "I fully appreciate the difficulties the ACTWU has encountered in bringing Stevens, that notorious recidivist, to book by appealing to the labor-relations laws and the National Labor Relations Board. The union's frustration and desire to strike out in other directions are equally understandable."

Meanwhile, two New England states, Connecticut and Massachusetts, acted to halt purchases from Stevens. In Connecticut Governor Ella Grasso signed into law a bill barring state contracts from any firm which has been cited for violations of the National Labor Relations Act three times within five years. J. P. Stevens easily qualifies. In Massachusetts Governor Edward King has directed all state institutions, agencies, commissions, and departments to refrain from entering into any contractual agreements to buy the company's products.

J. P. Stevens and Company will not be allowed to do business with the City of Los Angeles until it complies with the City's affirmative-action program.

In other legal battles, Stevens recently hired the Atlanta law firm of outgoing Attorney General Griffen Bell to represent it in a suit charging that Stevens conspired with local officials and other corporations in spying on union organizers and activists. The suit charges that Mill-edgeville, Georgia officials spied on union representatives and had the help of other companies, including Grumman Aerospace, Concord Fabrics, and Meadow Industries, who were interested in keeping unions out of Georgia. Mill-edgeville Mayor Robert Rice has already admitted in a deposition that the City had an agreement with Stevens and other companies to spy on union activities. Five days after the suit was filed the mayor and police chief agreed to cease and desist from surveillance activities, directly and indirectly, and a Holiday Inn manager pledged not to permit use of motel premises for surveillance.

Tomatoes for Machines

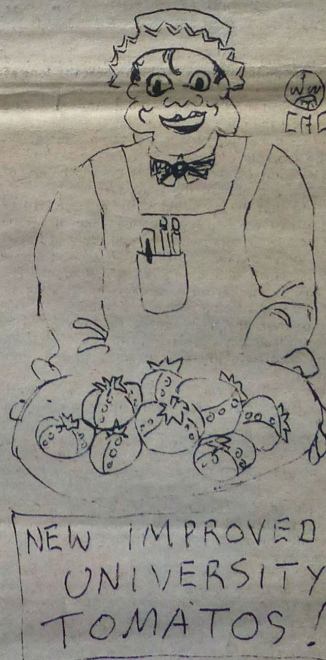
A group of California farm workers and small farmers is suing the Regents of the University of California, charging them with systematically misusing the school's annual \$72 million farm-research fund. The suit argues that public research money is being used to subsidize the development of farm machinery designed to the unique specifications of agribusiness. In other words, the form of agricultural mechanization that has been going on has less to do with the march of inevitable "progress" than with the nature of the forces which have control over the public's farm-research fund. This idea, rather than being dismissed as modern-day Luddite paranoia, needs a wider hearing.

Consider the case of the tomato harvester. Beginning in 1947, US researchers spent hundreds of thousands of dollars working with the canning industry and a few huge growers to develop a mechanical tomato picker and a strain of tomatoes thick-skinned enough to withstand its grasp. No consumers of tomatoes, small farmers, farm workers, or small canners were consulted. The University of California picker was first marketed in 1963. Seven years later the canning-tomato crops in Southern California were largely machine-harvested.

Thousands of farm workers lost their jobs. But they were only the first to be affected. The machine cost fifty thousand dollars, far beyond the ability of small growers to afford. The number of California tomato growers fell from 4,000 to 66 between 1963 and 1970. Consumers found that they were paying more for tougher, less tasty tomatoes. While in the decade after the introduction of the tomato harvester, prices for all other fruits and vegetables rose 74%, tomato prices rose 111%. The machine harvester, designed for single-pass picking, wastes all the tomatoes not ready for harvest at one time, and buyers end up paying the cost of those lost tomatoes.

The cozy relationship between agribusiness and the University of California is further illustrated by the fact that two of the University's regents serve on the board of Del Monte Corporation, the country's biggest fruit and vegetable processor, which uses the University's harvester in all of its tomato fields. And the University itself is the fifth-largest stockholder of Del Monte, owning around 155,000 shares.

Penny Pixler



HOW ABOUT JOINING US?

What the world needs most these days is more workers in the IWW. Membership is open to all wage and salaried workers whose job responsibilities do not conflict with our purposes—policemen, President Carter, the District Attorney, etc. (including officers of other unions except on special action of their local union). It is open to rank-and-file members of other unions.

It is preferable that you join through a local delegate or some of the representatives listed in the directory on Page 7. If you are not near one of them, write directly to the IWW, 752 West Webster, Chicago 60614. Tell us what kind of work you do in what industry, whether or not your job is currently organized, and what you hope we can do for you or you for us. The initiation fee is \$5 and monthly dues are \$5, except for those earning less than \$300 in any month, in which case dues can be reduced to \$2.

SUSTAINING FUND

(Received July 20th Through August 15th)

Steve and Nancy Kellerman	100.00
Vaughn Chorlian	15.00
Walter Hooke	6.00
X18584	10.00
Jim Hansen	6.00
Natasha Simon	10.00
Pat Hanlon	10.00
Bob Markholt	5.00
Abe Turovitz	10.00
Emil Pietz	5.00
X18584	5.00
Vincent Bruno	6.00
Paul Cigler (in memory of Alexander Berkman)	10.00
Kathleen Beck	5.00
Howard Johnson	1.00
Harry Siitonen	10.00
Wendel Wettland	9.00
W. R. DeGuerre	15.00
Bill Miller (in memory of Pete Wukusich)	5.00
J. K. Spitzberg	10.00
TOTAL	253.00

Many thanks, fellow workers, for your generous contributions. Keep it up!

Farewell Fellow Worker

Old-time Wobblies across the country—particularly those active in Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union 110 and Marine Workers' Industrial Workers' Union 510 on the New York waterfront—will mourn the death of Fellow Worker Tony Martin (Vartanian), who passed away in a New York hospital July 22nd after suffering a massive heart attack. He was 71 years old.

S. D.

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.

Literature

- IWW Organizing Manual75¢
- Collective Bargaining75¢
- IWW Preamble and Constitution30¢
- Inflation: Cause and Cure25¢
- Workers' Guide to Direct Action25¢
- General Strike for Industrial Freedom50¢

MUSICAL

- IWW Songbook75¢
- The Rebel Girl (sheet music)50¢
- Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music)50¢

HISTORICAL

- The IWW's First 70 Years (hardbound) \$15
- The IWW's First 70 Years (paperback) \$4.95
- Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary \$3.95
- Pullman Strike \$2.95
- Autobiography of Mother Jones \$3.50
- The Right To Be Lazy \$1.25
- History of the IWW in Canada 50¢

POSTERS

Printed

- Organize!50¢
- One Big Union50¢
- Two Anti-War Posters \$1

Lino Cuts

- Joe Hill \$2
- General Strike \$2
- Huelga General \$2
- Red and Black Anti-War Poster \$2

MISCELLANEOUS

- General Defence Button 35¢
- Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the literature list may be ordered at a 40% discount unless otherwise noted. Postage costs will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks plus for delivery.

Name
 Address
 City State or Province
 Country Zip or Postal Code

Enclosed find for the literature checked above.

AVAILABLE FROM LOCAL IWW BRANCHES AND GROUPS

Available from the British Section of the IWW, PO Box 48, Oldham, Lancashire, OL1 2JQ, Great Britain: *The Industrial Unionist*, 50¢, six issues for \$5; *Songs of Unemployment*, 25¢; *Work and How It Gets That Way*, 30¢ for \$1. Available from the Chicago Branch, 752 West Webster, Chicago 60614: *There's So Many of Us and So Few of Him Poster*, \$2; *Metal Workers Guide to Health and Safety on the Job*, 50¢; *Bicicleta*, a Spanish anarcho-syndicalist periodical, \$1.50. Available from the Tacoma-Olympia Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma, Washington 98405: *Fellow Union Member*, 10¢, bundles of 5 to 15 15¢, 15 to 499 3¢, 500 or more 2¢. Available from Toronto IWW General Defence Committee, Local 2, Box 306, Station E Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada: *The Industrial Defence Bulletin*, official organ of the General Defence Committee, 15¢ each, subscriptions \$1 per year. Available from Madison Branch: *Speedup Poster*, 50¢ on quality paper, 100 for \$3 for post-up quality; *Scab Posters*, Darrow or London, 100 for \$4.

Wanted: Transportation-Related Copy for the October Issue

SUBSCRIBE !!

IWW Directory

UNITED STATES

ALASKA: Anchorage IWW, Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99504.

ARKANSAS: IWW Industrial Organizing Committee, PO Box 371, Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923.

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 219-442-8131.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 13, William Marquart, Branch Secretary, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

MICHIGAN: Detroit-Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, Eric Glatz, Delegate, 2305 West Jefferson, Trenton, Michigan 48183. Phone 313-675-8959. Industrial Union 680 Branch, Lucy Bjorklund, Branch Secretary, 530 South State, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. Grand Rapids Area IWW Delegate, W. Michael Johnston, 8445 Je-ne-be Drive, Northeast, Rockford, Michigan 49341. Phone 616-874-7892.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1688 Dayton, St. Paul, Minnesota 55104. Scott Burgwin, Delegate, 3628 Park Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407.

MISSOURI: Kansas City IWW Group, George Cairns, Delegate, 5411 Oak Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64112. Phone 816-361-1619.

MONTANA: Clark Fork Valley IWW, Mark Ross, Delegate, PO Box 8562, Missoula, Montana 59807. Thompson Falls IWW Delegate, A. L. Nurse, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59873. Phone 406-827-3238.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque IWW Delegate, P. Renzo Giromini, 222 Vassar Southeast, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106. Phone 505-255-3225.

NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW Delegate, Henry Pfaff, 77 Ekert Street, Buffalo, New York 14207. Phone 716-877-6073. Greater New York City Organizing Committee, Rochelle Semel, Delegate, 788 Columbus Avenue, New York, New York 10025.

OREGON: Portland IWW Group, Tim Acott, Delegate, PO Box 40513, Portland, Oregon 97240.

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Rosa Brechtler

sound of a distant drum

Cassandra was the daughter of Priam, King of Troy. She was beloved by Apollo, who gave her the gift of prophecy. But though her gloomy, mind-blowing, wailing warnings always hit the jackpot, they were never believed. In that situation, all one can do is brood bitterly into one's Guinness and say "I told you so."

When Ma Thatcher's middle-class rabble-raising Tory Party were barnstorming the hustings in their successful bid for political power, they promised tax cuts and government-spending cuts in exchange for getting their snouts into the political pig trough, and they have honored their pledges. The wealthy, the middle class, and the lower middle class have had their tax cuts and are simpering all the way to the bank. But every cent handed back to the British bourgeois is extracted from the living and the dying of the millions of British men, women, and children who are the great mass of the low-paid British working class.

I make no excuse for using emotive language, for it cannot conceal or excuse the misery that the Tories are inflicting on millions of British people whose only crime is that they do not possess personal wealth, but earn their

Tory Economics

daily supermarket bread by the enforced sale of their physical labor on the farm and in the factory; and all in the name of that obscene greed hallowed in the plush offices of Wall Street, the City of London, and those brothels of high-class fashionable usury festering across Europe where private profit supersedes the Sermon on the Mount.

Almost every day seems to mark another cut in the living standards of the British working class; and with hundreds after hundreds of millions of dollars being torn out of the economic life of these small islands, schools, hospitals, old people's homes, school meals, children's transport, and aid for the sick are being destroyed. Ma Thatcher, Britain's Tory hatchetperson, was once known, to her annoyance, as Ma Thatcher Milk Snatcher—when, as Minister for Education, she tried to take the free milk from Britain's working-class children. And now it is announced that she will succeed, as books, meals, teachers, and schools are due for the Tory chop.

There is nothing new in this, for it all echoes the grim and awful 1930s, when the Tory sires of this present evil brood made the same attack on the semi-starvation living standards of Britain's working class; and the men and women of the '30s marched and fought and died. There was nothing glamorous in their deaths; for they died of malnutrition or rickets, or spat out their coal-congested lungs in damp, overcrowded, company-owned miners' cottages, in a variety of deaths peculiar to the working peoples of the world. But they wove their greatness into the glorious banners of the people; for they marched, they stood their ground, they fought, and they died.

There was a time in those '30s when the Mayor, George Lansbury, wearing his robes and chain of office, marched through the streets of London's East End, followed by his social-democratic council, on their way to prison, rather than enforce the '30s Tory social cuts. And Ma Thatcher's Tory hitmen are preparing to see if they can do a repeat performance in 1979; for in London's 1979 East End the Lambeth social-democratic council have refused to put into operation the 16,000,000-dollar cut demanded by

Ma Thatcher, and all 33 members of the unpaid Health Authority have been sacked, and the Lambeth social-democratic council have publicly pledged their support in this first working-class challenge to the Tory middle class.

Statements are now being made calling upon Scargill and his miners and the East End dockers to take their place in this first picket line should the Tories decide to seek a confrontation by using their well-paid police force. But already there is the stench of death in the air, for high-ranking doctors employed within the three great teaching hospitals in Lambeth—Guys, St. Thomas's, and Kings College—are publicly stating that if the Tory threat is put into effect, men, women, and children(?) will die; for already the number of 200 deaths is being written on walls, and the highly-paid, high-ranking doctors give the thumbs down, though shyly refusing to endorse the head count.

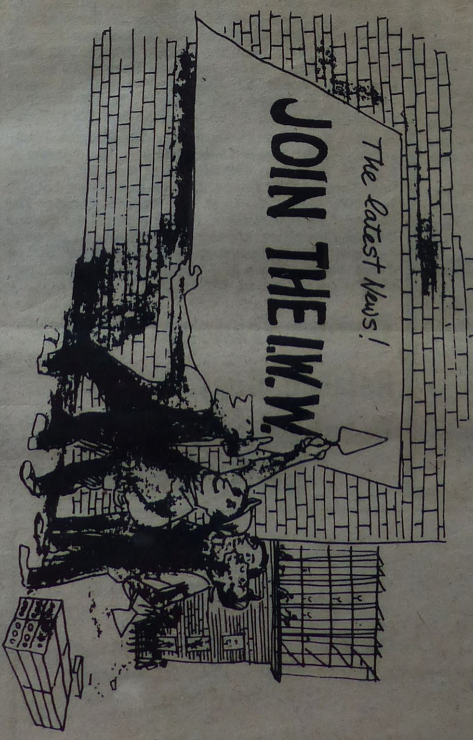
One man and one major union so far have decided to rat, and that is as was expected. Frank Chapple, the right-wing leader of the elite electricians' union and an ex-communist, has signed a private union deal for his 40,000 members which states that their bosses are happy to pay for private beds and private medical treatment within Britain's socialist medical health service. It was to stop this medical rich man's blackmarketing that cleaners, nurses, and porters from the hospitals came out on strike after strike; but Chapple has simply put his thumb to his nose. Yet in the struggles that must come within the next few weeks this scabbing will be of small import, and one wonders how many a union-card-holding electrician in Chapple's sweethearting union deal with the employers will cross a picket line.

But we march and we protest; and in the dying days of July thousands of actors—and let us use a unisex noun—marched through London's West End and theatre land in protest against the Tories' intention to tax them out of

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