

# Industrial Worker

VOLUME 77, NUMBER 7 - WN 1407

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 16TH - JULY 15TH, 1980

25 CENTS

## Chicago's Vanishing Housing

All over Chicago, housing is crumbling down. North, south, east, and west, buildings large and small are deteriorating, then being abandoned, then being demolished. The number of places to live in Chicago has shrunk every year since 1972. Demographers estimate that Chicago lost half a million people in the 1970s, and consider it a lucky thing.

"If the population hadn't declined, we'd have people in the parks in tents," says George Stone, an assistant commissioner in the Department of Planning, City and Community Development.

Others are less sanguine. Of Chicago's remaining dwelling units—estimated at 1,128,000—25% are substandard by the City's own evaluation. Probably between 200,000 and 300,000 are in the demolition pipeline—being managed toward demolition. Demolition is a five-to-ten-year process during which the landlord defers maintenance and milks the resulting tenement for whatever it's worth. Between condominium conversion of the best apartments and demolition of the worst, the people with low to moderate incomes are caught in a squeeze.

The problems are greatest, of course, in the poorest neighborhoods. While housing is tight all across the city, with a 4.9% citywide vacancy rate, in Uptown, one of the last low-rent districts in the city, the vacancy rate is less than 1%.

When tenant complaints and housing-violation notices start to pile up on a deteriorating building—broken windows, sagging floors, bad faucets, crumbling plaster, defective plumbing, sewage and stagnant water in the basement, cockroaches, mice, rats, and a host of other afflictions—a housing-court judge may order it vacated and boarded.

When a building gets to this point, there are two remedies: fix it up or tear it down. One or the other must be done quickly, because every day a building sits vacant, its chance of rehabilitation decreases, while the chance of blight spreading from it to other buildings increases. And boarding a building doesn't save it from much. Gangs still break into abandoned buildings and use them for clubhouses. Vandals plunder such buildings for copper piping, doors, radiators, bathtubs, and even brick from the walls if the price is good. Addicts use abandoned buildings to shoot in, and children creep in to explore them.

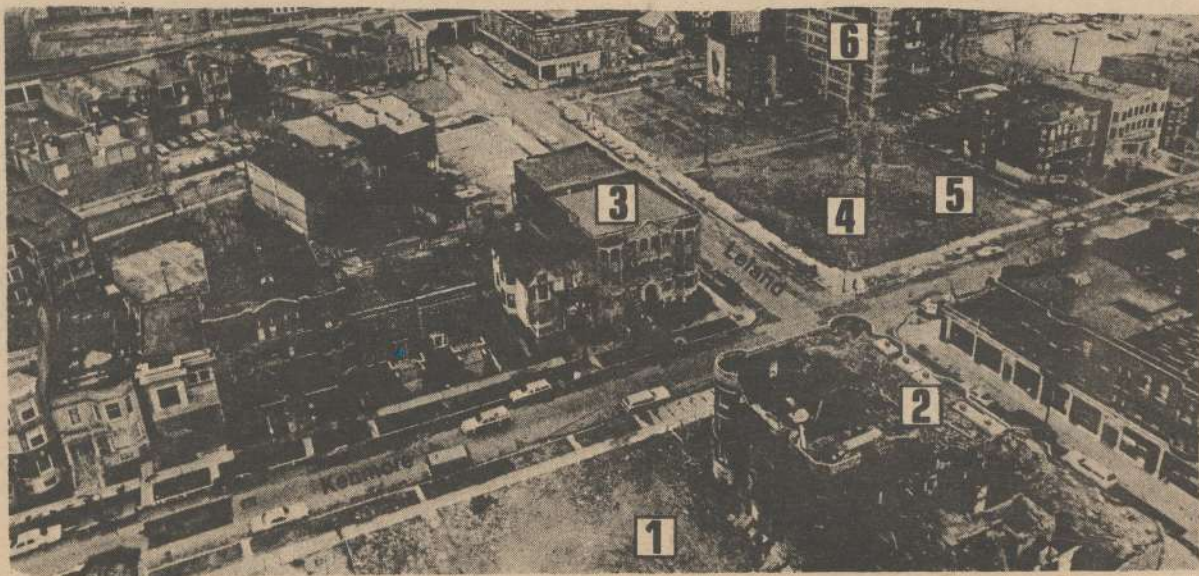
Inevitably someone will start a fire in the hulk of a building, and the building next door will be singed if not damaged. If the neighborhood is redlined—a practice legally outlawed but still very common—the owners of the next building will have no insurance to help fix the place up, nor will the bank loan them any money. Soon their tenants too will be driven out as the place deteriorates.

To save themselves, the neighbors try to get abandoned buildings demolished as swiftly as possible. Demolition has had a bad name since urban-renewal days, and some community groups, particularly Latino organizations, say it is still being used to break up their neighborhoods. The City Government often tries to hang on to vacant and abandoned buildings in hopes that they will be snapped up by rich back-to-the-city adventurous suburbanites. And landlords want to hang on to property as long as possible, in the hope that land prices will rise.

Eventually, even the most elusive owner is served with a summons to appear in demolition court. To delay things, the owner may sell the building to a friend. With each paper transfer of ownership, the process must be started over. And when the owner is at last before the court, he can usually buy time and continuances by promising rehabilitation of the property and claiming that he needs time to arrange financing. Community groups who have seen the demolition court in action say that judges tend to favor the landlords with the biggest buildings and the most expensive lawyers. In the end, though, the average case spends 18 months in demolition court, and two out of three buildings are demolished.

But the story of Chicago's deteriorating housing does not even end with demolition. Wreckers are supposed to crush the building and haul away the rubble; but hauling costs money, and the only things of value the wrecker gets are the bricks. So cut-rate wreckers find it simpler to accidentally burn the building down. The ones stung by this economy are the people in the adjacent buildings, perhaps inches away from the flames.

Another wrecker economy move is to bury the rubble



The four-block area of Kenmore, Winthrop, and Leland in Chicago's Uptown. Between 1968 and 1976 a hundred major fires occurred in this area—an average of 12 a year, or one a month. Over 200 units of housing were vacated or destroyed.

- (1) 4949 Kenmore: Burned and demolished by 1977.
- (2) 4655 Kenmore: After being managed for demolition for eight years, it was burned out in 1978.
- (3) 4656 Kenmore: Half a dozen fires in as many years.

of the demolished building on the lot, thereby saving the dumping fees. But if the fill is not solid, the buried rotting rubble makes a good home for some of Chicago's five million rats. In time stagnant water leaks in, seeping into the surrounding basements, and wood rots, causing cave-ins.

Wreckers don't stop with demolishing what they're told to, either. They also wreck sidewalks, curbs, and even the walls of adjacent buildings. This is especially true in poorer neighborhoods, where scab wreckers work without permits. In the face of complaints, wrecking companies simply change their names and addresses. Some wreckers change their names so often they don't even bother to put their names on their machinery anymore: It's too much trouble to keep repainting it.

In the absence of new construction, some community groups are trying to rehabilitate abandoned buildings. Some groups are looking to the City's rehab program or even to private developers. But large-scale "development" is what triggered Chicago's housing squeeze into a crunch in the first place. Development Chicago-style means displacement to thousands of working-class people, either by being evicted directly or by being priced out of the neighborhood. Five notorious examples of development displacement are the Chicago Circle Campus of the University of Illinois, Carl Sandburg Village, the Lincoln Park area, the Hyde Park-Kenwood area, and Uptown.

Before the building of Circle Campus in the early '60s, the Harrison-Halsted neighborhood was ethnically and racially mixed: Greeks, Italians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and blacks. Construction of the concrete wasteland campus virtually destroyed the neighborhood. Between 1950 and 1970 the population dropped from 30,000 to 10,000, some 4,000 units of housing were destroyed, and more than 650 small businesses were forced to close or move. White families moved south and west to Pilsen while black families were forced to move to Chicago Housing Authority projects. In 1962 the Dan Ryan Expressway ripped through Pilsen, displacing 3,000 people farther west and south.

Between 1958 and 1962 the Chicago Land Clearance Commission spent over \$10 million to demolish 1,053 units of housing and clear 16.1 acres of land on Chicago's Near North Side for Sandburg Village. The City then sold the land to developer Arthur Rubloff for \$7 million—or \$9 per square foot. Before the Sandburg Village housing development opened, one-bedroom apartments in the area rented for \$68 a month. By 1977, rents were as high as \$400, and land sold for \$2500 per square foot. In 1979

- Finally vacated in 1978 after a fire that killed a child.
- (4) 4700 Kenmore: Demolished in 1972.
- (5) 4710 Kenmore: Demolished in 1974.
- (6) 4717 Winthrop: The lights, the water, and the heat were spotty for 100 tenants by the Winter of 1979. The new owners were emptying it out for condo conversion.

(photo from Keep Strong magazine)

Rubloff sold Sandburg Village to the First Condominium Corporation for \$100 million. One-bedroom condos sell today for \$60,000.

In the 1960s Lincoln Park was mainly a community of low-income people, including those forced north by the building of Sandburg Village. When the City declared the area for urban renewal in 1965, private developers worked with the Lincoln Park Conservation Council to get approval to build townhouses. Between 1960 and 1970 close to 7,000 people (50% black and Latino) were displaced. Rents for a one-bedroom apartment went from \$96 a month before 1965 to \$250 a month in 1975. One-bedroom condos sell today in Lincoln Park for \$545,000. As the choicer places get renewed, developers backed by local banks push south and west along the old boundaries of Lincoln Park, causing still more displacement—including the Headquarters of the IWW.

The Hyde Park-Kenwood urban-renewal project on Chicago's South Side began in 1958, and displaced 19,000 people, including 14,000 blacks, between 1960 and 1970. Thousands of units of housing were lost when the nearby University of Chicago converted 2,000 units to student and staff housing, and developers with close ties to the University converted 4,000 apartments to condos. Today a thousand units are being rehabbed into high-rent apartments by private developers with federally-guaranteed mortgages.

The Uptown community on Chicago's North Side was targeted by the City for redevelopment in 1968. Since then it has become targeted by arsonists. As part of the area development package, the City has built a city college in the area, a Board of Health clinic, a middle school, and a hospital parking lot, managing to destroy a maximum of low-rent housing in the process. Landlords raise rents and neglect repairs in order to clear buildings, as land becomes more valuable than the buildings on it. And once a building has been vacated, the demolition cycle starts again, with wide areas sitting vacant until it becomes profitable to build condominiums on them.

The people of Uptown have seen what happened to other neighborhoods in Chicago, and many are prepared to fight to remain. Community groups are numerous in Uptown, demanding changes in the City's housing laws, trying to expose slumlords, and rehabbing buildings themselves. But what success they will have is not yet clear.



Some 100 scientists at a meeting sponsored by the International Whaling Commission pondered agonizingly over a very moral dilemma. Said dilemma was the question of whether the slaughter of whales is moral.

The whale in its present form has existed considerably longer than has the species homo sapiens, but is in danger of being rendered extinct by the technology and avarice of the latter species. The delicate balance of nature notwithstanding, said scientists point out that the whale is for all practical purposes the equal of man in intelligence, thus making his slaughter all the more heinous.

Your scribe, who has never been converted to the attitude promulgated in the Book of Genesis, and whose non-conversion is adequately vindicated by a careful reading of said book, believes that all living things have a right to life, even though that life may depend on feeding on other forms of life. Who is to say that a turnip is completely devoid of soul, especially since it has to struggle to break through the crust of the Earth?

There is nothing any more immoral in eating a chunk of freedom-loving cow than there is in eating a flank of stolid domesticated cow. It is when the wholesale slaughter of a species of creature is being undertaken for the sake of a quick buck that the real moral question comes up. Because that is when the order of nature is really being messed around with.

Dear old Uncle Sammy has been showing his humanitarian compassion for all those Cubans who want to get out of Cuba, but seems to be not quite as enthusiastic about opening up the gates for those Haitians who would like to decline the goodies of the Duvalier dynasty. There are those who accuse the US of being color-biased, as the Cubans are white and the Haitians are black; but we all know Uncle Schlemiel doesn't practice racism. It is rather curious that refugees from left-wing dictatorships have a better chance of coming to Freedom Land than those who are hightailing it from right-wing dictatorships, and it does give pause to one's thoughts about Unk's dedication to the principles of democracy.

It was rather amusing to listen to the boob-tube news about how a thousand illegal Mexican nationals were being deported while, with a slight pause to catch his breath, the newscaster went on to say that the gates are being opened for ten thousand political refugees from Cuba. More compassion is being shown for certain political refugees than is being shown for economic refugees, especially those whose plight has come about through the machinations of their neighbor to the north.

There has been a big hue and cry about undocumented workers from Mexico and the need to stop the flow across the border; but since we still do not have a union of all the World's workers, employers in Freedom Land find that undocumented workers can be had for cheaper wages, and more Spanish is being spoken up North every day. Besides, amigo, we remember the Alamo too.

Yours truly has finally seen the controversial television movie *Death of a Princess*, which has had the Saudi Government up in arms. It is a new technique called "docudrama", which can confuse many people who don't know the difference between that and actual documentary. It seems to be a technique whereby historical events can be tailored to influence the thinking of the viewers as the opinion molder happens to desire.

While this "docudrama" gave a fairly accurate portrayal of Eastern Mediterranean cultural attitudes, it was quite obvious that there was a political motive behind the presentation. Though it was only one segment of the Arab World being portrayed, the inference is that Arabs and/or Moslems are backward people whose stability with respect to the "free world" leaves much to be desired. We all know where Uncle Sammy's biases are in regard to Eastern Mediterranean politics, and it doesn't take very much imagination to figure out why the Stateside powers that be were so anxious to display this "docudrama" on the boob tube.

Again the question of freedom of speech as well as freedom of information (or misinformation) was brought up. Countering it was the liberals' concern over offending peoples of other cultures by presenting them in a negative light. Yes, fellow workers, they are quite concerned about hurting the feelings of the royal family of a medieval monarchy, though the American mass-entertainment media have been bad-mouthing the American Indian for the last 200 years. The consistency of some people is amazing.

What was supposed to be the most shocking element—the low status of women in Moslem countries—falls a little flat on this observer's ears. After all, those attitudes are descended from the Book of Genitals that is the spiritual Judeo-Christian Western civilization, which boasts of its Land-of-Freedom fundamentalism. And especially in Freedom Land, where women get paid less for doing the same work a man does, and where such a tame thing as the Equal Rights Amendment is having a tough time getting passed, one wonders about "liberty and justice for all".

By all means, stop the slaughter of whales. They have a much cleaner record than our species have, and they might have to inherit the Earth someday.

C. C. Redcloud

# Lawrence Remembered

Before January 1912, the 35,000 textile-mill workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, representing 27 nationalities in as many languages, were near slaves of the mill owners, the "noble families". Average weekly wages of \$6 (if you worked the full 56-hour week), rents of \$1 to \$4 for a hovel, and an average lifespan of 39.6 years were the lot of the mill workers.

By the end of March 1912, however, the mill owners had been forced to accept workers' demands without reprisals, after Congressional investigations into the status of child labor in the mills disclosed obscene conditions. Testimony was given by Carmella Teoli, 14½ years old and a mill worker since she was 13. She was a twister at \$6.55 per week, and had to pay 10¢ every two weeks for water in the mill. One day her hair was caught in one of the machines and she was scalped.

On April 27th nearly 300 people gathered on the Lawrence Commons to commemorate that great 1912 strike. The official occasion was the dedication of a walkway on the Commons to Carmella Teoli. The people gathered together represented the work force assembled in Lawrence in 1912, both in national origin and in social circumstance. There were the old-timers who had participated in the strike, their descendants, and a number of newcomers—mostly non-English-speaking Hispanics who are currently jobless, underpaid, and unorganized.

Meanwhile, back in the town hall, resounding with the pop/fizz of champagne bottles, the officials congratulated themselves for having found a way to neutralize and bury the victorious struggle against their predecessors. Clearly there was no role for the Boston Branch of the IWW to play in their scheme, but we were "welcome to contribute" (\$?). So we arrived under the red banner, books and

newspapers in hand.

Children representing the many nationalities of the mill workers sang, and the high-school orchestra played a few pieces, including "Solidarity Forever", though we never heard it at twenty paces. They didn't play the "Internationale".

The ceremony was opened by a businessman/lawyer who assured us that "... we all learned lessons from the strike... progress can only come with co-operation between labor and management." So much for lessons of history. A priest then declared that the strike had been won under the banner "for god and country", and other tidbits of twisted history.

Several other people addressed the gathering: a bunch of politicians, several women, and a unionist from Local 1199 of the Health and Hospital Workers. Marsha Taylor sang her own good song about the strike. The businessman/lawyer then introduced Angelo Rocco, a living reminder of the great strike, who was immediately shuffled off stage.

Mr. Rocco is the person who sent the telegram to Joseph Ettor of the IWW in January 1912 asking him to come and help organize the strike. He told us that he had wanted to speak but was not allowed to. His observation was that the people on stage were the "noble families" trying to fool the people, but "... you can't fool all the people all the time." As if to put flesh on these words, the IWW sold all our books and most of our newspapers, and every leaflet was taken.

IWW Boston Correspondent  
May 9th, 1980

# AROUND THE UNION

**BOSTON:** The Co-operative Workers Organizing Committee sent out a 73-piece mailing of their organizing leaflet "Co-operatives, and the IWW" to work collectives, co-operatives, and co-operative workers throughout the New England area and beyond. The mailing urges co-op workers and work collectives to unite with their fellow workers in the private capitalist sector to build a movement which can achieve their ideals of a co-operative society.

Boston Wobs also intervened in the commemoration of the great Lawrence textile strike of 1912 (see article elsewhere in this issue) put on by the "noble families" of Lawrence in an attempt to deprive this great struggle of any revolutionary significance. The fellow workers countered the false history being peddled at the commemoration by peddling IWW literature and letting the people of Lawrence, Massachusetts know that the struggle goes on.

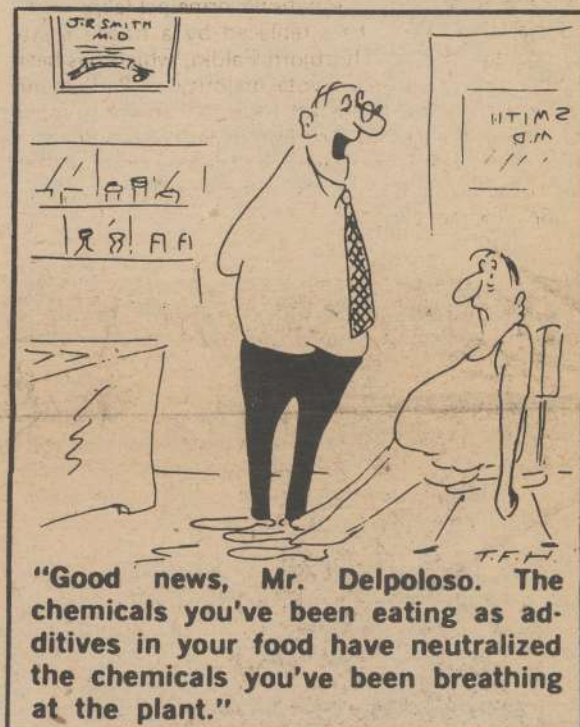
**CHICAGO:** Organizing continues at Voice of the People in Uptown, a housing-rehabilitation project in one of Chicago's most run-down neighborhoods. Nine construction workers have already been lined up, with more to follow, we hope.

**SYRACUSE, NEW YORK:** Fellow Worker Georgene McKown sends us the following report on the showing of the film *The Wobblies* in Syracuse on April 25th. The showing, which attracted about 60 viewers, was sponsored by the Syracuse Peace Council (SPC), which asked the fellow worker to introduce the film. FW McKown brought the audience up to date on the IWW's recent accomplishments, and briefly discussed our motives and goals—all of which was very well received by the audience, as was the *Industrial Worker*.

After the film showing, Fellow Worker McKown engaged a number of viewers in conversation, and discovered that most enjoyed the film's "humanistic quality". Others found it informative as well as enjoyable and humorous.

For her part, Fellow Worker McKown felt that the film did not make the IWW look very good. She thought the film dwelt too much on violence and not enough on organization, and that it made the IWW look "disorganized, directionless, and excessively violent".

**VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA:** Fellow workers in British Columbia are two-carding it these days. One fellow worker is on the negotiating committee at the glass plant where he works; another has just been elected camp chairman by his logging crew; and another is organizing day-care workers into SORWUC, a militant union for service workers. In all cases, these fellow workers are spreading the idea of industrial-union solidarity among their workmates.



Voice of the CLGA workers/cpf

An Injury to One is an Injury to All One Union One Label One Enemy  
**Industrial Worker**  
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202  
Chicago, Illinois 60657, USA  
Phone 312-549-5045  
(ISSN 0019-8870)

The *Industrial Worker* is the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is owned entirely by the IWW and is issued monthly. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Unless designated as official policy, *Industrial Worker* articles do not necessarily represent the official position of the Industrial Workers of the World.

NO PAID OR COMMERCIAL  
ADVERTISING EVER ACCEPTED

The *Industrial Worker* is mailed without a wrapper to cut expenses, but a wrapper can be requested.

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

Carlos Cortez, Leslie Fish  
Judy Lyn Freeman, Mary Frohman, Patrick Murfin  
Penny Pixler, Fred Thompson

THE FINAL DEADLINE FOR ALL COPY IS  
THE SECOND THURSDAY OF THE MONTH

General Secretary-Treasurer  
Michael Hargis



# SWEDE LABOR PEACE SHATTERS

For more than twenty years Sweden has enjoyed an international reputation for progressive and stable labor relations. The Swedish system of labor participation in a broad range of management decisions, especially those concerned with the immediate working conditions on the shop floor, has been widely studied and to a somewhat lesser extent copied in Western Europe, North America, and Japan.

But that harmony between labor, management, and government which was so recently hailed as the best hope of the Western World lay shattered in the Swedish spring. Thousands of public-sector workers on strike since April 25th and more than 100,000 private-sector workers involved in wildcat strikes were joined early in May by some 770,000 workers locked out by the Swedish Employers Association. More than a fifth of the nation's work force was involved, and 85% of Swedish manufacturing was at a standstill. A startled world wondered how it could have happened.

What happened was that Sweden, whose workers had long enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world, was finally being caught up in the same economic crisis plaguing the rest of the Western industrialized world. Inflation, fueled by soaring energy costs, struck Sweden, albeit less devastatingly than it struck other nations. The sophisticated manufactured goods, the pulp and paper goods, and the other exports that had long boomed the economy along were no longer able to outweigh the rising cost of imports, especially fuel. Trade deficits developed, and the economy ceased to grow.

These economic problems were largely responsible for the fall of the Social Democrats, who had ruled Sweden continuously for decades with the strong support of the Labor Federation (LO), the nation's principal labor body. The Social Democrats were replaced by a fragile right-center coalition led by Thorbjorn Faldin, which has been governing with a slim one-vote majority in Parliament. While the Government did not have the power to make the sweeping changes in Swedish society it would have liked to, it did feel it necessary to attack at the roots the source of the Social Democrats' still considerable power—the labor movement.

The Faldin Government, repeating a scenario all too familiar to workers all over the Western World, told the Swedish people that sacrifices would have to be made in the fight against inflation. As usual, the rhetoric held that the sacrifices would be spread throughout the economy; but also as usual, the wage-earning classes were targeted to bear the brunt. The Government announced that it would offer wage increases of no more than 2% to public-sector workers, and the Employers Association followed suit.

At the center of this policy was Budget Minister Gost Bohman, a close associate of Employers Federation President Curt Nicolin. Nicolin further infuriated the labor movement by publicly linking a proposed wage freeze to a freeze in prices and a reduction in taxes. This was a dramatic departure from the Social Democratic tradition of setting up conferences as a forum for labor-management negotiations, but not interfering directly in them.

As a result, the labor movement has been seething for months. Both the LO and the minority syndicalist Central Organization of Swedish Workers (SAC) refused to act to halt the unprecedented wave of wildcat strikes. In addition, the LO ordered its members to refuse overtime work assignments.

Action began in the public sector when 14,000 workers struck and an additional 12,000 were locked out on April 25th. The effect of action by this relatively small group of workers was both dramatic and astonishing. The state, county, and local workers shut down Stockholm's subway network, silenced the broadcast system, stopped air transport, closed Sweden's western seaports, and curtailed service at hospitals to emergency admissions.

These workers were soon joined by more than a quarter of a million of their brothers and sisters locked out of the private sector by the Employers Association, and the Swedish economy ground to a halt. The auto giants Volvo and Saab-Scania were closed, as was most of the machine-tool and advanced-technology industry. The pulp and paper industry, in which the militant SAC is a major force, was also shut down. Two-thirds of the nation's oil-refining capacity was out of commission. Breweries and food processors were out, and food shortages in major cities

were reported within days.

The Swedish people were less than enraptured by the fiasco wrought in tandem by the Government and the Employers Association. The Government in particular was quick to realize that it had made grave miscalculations—both about the vulnerability of the labor movement and about the public mood. As the people recalled more than twenty years of labor peace under the Social Democrats, the prospect of getting rid of the current group of incompetents looked better to a lot of people. The Government hysterically charged that the LO was using the Employers Association lockout as a kind of general strike in reverse to bring it down. The LO, yearning for the good old days under the Social Democrats, undoubtedly wished for the demise of the Government, but the public recognized that it was the Government and the employers who had, after all, precipitated the crisis.

Under the circumstances, the Government attempted to back-pedal rapidly and to disassociate itself from the Employers. By the second day of the lockout, the Government was publicly hinting that it was easing its stand on wages and was quietly bringing pressure to bear on the Employers Association.

On the final day, two weeks after the public-sector strikes had begun and one week into the lockout, the Employers Federation stubbornly refused to adopt a settlement with a 6.8% wage boost recommended by Government mediators after the same accord was reached with public-sector workers. The Employers complained that the settlement would be too expensive, and that the public sector was usurping their traditional role in setting the pattern for wage packages. The Government mediation team threatened to resign, and the Cabinet, meeting in extraordinary session, appealed to the Employers to reconsider for the sake of "labor peace". Reluctantly, the Employers did so. It was over, and the greatest Swedish labor confrontation since 1909 left the labor movement immeasurably strengthened and the Government hanging onto power by its fingernails.

Patrick Murfin

## STRIKE AT WORDPROCESSORS

Fed-up employees of Wordprocessors in Ann Arbor hit the bricks April 17th. Wordprocessors, a small copy/print shop, was the site of an unsuccessful IWW drive last August. The NLRB election was lost with a tied vote. But the employees there have proven that they don't have to have a legal union to act like one.

Following last summer's "labor troubles", owners June and Jim Smith assured their workers that shop conditions would improve. They promised raises, benefits, and new personnel policies. They broke most of these promises. Both hourly workers and low-level supervisors were upset by the Smiths' arbitrary policies.

A phone call brought everything to a head on April 16th. Jim Smith refused to let Jim Forrester, a printer, take a phone call from a friend. Forrester and another printer, Lou Brothers, confronted Smith, and Forrester walked out of work threatening to start a picket line while Brothers resigned in disgust.

That night, workers called every employee in the store to tell them what happened. The next morning the picket line was up and no one crossed to go to work. Negotiations with the Smiths broke down when the management refused to hire Forrester back, claiming that he had quit and was no longer an employee. They set a noon deadline for a return to work, and 28 people refused to return. The Smiths fired them all.

The picket line stayed up for a week and a half. Hourly employees, low-level supervisors, and Ann Arbor sympathizers kept the line strong. Wordprocessors workers held daily meetings to make decisions, and committees took care of publicity and outreach. Everyone was tired of the management's whims, and the workers grew much closer

as the strike went on. Only four workers crossed the line.

Conversations among the employees revealed another facet of the Smiths' management style. According to several women, Jim Smith had engaged in persistent sexual harassment. The women are considering legal action.

By the end of the first week of picketing, the Smiths were in serious financial trouble. Few customers were crossing the line. The employees, on the other hand, estimated that they could stay out at least two weeks. They received some financial help from the IWW branch at the University Cellar Bookstore, and the Smiths finally decided to negotiate seriously.

On April 28th the strikers returned to work with full seniority. Jim Forrester, who the management claimed had quit, was also rehired, and a grievance committee was set up. Last but not least, Jim Smith resigned from Wordprocessors' management staff.

Were the gains worth a week-and-a-half-long strike? The Wordprocessors employees think it was. The strike created a sense of solidarity that is still running strong. Many of the ex-strikers are considering the advantages of bringing a "legal" union to the store, although whether such a union would be independent or IWW is an open question.

Whether they gain legal recognition or not, the workers at Wordprocessors have learned to struggle together. That's a victory in its own right.

Susan Fabrick



Crystal Lee Sutton (right) meets Sally Field, who portrayed her in the movie *Norma Rae*.

## Real "Norma Rae"

The movie *Norma Rae* has a happy ending. After a bitter struggle, the union wins the right to represent the workers in a powerful Southern textile mill. But for Crystal Lee Sutton, on whose life the movie was based, the struggle is far from over.

Seven years after she was fired as a union agitator, and six years after the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union won a representation election at J. P. Stevens' mill in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, the workers there still have no contract. Ms. Sutton hasn't received a cent from the book based on her life or the film adapted from it, while legal fees in negotiations with Twentieth Century Fox have cost her about \$3,000.

As the movie chronicles fairly accurately, Sutton got fed up with low pay, bad working conditions, and the many grievances at the Stevens plant. She helped organize plant workers and forced a union election. The election took place, but Sutton was fired. Since the firing she and her family have become pariahs in the industry, and neither she nor her sons have been able to get work in textile mills. "My boys write 'deceased' on job application blanks when it asks for the name of their mother," she says.

From 1978 through part of 1979, Sutton, desperate

for a job to help support her family, worked as a maid in a Burlington hotel. Under her leadership, the hotel maids soon went union.

Undaunted by personal hardships, Sutton started a six-month nationwide campaign this year against J. P. Stevens, the nation's second-largest textile maker. Since 1963, Stevens has been involved in a thousand labor-law violations involving more than 2,000 workers. In August of 1977, the Second US Court of Appeals branded the company "the most notorious recidivist in the field of labor law". And the National Labor Relations Board is seeking a rarely-used temporary injunction to force Stevens to bargain in good faith.

But the union has made little headway, as it is cheaper for the company to keep ignoring the law and paying fines than to deal with the union. If they gave all their employees a 10-cent raise, it would cost them \$9 million a year.

To increase its leverage against the company, the union has lined up 14 local and state governments to refuse to do business with Stevens. And dozens of labor, civil-rights, and religious groups are also supporting the boycott of Stevens bedclothes, towels, blankets, carpets, and clothing.

## Brazilian Busts

On April 18th, Luis Ignacio da Silva, president of the Sao Bernardo and Diadema Metal Workers, was arrested by Brazilian police along with 22 union members and workers. Seven of those arrested were subsequently released; the others were detained in the notorious Departamento de Orden Político e Social (DOPS), formerly known as a torture center. Among those still being held incommunicado detention in DOPS are Expedito da Silva, second treasurer of the Sao Bernardo Board; Severino Alves da Silva, secretary of the Sao Bernardo Board; Joao Justino de Oliveira, member of the Sao Bernardo union; Neruda (first name unknown), who had controlled the strike fund; and two members of the Strike and Solidarity Committee in Campo Limpo—Roberto Isau and a woman known as Zilma.

The arrests followed the declaration that the strike by 80,000 metal workers in Sao Paulo was illegal. The strike, for a 15% wage hike and job security, was about a month old when it was outlawed: one of the longest Brazilian strikes in recent years. Despite the declaration and arrests, the union members decided to continue the strike.

# WHATCHA DONE LATELY:

June 1980 marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the IWW. During those 75 years plutocrats, pundits, politicians, and piecards have tried to bury it many times, yet the corpse refuses to lie still. Of course, most of you know the history of the "golden years" of the IWW—the period from 1905 to 1921. Less known is the period between the world wars and beyond. Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin filled the gap nicely in their book *The IWW: The First Seventy Years*. That work took the history of the IWW up to 1975, shearing it of many myths and illusions that still persist among historians, and even radicals, to this day. What follows attempts to bring this story of the IWW up to date. It is not history per se, however, but an attempt to answer the usual question asked of us modern Wobblies: "... Yeah, but what have you done lately?"

First a word of warning: This article will not try to build up the image of the IWW by making events seem more important or grander than they actually were; nor will I try to be completely objective, which is an impossibility at any rate. What follows is an interpretation of events by one individual, and as such should not be construed on anyone's part as the "official" view of the IWW. One of the great things about the IWW is that we disagree about almost everything under the sun except the need for revolutionary industrial unionism.

## WORLD VIEW

Take some Marxian economic theory, add a chunk of anarchistic direct action and some 'good ol' rugged individualism, mix it up in the cauldron of industrial conflict in America at the turn of the century, and voila—you have the IWW. The IWW's world view has been shaped by many factors, but most of all by the experience of industrial struggle in late 19th-early 20th Century America. And while technical and structural changes have occurred in capitalism over the last 75 to 80 years, these changes have been in the direction foreseen by the IWW. The centralization of economic power, which produced industrial unionism as the logical alternative to craft unionism, has developed to the extent that the quasi-industrial unionism of the CIO is fast becoming obsolete, making the classwide industrial unionism of the IWW more relevant than ever.

To elaborate a bit further: The craft unionism of the 19th Century corresponded quite well to a competitive capitalism. When capitalist competition developed into monopoly capitalism with its larger aggregates of capital and labor, craft unionism (that is, unionism based on tools used) became obsolete. Industrial unionism, with its organization according to product, was more in tune with the times. Now that monopoly capitalism is being transformed into state capitalism, a new departure is needed: classwide unionism, organizing on the basis of class, given the recognition that sooner or later we will all be working for the same boss.



However, the IWW does not stop with a blueprint for organization. Organization is not neutral; a lot depends on content. And it is the content of classwide industrial unionism that sets the IWW apart from the craft and industrial unionism of the AFL-CIO. The inadequacy of craft and quasi-industrial unionism lie not only in their structure, but also in their ideology. In fact it could be argued that their ideology defines their structure. The "labor" organizations which make up the dominant labor movement accept capitalism and its ideology. Where they see class conflict they do not accept it as a fact of life, but lament it and try to resolve it via "co-operation" between labor and management. Consequently, in struggles with management they are ever willing to be more than reasonable in an attempt to bring the struggle to an end. They are willing to see management's side of the story and concede, a priori, management's "right" to manage the workplace and the workers. Like the capitalists, they view the worker as merely a pair of hands who has to be told what to do. Consequently, they do not feel that the worker is capable of making his or her own decisions or speaking on his or her own behalf. Therefore the "leaders" must negotiate with their counterparts in management over the conditions to which the workers on the job must submit,

and the "leaders" must determine what is best for the workers.

In contrast to this, the IWW views the class struggle as something that workers must use to wrest every last concession from their employers. The IWW challenges management's "right" to lord it over the workers. The IWW views the worker as an intelligent human being who, given the relevant information, is capable of making his or her own decisions about matters that affect his or her life. Consequently, in the IWW, rank-and-file control is the watchword. In the IWW, there are no leaders to negotiate for the workers; the workers have to do that themselves. In the IWW, it is the workers who decide what is best for them. In short, the content of IWW unionism can be summed up as: direct democracy, direct action, and self-management.

"That's all well and good, theoretically; but what do you do?" Well, IWW activity is of three types: educational/agitational, solidarity with workers in struggle, and organizational. Of course, all of these interact with one another to form a whole; but each facet can be taken separately to give an idea of what the IWW has been up to in the last few years.

## EDUCATION

Education is a very important point in the IWW's overall program. An ignorant working class, no matter how well organized, can be used as a tool for unscrupulous labor fakers and politicians, and is incapable of defending or promoting its own interests. Therefore in order to keep its membership—and workers in general—well informed, the IWW publishes books, pamphlets, leaflets, and newsletters as well as the monthly *Industrial Worker*.

IWW literature is both technical and theoretical. On the technical side, in the last five years the IWW has published organizing and collective-bargaining manuals and pamphlets on health and safety hazards in the metal industry, the causes of inflation, and the uses of direct action in combatting abuses in the workplace. On the theoretical side, the *One Big Union* pamphlet has been revised, and the British Section of the IWW has recently printed a pamphlet titled *Unions and Racism* dealing with the problem of racial divisions in the working class and pointing to class solidarity as the only solution. Whether of a technical or a theoretical nature, IWW literature is designed to be used as a tool for the development of awareness of the working class of the problems facing it as a class—and of the way out.

As important as publishing literature is, even more important as educational tools are the many public meetings held by local IWW groups and branches on issues facing the working class. These meetings give IWW members the opportunity to discuss our ideas with workers outside our organization. Very often these meetings result in strong contacts, and at times they lead to further organizational efforts.

Some of the topics that have been taken up in recent years are "Demystifying the Economy" (Tacoma/Olympia educational series); "Which Way for the Rank-and-File Movement" (one of a series of informal educational meetings organized by Wobblies in the Detroit-Ann Arbor area out of which contacts were made which led to the eventual organization of the University Cellar Bookstore in Ann Arbor (discussed later in this article); a series of forums on the development of the American labor movement, organized by the Madison Branch, which included speakers, slide shows, and films; "Revolutionary Unionism in Spain Today" (a tour by a member of the anarcho-syndicalist Spanish National Confederation of Labor, organized by the IWW nationwide); and "Films of Labor and Struggle" (a film series recently organized by the Boston Branch). These efforts, plus the numerous leaflets produced by Wobblies dealing with particular immediate struggles, show that the IWW is continuing to reach out to working people with our ideas.

## SOLIDARITY

An old IWW motto has been that "In every strike the IWW is on the side of the workers." The IWW has lived up to that motto in the many strikes which Wobblies have supported. Some examples are as follows:

- Beginning in the Winter of 1976, the Chicago Branch of the IWW was very active in strike-support work. It began with the strike of child-care workers at the Augustana Nursery on Chicago's North Side, not far from IWW headquarters. Through the coldest days in January local Wobblies walked the picket line and organized a benefit which netted the strikers over a thousand dollars. The Branch followed this up with support for striking OCAW members against Capitol Packaging Company, packagers of Alberto Culver products, initiating a boycott of Alberto Culver goods which was taken up by Wobs from as far away as Sweden. The strike of Cook County Hospital nurses came next, and then the Dresher Manufacturing action.

In the Dresher struggle, the IWW assisted rank-and-file Teamsters (production workers) in writing and negotiating their own contract once they had been abandoned



by their Teamster business agent. Wobblies also provided translations for the many Chicano workers in the shop. Later "La Migra" raided the plant and detained all of the Chicano production workers. This event led Branch members to work to set up a class on the rights of illegal aliens with the help of the Labor Education Department of the University of Illinois.

- Wobblies were also active in strike support in other areas. In Boston members joined the picket line of striking electrical workers at Cambion; the Tacoma/Olympia and Seattle Branches engaged in work for striking auto-trades workers; and in Albuquerque the small IWW group organized successful benefits for striking confectionery workers.

## ORGANIZATION

Of course, the organization of workers on the job is the IWW's main goal. In the last five years the IWW has engaged in a number of drives, with mixed results.

- In the Spring of 1977 Wobblies in Santa Cruz, California began an organizing drive among CETA workers. They began to line people up, and succeeded in obtaining substantial raises and a grievance procedure with the right of IWW members to have an IWW representative with them upon presenting grievances. These initial successes, though not accompanied by a great influx of members from the 3,000 or so CETA workers in the area, led local organizers to expand their focus to all public-service workers. Inroads were made in the Santa Cruz Transit District, where bus maintenance employees joined the IWW and demanded recognition. The workers were eventually forced to join another union in which they had originally been denied membership, and the IWW was out. However success was achieved in a number of other areas: The Santa Cruz Law Center, the Janus Alcoholic Rehabilitation Center, the Santa Cruz Switchboard, and Project Hope all lined up with the IWW. However by the end of the year much of this had been lost due to internal political fights and personality conflicts. The IWW General Administration sent several representatives to investigate, but was unable to salvage the situation.

- While things were winding down in Santa Cruz, they were picking up steam in Illinois. In August of 1977 the IWW responded to a call for organizing help by a group of construction-equipment rebuilders in Virden, Illinois. Several members of the Chicago Branch's General Production Workers Organizing Committee (GPWOC) went downstate and succeeded in lining up a majority of workers at Mid-America Machinery Company. Their demand for voluntary recognition was met with intimidation and a brief lockout.



The workers' response was to file unfair-labor-practice charges against the Company with the NLRB, and to dispatch flying pickets to confront the employer wherever he tried to sell his equipment. However once the struggle became mired in the red tape of the NLRB, time began to take its toll. Two union members quit the company, and one was fired for alleged sabotage. By the time the strike came in the Summer of 1978, the IWW's majority had been wiped out. Eventually the union was left with an unenforceable directive bargaining order from the NLRB, several pending court cases, and not one union member left in Virden. It was a bitter pill to swallow.

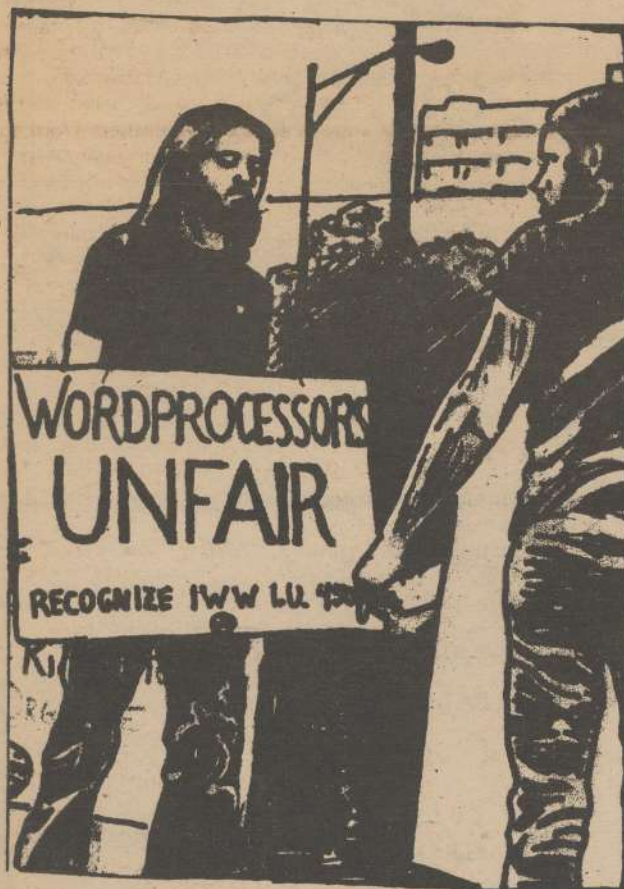
# THE IWW SINCE '75

As we watched the promising beginnings of Santa Cruz go down the tubes and the hard struggle at Virden reach a disheartening climax, a new area of struggle began to unfold. In the Fall of '77 IWW members in the Detroit-Ann Arbor area began to broaden their contacts through educational, strike support, and leafleting. Things began to move in the Summer of '78 when organizers began to line up workers in bookstores in Ann Arbor. At one store, Charing Cross, Wobblies demanded recognition and were refused. A strike and lockout followed, with area residents joining the nine-day picket line which eventually forced a settlement including union recognition, wage and benefit increases, and seniority rights in rehiring.

On the basis of this victory, IWW organizers at the University Cellar bookstore began to sign up fellow workers at a fast clip. Recognition was obtained in January 1979, and negotiations began. As talks with management wore on, job actions increased in order to defend the workers' conditions and pressure the management to negotiate in good faith. The union struck in August to back up its demand for a contract, and after two and a half days a settlement was reached.

The contract contained some modest wage and benefit provisions, but more importantly it took away management's "right" to manage the works. The workers won the right to design a new structure of work relations in the store. The agreement also upheld the workers' right to strike and to honor other workers' picket lines.

As a result of the victory at the University Cellar, the Detroit-Ann Arbor IWW has become more visible, and more workers have shown interest in organizing IWW. As the struggle at the University Cellar was coming to a head, a group of workers at Innovative Wordprocessors Incorporated, an Ann Arbor printing concern, lined up with the IWW and demanded recognition. Although the IWW lost an NLRB election in August of 1979 due to a tie vote, a recent wildcat strike shows that the spirit of unionism is not dead in the shop. Currently a drive among area restaurant workers is getting started, with union recognition already won at one eatery, Leopold Bloom's.



Organizing drives have been attempted or are already taking place in other areas as well. In and around Albuquerque, New Mexico an unsuccessful attempt was made in the Summer of 1978 to organize workers employed by the Irrigation Department. In Grand Rapids, Michigan the IWW gained a contract with the East Town Community Association Print Shop in August of 1978. Currently in Boston co-operative workers are being contacted by the IWW Branch about the benefits of affiliating with the IWW, while in Chicago construction workers at a rehabilitation project in the Uptown area have shown interest in the IWW, and several have already been lined up.

As you can see from the above, the IWW has not been sitting on its laurels but has been on the job, taking on the boss. Out of this activity has emerged an Industrial Organizing Committee. Formed in the Fall of 1978 as a voluntary committee designed to gather the organizing resources available in and around the IWW, the IOC was active in the University Cellar drive on a consultative basis. However internal disputes which arose as a result of this activity brought about an examination of the IOC's organizational structure and its relationship to the IWW as a whole. The IWW's General Convention, and a subsequent referendum, decided to formalize the existence of the IOC in order to make it more responsible to the IWW as a whole. The IOC is still in its formative stage, and it is too soon to judge its impact on future organizing.

## INTERNATIONALISM

Internationalism is another point of departure for the IWW. The working class is an international class, and its class struggle for emancipation is an international struggle. The IWW has active groups in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and Sweden, and a scattering of members in West Germany and Austria.



IWW GDC Local 5 members in Darlinghurst, Australia picket outside British Airways calling for the release of the six anarchists imprisoned in Brixton gaol for "conspiracy".

In keeping with its internationalism, the IWW has engaged in solidarity work for and has maintained relations with revolutionary unions around the world. In the darkest days of Franco fascism it was not unusual to see Wobblies picketing the Spanish tourist offices and consulates around the world in support of imprisoned members of the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT). Since Franco's death the IWW, through the *Industrial Worker* and public meetings, has attempted to break the silence of the capitalist and leftist press on the resurgence of revolutionary unionism in Spain.

Special note must be made of IWW relations with the International Workers' Association (IWA), the anarcho-syndicalist international of which the CNT is an affiliate. It has often been asked why the IWW does not join the IWA. While the IWW has maintained good relations with the IWA since its inception in 1922, it has not affiliated

simply because the IWW is not an anarcho-syndicalist organization.

The revolutionary industrial unionism of the IWW and the anarcho-syndicalism of the IWA have many points in common: the belief in the complete independence of the economic organizations of the working class from every political party and every political state; the belief that the economic organizations of the working class have to be the weapon both for the destruction of capitalism and for the reorganization of the economy once capitalism has been overthrown; and a commitment to direct democracy, direct action, and self-management. Where we differ is in that the IWA is more "political" than the IWW. The anarcho-syndicalists want to "smash the State", and therefore maintain a quasi-insurrectionary view of revolution. The IWW, on the other hand, wants to create a situation in which "the State gets lost in the shuffle", so to speak.

This is not to say that the IWW is right and that the anarcho-syndicalists are wrong. Not at all; for historical and social conditions will determine that. It is only to point out that the IWA is politically anarchist, while the IWW contains in its membership anarchists, socialists, and just plain militant unionists. For the IWW to affiliate with the IWA would amount to the IWW's declaring itself anarcho-syndicalist, thereby creating a wall between it and revolutionary unionists of other political persuasions. But even so, now as in the past the IWW will maintain friendly relations with the IWA and its sections.

## THE FUTURE?

As active as it is, the IWW is still a very small organization with very little influence in the labor movement. This is a fact that cannot be denied. The 1980s promise to be a decade of economic upheaval and military confrontation. As the world market gets smaller, the capitalists of the world will compete more aggressively for a larger share. Working people will find themselves squeezed ever more tightly amid appeals for defense of "the national interest". The conservative labor movement will most likely jump on the patriotic bandwagon and call for greater sacrifice from the workers.

In this situation workers, both organized and unorganized, will be looking for a way out. The social democrats will offer their reformist solutions of nationalizing certain industries and of workers buying up bankrupt firms. The authoritarian left will increase their agitation for the complete statization of the economy—under the leadership of their party, of course. Oh, and let's not forget the fascists, who will appeal to the most reactionary instincts to promote their racist and militarist solutions.

The IWW and other organizations of the libertarian left will have to be there too, offering their own solution to the problems faced by workers: the only solution consistent with freedom—the international solidarity of labor and the relentless struggle against all forms of domination. History is made by human beings; the future will be what we struggle to make it.

Mike Hargis

## Union Odds and Ends

### MOTHER JONES' SUCCESSORS

Back in 1860, Mary Harris taught at the Immaculate Heart of Mary Convent in Monroe, Michigan. Later, Mary Harris became better known as Mother Jones, one of the founders of the IWW, and for many years the outstanding organizer of the United Mine Workers.

The sisters at this Immaculate Heart of Mary convent are still battling for coal miners—and have taken on the mighty Blue Diamond Coal Company.

Four years ago, 26 men died in two explosions only 60 hours apart at that corporation's Scotia Coal Company Mine Number 1 at Oven Fork, Kentucky. The company is a persistent violator of safety laws and environmental regulations. And it is non-union. At its Stearns Mine, the union is still on strike.

The sisters wanted to invest a few dollars so as to have a pension fund. They selected Blue Diamond, and so want to be heard at meetings of the stockholders to urge more rational labor and social policies. Blue Diamond denied them this right, on the score that their purchase of stock was a nefarious plot and not a genuine investment. But they refuse to take no for an answer.

### ASIAN UNIONS

The business monthly *Insight* of Hong Kong reports that though the Philippines have 1,469 unions, only 1.8 million of the official labor force of 16 million are unionized. Management has encouraged as many unions as possible to fight among themselves for worker loyalty, using a divide-and-rule policy.

In Malaysia only 481,000 out of 2.9 million workers have been unionized, and in Hong Kong only 410,500 out of three million workers are unionized. Only 18 of Hong Kong's 384 unions have more than 5,000 members each.

### \$100,000-A-YEAR UNION OFFICIALS

Nine of the 56 US union officers surveyed in a study by *Business Week* magazine received more than \$100,000 a year, whereas only five received this much in 1977. The nine were Edward Hanley of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Angelo Fosco of the Laborers; Shannon Wall of the Maritime Union; J. C. Turner of the Operating Engineers; Martin Ward of the Plumbers; Fred Kroll of the Railway and Airline Clerks; William Lucy of the State, County, and Municipal Employees; and Frank Fitzsimmons and Ray Schoessling of the Teamsters. As they have been for decades, Teamsters officials are the biggest wage earners. Teamsters President Fitzsimmons received a total of \$295,854, which included a salary of \$156,250 and expenses of \$136,954.

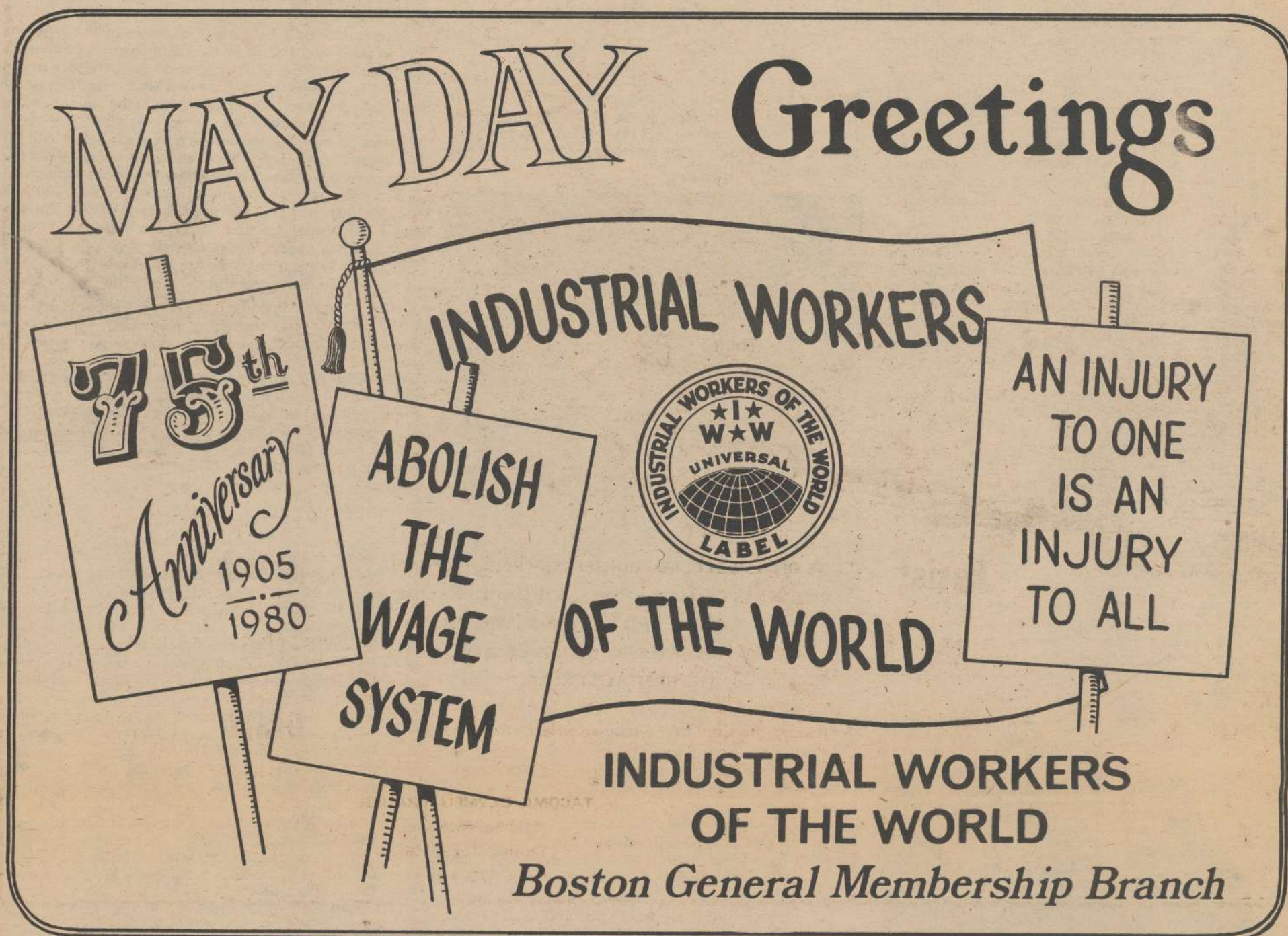
In the face of this edifying news, can anyone doubt that the day will come when the US labor movement can boast of its first millionaire leader?

### TOP COURT BANS SEX BIAS IN WORKER COMPENSATION

The Supreme Court ruled in a recent case that workers' compensation laws that treat surviving widows and widowers differently are unconstitutional. Voting 8-to-1, the Court struck down a Missouri law that awarded survivor's benefits to a woman whose husband died on the job, but required a surviving husband to show that he was dependent on his wife's earnings.

"It is apparent that the State discriminates against both men and women by denying female workers protection for their husbands and families," Justice White wrote for the majority. The Missouri law, the Justice continued, rested on the "offensive assumption" that male workers' earnings are vital to their families' support, but women's earnings are not.

## More 75th Anniversary Greetings



WE SALUTE THE IWW ON ITS 75TH BIRTHDAY. OUR SORORAL AND FRATERNAL GREETINGS RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE IWW IN BUILDING THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT. IN PARTICULAR WE RECOGNIZE ITS IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

SANDRA MORROW  
 ART HILLWICK  
 TOM CHURCHILL  
 KATHERINE HAUGEN  
 TRUCIA TUREMAN  
 OTTILIE MARKHOLT  
 BOB MARKHOLT  
 BETH BRUNTON  
 MARGOT NIMS  
 MICHAEL BEDOIAN  
 MICHAEL P. SMITH  
 BURT E. OLEKSIB  
 MARC P. CHERMETTE  
 PHILIP & LINDA NAPPER  
 SASHA CADY  
 DIANE SOSNE  
 JOE PILATO,  
 L-104  
 AMY STRANDELL

NIGEL B. ADAMS  
 TOM EAGLING,  
 Pres Local 110  
 I.C.W.U.  
 ROBERT G. DARTHEZ,  
 Local 1040  
 IAM&AW  
 JULIUS & ELZA JAHN  
 RON MAGDEN  
 DWIGHT PELZ  
 STEVE STEPP  
 MORNINGTOWN WORKERS  
 COLLECTIVE  
 CAROL J. LARSON  
 DAVID LEVINE  
 RICHARD S. COLBERT  
 JOE & DORIS MURPHY  
 TERRY WIENER,  
 L-104  
 WENDEL WETTLAND  
 MARY ALICE THEILER  
 ROWLAND STRANDELL

SAM SALKIN  
 LOU STEWART  
 ANDY BLYTH  
 TERRY CUNNINGHAM,  
 Shop Steward  
 Local 82, United  
 Association of  
 Plumbers  
 WAYNE ALLEN  
 ROBERT GIBBS  
 ROBERT KESSIN  
 MICHAEL COHEN  
 BARBARA SHAMAN  
 ANNE. JACOBSON  
 OSCAR GRAHAM  
 DENNIS BLOUM  
 ELEANOR WALDEN  
 HENRY NOBLE  
 JOHN PERRAZO,  
 L-104  
 TONY MORRIS,  
 L-104



**Greetings**

**Resist  
the  
Draft**

"WE OPENLY DECLARE OURSELVES THE DETERMINED  
OPPONENTS OF ALL NATIONALISTIC SECTIONALISM,  
OR PATRIOTISM, AND MILITARISM PREACHED  
AND SUPPORTED BY OUR ONE ENEMY,  
THE CAPITALIST CLASS."

(Excerpt from the IWW resolution on war—November 1916)

**Resist  
the  
Draft**

TACOMA-OLYMPIA BRANCH  
2115 So. Sheridan  
Tacoma, Wa. 98405  
Ph. 272-8119

**Fight the Apathy of Affluence  
in the Lost Frontier.  
For a History of Radical  
Struggle in Alaska, Yukon etc.**

send remembrances  
historical references  
stories, songs  
photos, tapes to  
**F.W. Barry Roderick,**  
P.O. Box 748  
Douglas, AK., 99824

**Wishing the IWW  
A Glorious 75th  
from  
Charles H. Kerr Company**

600 W. Jackson Blvd., Suite 413  
Chicago, Illinois 60606

**Publishers to the working  
class since 1886**

Send for our current list

## sound of a distant drum

### Britain in May

May Day in London was a hint of rain in the air, a chill wind blowing from the north, and yellow daffodils in the public parks. We assembled in Malet Street behind the great block of the British Museum, and the scarlet banners waved in the chill wind.

I march for almost an hour with my black bitch Vicki, as I have done each May Day for nearly half a century with changing times and changing dogs; then off to the bandstand in Regents Park for the anarchist picnic, a bottle of wine, a borrowed sandwich, the gossip of the day, and deep and profound philosophical debates.

The State, in its finite wisdom, has decreed that May Day shall be a public holiday. But it would be foolish to pretend that this year's May Day in Britain caught and held the hearts and minds of the masses of the British working class. Though the ritual marches took place, everyone knows that the real test of strength of the British working class will take place on May the 14th, when a general one-day strike is called as a Day of Action. On that day it is hoped and assumed that the whole of the British working class will lay down their tools as a protest against the actions of the Tory Government.

The top-ranking union bosses who have called this one-day demonstration refuse to label it a strike action for simple legal reasons. All the Tory legal vultures are screaming for this to be called a strike so that they can bring out their whole arsenal of legal weapons, which would include arrests and huge economic penalties imposed on the unions for ordering the stoppage of work for that one day. But the union top brass are saying that the lads and lasses are not on strike, but are just taking a day off from work; and on that day every factory, every port, and all internal transport should be closed down. Will it happen? Yes. Will it be effective? I do not know. But this I do know: that on May 14th the working class will declare their will with their marching feet.

At this moment Ma Thatcher and her Tory wild men are riding high; for she has played the female Machiavelli with her attacks on the living standards of the working class, her steady destruction of their social institutions, and her splitting of the trade-union movement by letting the craft unions bargain and receive whatever is in there while hounding the low-paid workers into submission.

And the middle class love her; for with a well-paid police force, a well-paid army, and two million unemployed, she has given her middle-class supporters everything they had prayed for.

On May 14th the working class of these small islands will down tools for one day as their protest, and on that day Ma Thatcher will ride out. Let us accept that that one-day strike will solve nothing; but the battle must still be fought—nay, is being fought. For once again, as at the small Grunwick factory, a group of Asian women are demanding union recognition. Again this strike is almost a carbon copy of the Grunwick strike, and let us pray that the same betrayal will not be the order of the day.

It is at the sweet-making factory Chix in the dreary off-London township of Slough that fifty women have been mounting the picket line for over two hundred days, asking no more than that their union (the General and Municipal Workers) shall be recognized. And again, as at Grunwick, this strike is led by a very tough and dedicated Asian woman: Jaswinder Brar.

Jaswinder came from the Punjab seven years ago, and is still unable to speak much English. She learned to hate the racial conditions that she saw as a part of her daily living. A year ago she took her first factory job in this local sweatshop, where wages ranged between \$40 and \$80 a week for packing sweets. So Jaswinder began to secretly organize her fellow workers to fight for better wages and better working conditions. As at Grunwick, coachloads of scabs are driven in daily with mass police protection; but the women's picket line has stood firm.

Already Jaswinder has been hauled before the court, fined \$300, and "bound over" for assaulting the police. And I know, and Jaswinder knows, and the police know, and the court knows that for the same frail action any happy legless drunk would have walked away from that same court the next day with a ten-dollar fine.

This week, as happened so often at Grunwick, the mass visiting "flying pickets" are joining the picket line. But no matter how bravely those Asian women stand their ground, the answer lies in the warm offices of the top-ranking union bosses behind whom we, the rank and file, march this May Day. For they can stop the scab labor and the import of scab material into Chix factory, and let the working-class world see that those fifty Asian women manning the picket line for union recognition shall not be betrayed.



JASWINDER BRAR

Arthur Moyses, London

# Why Should We Kill Each Other?

For some months now the *Wall Street Journal* has noted that "defense stocks lead the market" and that "we're in a war economy".

Among suburban conservatives, the new "in thing" to do is to practice living in one's fallout shelter.

The British Government has prepared a booklet on what to do in case of nuclear attack. It advises that probably there is no better place than where one is at, but one had best lay in some rations. (The Government is set to retreat to a snug three-story bunker.)

Lockheed is getting \$188 million for an anti-missile "umbrella" called HOE, for Homing Overlay Experiment. It's a non-explosive network designed to detonate incoming missiles 300 miles above the earth. Will \$56 billion be enough to set up a shell game with the MX missile?

Emma Rothschild started off a review of the Defense Department's Annual Budget for Fiscal Year 1981 (NYR 4-3) as follows: "The United States may buy itself two things with its \$1 trillion defense budget of 1981-85. The first is an economic decline of the sort that comes once or twice in a century. The second is a nuclear war." Previous arms booms were set off in depressed periods—but what happens if you inject an arms boom into a period of inflation? If, when critical shortages restrict the economy, you use the short items for the non-productive arms race, how do you keep up with the competition?

The arms business is a tidy, non-competitive affair in which a dozen contractors get the bulk of the business. They are very influential, and recommend arms booms for every problem—world peace, foreign markets, national malaise, unemployment. Sell the old stuff abroad and the new stuff to Uncle—or better yet, some new stuff abroad—and it all peps things up! "60 Minutes" offered a substantial basis for the growing belief that the arms makers are responsible for high gas prices: When they couldn't get Congress to pay for shipping arms to the oil lands, they organized OPEC to raise the revenue to buy their own arms. Service is the basis of business, as the Rotary Club says.

There seems to be a growing fatalistic belief that World War Three is coming—if not sooner, then later. Religious editor Martin Marty urges the world to avoid the "religification" of its political and military drives, for this removes the inhibitions that might stop Catholics and Protestants from killing each other in Ireland, or Arabs and Jews from killing each other in the Middle East, or poor, senile Mr. Reagan from making a parking lot of Iran.

As if there weren't already enough to worry about, the University of Chicago authority on how to teach mathematics, Izaak Wirszup, warns the Defense Department: "It is my considered opinion that the recent Soviet educational mobilization, although not as spectacular as the launching of the first Sputnik, poses a formidable challenge to the national security of the United States—one that is far more threatening than anything in the past, and one that will be far more difficult to meet." He was referring to the discovery that Russian kids are doing better with math than most American kids, getting more schooling, and not dropping out.

There is nothing absurd about the professor's worry... but surely there is something absurd about the social arrangements that make us worry for our lives because the kids in some other country are doing well in math.

Neither is there anything absurd in the advice of the British Government that if the bombs start falling, one may as well stay put. Back in the early days of the atom bomb, a British military strategist named Newbold concluded that Britain's geography made it a sitting duck. He recommended mass training in psychological warfare as the appropriate defense. He figured an enemy would have a point in bombing Britain only to exploit its resources, especially its working class, and this would necessitate an army of occupation. So he concluded that if the British workers were trained to subvert an occupying force, Britain wouldn't be occupied and wouldn't be bombed.

Missile technology has improved since then so that all parts of earth are sitting ducks. Places where there is a militant democratic unionism are places where occupying troops would get subverted. To make a place safer, make democracy the habit of everyday life—on the job, on the street, in the home.

It is still a bit early to take to the cellar with the dog rations, even if "it's later than we think". Why should we kill each other? It would be more fitting to take to our union halls and to make unionism more militant, more assertive, more concerned with how those who do the world's work can reach an understanding about doing it for their common good, and refusing to do it at any dictator's bidding.



### TWIN CITIES IWW GROUP 1980

#### Mayday Greeting!

bless you good workingmen and women,  
 bless you badassed rebel slaves,  
 bless all you who ride the rails from chitown  
 lay over in milwaukee  
 leave a bottle of uncapped whiteport for the spirits  
 of the jungle under the bridge.  
 bless you who get off on highway 61 in st. paul  
 along with sandburg and cassidy and mike fink  
 who push the grain barges and open the bridges  
 bless you good workingmen and women.  
 bless you badassed rebel slaves  
 bless all those who wonder  
 if the boss is to blame  
 does that mean the soldier following orders  
 is innocent and will go to the kingdom of heaven  
 along with his victims  
 bless all you who wonder about the foundries you work  
 that makes the smoke that brings the acid rain  
 bless you good workingmen and women,  
 bless you badassed rebel slaves  
 bless you who have organized  
 for perhaps your children's lives  
 and your children's children's lives  
 are not in vain.  
 these are the blessings of a man,  
 we've all heard them before,  
 a man ain't nothing but a man  
 and we lay awake at night wondering  
 we never sleep.

poem by T. Kevin O'Rourke  
X 331269





# DIGGING INTO IWW HISTORY

## AS OTHERS SEE US

Books and articles about IWW history keep appearing both here and abroad. In German there is Gisela Bock's 200-page *Die "Andere" Arbeiterbewegung in den USA von 1909-1922: Die IWW*. This book grows out of Ms. Bock's studies on the IWW at the Kennedy Institute of North American Studies in Berlin, some account of which was given in the Winter 1977 issue of *Labor History*. In Japanese scholarly journals, Professor Tatsuro Nomura continues his series of articles on the IWW. In Italian, besides a translation of Renshaw's *The Wobblies* and occasional articles in *Primo Maggio* and *Movimento Operaio e Sociale*, a 317-page collection of basic IWW documents edited by Renato Musto has been published in Naples by Theleme. There is a review of this collection by Joseph Conlin in the Winter 1979 issue of *Labor History*.

Conlin is now preparing a collection of recent research essays on the IWW by various historians, all dealing with the IWW on the job. It is to be published by Greenwood under the title *The IWW at the Point of Production*.

Dione Miles, archivist at Wayne State University, has compiled a list of 138 studies of the IWW that have been published between 1970 and 1980, for the most part in various regional history journals. Most of the earliest items in it have been mentioned in previous "Digging" columns in the *Industrial Worker*, but two outstanding ones we missed were Ross McCormack's account of "The IWW in Canada, 1905-1914" in *Canadian History* (1975), Pages 167 to 190, and Leland Bell's "Radicalism and Race" in the *Journal of Human Relations* (1971), Pages 48 to 56, once more attesting to the IWW's good record on race relations.

Siegfried Vogt has sent the IWW a 44-page listing he compiled of research materials on the IWW, all of which may be found in the library of Washington State University in Pullman.

Daniel Fusfeld's pamphlet *Rise and Repression of Radical Labor, 1877-1918* (Kerr, 1980) deals largely with unsuccessful efforts to repress the IWW. It was written to acquaint economics students with some of the less-known facts of life, and how collective bargaining has been conditioned by the carrot-and-stick technique.

Len De Caux harvested grain and worked the Great Lakes as a Wob in the years 1921 to 1925, and wrote in IWW papers at that time. In 1935 he became CIO press chief, and he wrote about all this in his 1970 book *Labor Radical: From the Wobblies to the CIO*. Last year International Publishers brought out his 156-page paperback *The Living Spirit of the Wobblies*. It is a very readable and spirited account, with the twists on leadership appropriate to his Communist perspective.

The Fall 1978 issue of *Labor History* has a striking cover: an enlarged reproduction in red and black of a Wobbly sticker reading "For More of the Good Things of Life, Organize One Big Union". The lead article, by Cletus Daniel, is curiously titled "In Defense of the Wheatland Wobblies". It's about the 1913 hop pickers' disturbance and the subsequent trial of Ford and Suhr, and argues that the IWW didn't organize the agricultural workers of the region, even though this trial brought them lots of publicity. It does mention, however, that the agitation on behalf of Ford and Suhr led to great improvements in 1914 in the lot of the migratory workers. The Spring 1978 issue of *Labor History* had an account of the 1909 Spokane free-speech fight by Glen Broyles, who concluded that we lost that one.

Bruce White has an account of the IWW in Goldfield in the July 1977 *Journal of the West*, to the decline of mining there. Guy Rocha takes the story further with a description of IWW efforts in the Goldfield-Tonopah area to 1922 in the Spring 1977 issue of the *Nevada Historical*



*Quarterly*. This is the most adequate account available of the post-Goldfield efforts of James Walsh, Jack Whyte, John Pancner, and others in that area. In the Spring 1978 issue of the same journal, Rocha describes IWW efforts at the Boulder Canyon Project in 1932 and 1933 as "the final death throes of American syndicalism". Yes, we did lose that one; but it was not the IWW that died. Rocha's article is accompanied by a photo of the monument to the several hundred workers killed on that project, most of whom would not have been killed if they had organized and insisted on safety.

Offset printing is leading historical journals to produce more old photos. The April 1978 issue of *American History Illustrated* has an account of the Haywood trial in Boise, with good shots of the audience and the bewhiskered jury. Keith Paterson notes that when Darrow spoke the courtroom was filled with workers, but when Borah addressed the jury it was filled with businessmen.

*The Journal of Arizona History* devoted its Summer 1977 issue to miners' struggles in that state, from the 1903 revolt of the unorganized Mexican miners at Globe to the IWW battles of 1917. The taped and transcribed reminiscences of Fred Nelson, a Bisbee deportee, are accompanied by some good photos of that atrocity. His slant was that of a miner not committed to any specific organization. The 1917 Globe strike is reported by a Mr. Briel—whom the editors modestly describe as "a company man of extreme partisanship".

In Pages 102 to 122 of *Arizona and the West* (1978), Charles Le Warne presents a vignette of Seattle social psychology as of Yuletide 1917, when the vessel *Shilka* called there with a cargo of dried peas, beans, and licorice root out of Vladivostok—the first Russian vessel after the October Revolution. Port authorities seized the vessel, fearful that it carried arms and gold to the IWW. The crew of 63 knew very little about either Lenin or Kerensky, but were sought after by the Left for light on the Revolution, and were dismayed that port authorities wanted to keep them under surveillance.

The IWW's 1912 knit-goods strike in Little Falls, New York is graphically described in the January 1979 issue of *New York History*. And last year, in connection with the bid for exoneration of Joe Hill on the occasion of his hundredth birthday, the daily press in Canada, Sweden, and the United States carried numerous articles on the IWW,

some of them syndicated. This January a new play on Joe Hill, *Salt Lake City Skyline*, by Thomas Bebe, was staged in New York. The play *The Wobblies*, by Stewart Bird and Peter Robilotta, was produced by the Hudson Theater Guild last year, and the book is now published by Smyrna Press in Brooklyn.

Last year Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer produced a 90-minute documentary, also called *The Wobblies*, available from Over Times Films in New York. The Illinois Labor History Society made a half-hour documentary on the IWW, available from it at 20 East Jackson, Chicago 60604.

This interest of historians in the IWW attests that there is no way in which a worker, whether organized or not, can do more for his class than by joining the IWW.

## IWW In Fiction

Gary Boyer is engaged in research for a dissertation dealing with fiction about the IWW. He would welcome correspondence about novels, short stories, or plays about Wobblies. Write to Gary Boyer, Department of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York 13210.

Gary is already acquainted with the following works for, about, or against the IWW: Charles Ashleigh's *Rambling Kid*; Arthur Bullard's *Comrade Yetta*; Robert Cantwell's *Land of Plenty and Hills Around Centralia*; Winston Churchill's *Dwelling Place of Light*; John Dos Passos' *USA*; Max Eastman's *Venture*; Mathea Forseth's *Color of Ripening*; Zane Grey's *Desert of Wheat*; M. H. Hedges' *Dan Mintern*; Josephine Herbst's *The Executioner Waits*; Robert Huston's *Bisbee*; Walter Hurt's *The Scarlet Shadow*; Reginald Kauffman's *The Spider's Web*; Melvin Levy's *The Last Pioneers*; Agnes Smedley's *Daughter of Earth*; Wallace Stegner's *Joe Hill*; James Stevens' *Big Jim Turner*; Elias Tobinken's *The Road*; Harold Lord Varney's *Revolt*; Dashiell Hammett's *Red Harvest*; Upton Sinclair's *Oil*, or *Singing Jailbirds*, and the like; Eugene O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape* and *The Iceman Cometh*; the IWW implications in the stories of B. Traven, in Poole's *The Harbor*, and in Jack London's *Dream of Debs*, *The Iron Heel*, and the like; and the various dramas on Joe Hill.

FT

## CHINCHES



by CAC

# The Revolution Won't Be Certified!

The April-May issue of the *Industrial Worker* carried an article on "Decertification Elections" which was inaccurate and misleading. To begin with the article claimed that the decertification process was established in 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act. This is historically inaccurate. Decertifications occurred prior to 1947 under the original version of the National Labor Relations Act (or the 1935 "Wagner Act"). Most of these decertifications involved the replacement of the older and more corrupt unions of the American Federation of Labor with the newer and slightly less corrupt unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In the early 1940s the AFL, in collusion with anti-CIO employers, got Congress to make decertifications more difficult by prohibiting the National Labor Relations Board from using its funds to dis-establish a union under contract unless the workers protested during the first 90 days after the contract had been negotiated. This move backfired on the AFL, as employers soon began to use it to protect company unions. During the next few years, however, decertification procedures were gradually modified so as not to protect company unions, but to still make it difficult for workers to change back and forth between unions. This suited the AFL and CIO just fine.

Although the Taft-Hartley Act did not originate decertification processes, it did establish the legal right of employers to charge unions with unfair labor practices and to petition the NLRB to hold certification elections: that is, to question whether a union actually represented "a majority of employees". This amendment to the original NLRA was a result of Government experiences during World War Two. The original Wagner Act only spelled out legal remedies that workers and unions could use if an employer refused to bargain over wages, hours, and working conditions. Unions were not legally required to use these "remedies".

During World War Two the labor movement was in an ideal bargaining position in relation to the employers. The massive growth of unionism during the 1930s, along with the labor shortages of a full-blown war economy, encouraged many rebel workers to disregard the NLRB altogether (as well as their "leadership's" no-strike pledge). After all, why bother with the petty restrictions of the

labor board when you have the economic power to get whatever you want? Before this wave of wildcats could get out of hand, the NLRB and the courts began to clamp down on rebel workers refusing to go through "proper channels". The Taft-Hartley Act, passed two years after the end of World War Two, was the logical conclusion of a process already begun under the Wagner Act: making the unions use the NLRB instead of sitdowns or wildcats.

This brings up the second major inaccuracy of the article on "Decertification Elections". The implication of the article is that NLRB certification or decertification elections permit workers to choose their own unions. The present method of union certification, however, makes it difficult if not impossible for workers to get out of a corrupt union once it has been approved by the NLRB and the employer. For one thing, the present process gives workers only a 30-day period near the end of a contract to petition for a decertification election. If a contract is a standard three-year agreement, it can be a long wait between election opportunities. Corporations have been known to pick up and move out of town in less time.

Another factor inhibiting decertifications is the requirement that 30% of the workers in the *bargaining unit* must petition for an election. When most of today's union locals were first certified, they had to get only a majority in single shops or plants. Since the 1930s the strong trend toward industry-wide contracts has meant that the original election units have been lumped together into huge multi-plant or multi-employer bargaining units. In most cases this has been the result of deals made between labor bureaucrats, employers, and the Government, without the rank and file ever being consulted. Now if the workers at the original workplace where a certification election was held in the 1930s or 1940s want a new union, they need more than just 30% of the shop's workers to sign an election petition. They must now get 30% of the workers in the industry-wide bargaining unit. It's no wonder that unions like the United Auto Workers are rarely decertified. Try getting a couple hundred thousand auto workers to petition for a new union!

The upshot of union certification is that it is easier for the employer to get rid of an unwanted union than it is for the workers. The union officials aren't about to bite

the hand that feeds them. This cozy relationship between the leaders of the big industrial unions and the employers has helped produce a situation in which the president of the United Steel Workers can promote wage cuts, the president of the United Auto Workers is on the Chrysler board of directors after selling the Chrysler workers down the river, the president of the United Mine Workers is being hailed by the *Wall Street Journal* as the "strong union leader" the coal industry needed, and the president of the Teamsters is the biggest joke in Las Vegas.

Finally, the "Decertification Elections" article concluded with the common leftist mistake of confusing centralization with solidarity. The Government and the corporations prefer *big* corrupt unions. Industry-wide contracts help stabilize labor conditions, providing maximum control over the work force and the economy. The employers are united into industry-wide associations, while the corrupt union officials keep the authority to call strikes out of the hands of the rank and file.

It is not unusual for big industrial unions like the UAW to permit the rest of the corporation's facilities to operate at full tilt (with time and a half for overtime), while some UAW local is left to strike in isolation and be defeated for lack of support. Having the "right to strike" over local issues (as important as that right may be) under the conditions set by the Government and the business unions amounts to nothing more than the "right to starve". Being part of these big corrupt unions doesn't guarantee that the workers will be allowed to use their strength against the company. If anything, it is just the opposite.

It is time for us to recognize that the NLRB and the rest of the Government couldn't care less about workers' rights. Union certification is a device to contain and control the labor rebellion. Once a corrupt sellout union has been established at a workplace, the Government is interested only in how well the bureaucrats keep the workers in line. Solidarity cannot be built through the NLRB or industry-wide contracts. Contracts and union certification may be unavoidable at times, but we can't let them fool us into sitting on the sidelines while our fellow workers are catching hell. Only direct economic action taken in sympathy with other workers can build industrial union solidarity.

Jeff Stein

## REVIEW:

### New IWW History (auf Deutsch!)

*Die Andere Arbeiterbewegung in den USA von 1909-1922: Die Industrial Workers of the World*, by Gisela Bock. Munich, Trikont Verlag, 1976, 197 pages.

"Die Andere Arbeiterbewegung"—"the other workers' movement"—the movement that organized the unorganizable, the immigrants, the migrants, the unskilled. The movement created because the "Labor Movement"—the business unions—wouldn't. The mass-production industries that pioneered the uses of assembly-line work, Taylorism, rationalization were answered by the unskilled, immigrant, and migrant workers who slaved for them—"the other workers' movement".

This is not a book about the IWW as such. The IWW provides the author with her main example, and it is set in the IWW's "golden years", bounded roughly by the McKees Rocks Strike of 1909 and the post-World War One strike wave.

Three interrelated themes run through the book: the formation of modern American industry, the formation of a working class fitted to its new modes of production, and the struggles by those self-same workers to maintain their dignity and improve their conditions in the face of being molded. These themes are further related to other societal changes, providing a dynamic analysis of a pivotal period. The call for efficiency which is so central to Taylorism in the workplace, for example, is related to the sociological view of the family as a unit whose constituent members have various roles to fill—from "running" households to "managing" them. In the IWW, managerial/efficiency-expert psychology took its toll as well, with the short flirtation of the organization with Howard Scott's Technocracy.

In discussing the tactics of the IWW—Direct Action, Solidarity, and so on—the author points out the differences in viewpoint, interests, goals, and the like between the "other" unions and the business unions. She notes that the business unions were no strangers to slowdowns and other on-the-job tactics; but for the craft unions, these methods were used to maintain job monopolies and craft prerogatives at the expense of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. For the latter, the same on-the-job tactics existed not to exclude others, but to avoid the costs of long strikes.

The author devotes a chapter to the IWW and syndicalism, treating the subject differently from most other writers. She does not contrast the industrial unionism of the IWW with the craft organizations of the European syndicalists or the specifically Anarchist character of European syndicalism. Rather, she sees the IWW as part of the syndicalist tendency, identifying "syndicalism" with the

"other workers' movement"—that is, as a movement using Direct Action and Solidarity, rejecting (or ignoring) changes through "party, political action, and the State" (Page 100). The ultimate aims of both the syndicalists and the IWW are also seen as similar: workers' self-management of the means of production.

This reviewer feels, however, that she omitted another important factor in discussing the IWW and syndicalism—namely that the IWW's non-political/unpolitical stance allowed (and allows) its members to take part in political/anti-political activities outside the job arena, not tying members down to particular political/anti-political dogmas. This solution was practical, both from the short-range perspective of keeping the infant IWW together in one piece, and from the long-range perspective of working-class unity.

The book does, however, have its limitations. The processes the author describes as having occurred in the first third of the century—mass production, rationalization, exploitation of poorly-organized ethnic minorities—do in fact continue today. The exclusionist policies of the craft union continue today; and what passes for "Industrial Unionism" has become just another wing of business unionism, pure and simple. Bock sees the IWW's time as past, seeing those the IWW organized in the days of yore as re-emerging in the 1960s as the movements of youth, black people, and women. Well... the youth movement is no more; class lines appeared in the civil-rights and black movement; and already we are beginning to see fissures along class lines in the women's movement. Oppression as a class, in other words, still exists. That organized workers are dissatisfied with "their" unions is shown by the large number of wildcat strikes in all industries. Clearly the problems which demand that business unionism be transcended still exist today—as does the need for the IWW.

These reservations aside, the book is well worth reading. For those whose command of German is less than fluent—like this reviewer—the author's style is welcome. And the book is very well documented; a glance at the footnotes will show the painstaking research that went into it. Not only are the standard works familiar to all in the area featured—Foner, Dubofsky, Gambas, Kornbluh, and so on (a curious omission is Fred Thompson's history)—but there are references to studies by a later school of historians, sociologists, and activists (Montgomery, Bernstein, and so on). In addition the author cites German and Italian sources that are not usually seen. We should look forward to follow-up studies!

Shelby Shapiro

**6 HOURS WORK  
FOR 8 HOURS PAY  
PUTS MORE  
WORKERS ON THE JOB  
EVERY DAY!**



**Kops  
Kleared in  
Klan rally**

A federal investigation has cleared the Greensboro Police Department of criminal liability in the November 3rd anti-Klan rally in Greensboro that left five Communist Workers Party members, supporters, and reporters dead and two injured.

The police were criticized for not being on the scene when the Klan started shooting, even though police knew that Klansmen were headed for the protest area. Fourteen men have been charged in connection with the shootings.

# IWW Directory

## NORTH AMERICA

ALASKA: Anchorage IWW, Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99504.  
 ARKANSAS: IWW Industrial Organizing Committee, PO Box 371, Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923.  
 CALIFORNIA: San Diego IWW Group, Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4472 George, San Diego, California 92116, Phone (714) 296-9966. San Francisco General Membership Branch, 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 Branch IU 450, Laura Rosenfeld, Branch Secretary, Synthex Press, 2325 3rd Street, Suite 415, San Francisco, California 94107, Phone (415) 626-6040.  
 ILLINOIS: Chicago General Membership Branch, Leslie Fish, Branch Secretary, 3435 North Sheffield Avenue, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, Phone (312) 549-5045. Meetings are held on the first Sunday of each month at 2 pm. Child care available if notice given in advance to the Branch Secretary. Champaign/Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 709 North Cunningham, Urbana, Illinois 61801.  
 MARYLAND: John Spitzberg, Delegate, 2 Orchard Drive, Gaithersburg, Maryland 20760, Phone (301) 977-6785.  
 MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 13, William Marquart, Branch Secretary, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings are held the first Friday of each month. Child care available if arranged in advance with the Secretary, 787-4237.  
 MICHIGAN: Detroit/Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, Eric Glatz Delegate, 2305 West Jefferson, Trenton, Michigan, Phone (313) 675-8959. University Cellar IU 660 Branch, PO Box 7933, Liberty Street Station, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.  
 MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/Saint Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1688 Dayton, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104. Scott Burgwin, Delegate, 3343 15th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407.  
 MONTANA: Thompson Falls IWW, A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana Phone (406) 827-3238.  
 NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW Delegate, Henry Pfaff, 77 Ekert, 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: Corvallis IWW Group, Bill Palmer, Delegate, 444 Northwest 17th, Corvallis, Oregon 97330. Eugene/Springfield IWW Group, Tim Acott, Delegate, 442 Monroe, Eugene, Oregon 97402. Portland IWW Group, Bill Miller, Delegate, PO Box 40513, Portland, Oregon 97240, or phone David Stevens at (503) 231-0022.  
 TEXAS: Houston IWW Group, PO Box 35253, Houston, Texas 77035, Phone (713) 723-0547, or Gilbert Mers, (713) 921-0877. Rye IWW Delegate, Fred Hansen, Box 728, Rye, Texas 77369, Phone (713) 885-4875.  
 WASHINGTON: Seattle General Membership Branch, 309 Federal Avenue East, Seattle, Washington 98102. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, Otilie Markholt, Branch Secretary, 2115 South Sheridan Avenue, Tacoma, Washington 98405, Phone (206) 272-8119.  
 WISCONSIN: Madison General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 9, Richard Linster, Acting Secretary, 426 Cantwell Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.  
 BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver IWW Group, Al Grierson, Delegate, PO Box 69284, Station K, Vancouver, British Columbia V5K 4W5, Canada.

## EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN: British Section IWW, Geoff Armstrong, Section Secretary, PO Box 48, Oldham, Lancashire OL1 2JQ, England. Elaine Godina, Delegate, Phone 061-633-5405.  
 SWEDEN: Stockholm IWW Group, Goran Werin, Delegate, PO Box 19104 104 32 Stockholm 19, Sweden.

## PACIFIC

GUAM: Guam IWW Group, Shelby Shapiro, Delegate, PO Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910.

# SUSTAINING FUND

(Received April 16th Through May 15th)

Switchman	10.00
Linda Fezco	5.00
Shelby Shapiro	5.00
Frank and Jenny Cedervall	4.00
Greg McDaniels	5.00
Abe Turovitz	13.00
John Braski	6.00
Tacoma Branch	2.00
X162892	5.00
Willie Marquart	25.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80.00</b>

Many thanks, Fellow Workers, for your contributions to the *Industrial Worker*. The *Industrial Worker* does not derive income from selling commercial ads, nor do we have a rich liberal pumping money into this project. We rely solely on the contributions of our readers. Please keep the money rolling in so the *Industrial Worker* can keep on going. Donate to the IW Sustaining Fund.

**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

## THEORETICAL

<input type="checkbox"/> IWW Organizing Manual	75¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Collective Bargaining Manual	75¢
<input type="checkbox"/> IWW Preamble and Constitution	30¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Inflation: Cause and Cure	25¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Workers' Guide to Direct Action	25¢
<input type="checkbox"/> General Strike for Industrial Freedom	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> One Big Union	\$1.00

## MUSICAL

<input type="checkbox"/> IWW Songbook	75¢
<input type="checkbox"/> The Rebel Girl (sheet music)	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music)	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter	\$1.00

## HISTORICAL

<input type="checkbox"/> The IWW's First 70 Years (hardbound)	\$15.00
<input type="checkbox"/> The IWW's First 70 Years (paperback)	\$4.95
<input type="checkbox"/> History of the IWW in Canada	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary	\$3.95
<input type="checkbox"/> Pullman Strike	\$2.95
<input type="checkbox"/> Autobiography of Mother Jones	\$3.50
<input type="checkbox"/> The Right To Be Lazy	\$1.25
<input type="checkbox"/> Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism	\$5.95

## POSTERS

### Printed

<input type="checkbox"/> Organize!	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> One Big Union	50¢
<input type="checkbox"/> Two Anti-War Posters	\$1.00

### Lino Cuts

<input type="checkbox"/> Joe Hill	\$2.00
<input type="checkbox"/> General Strike	\$2.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Huelga General	\$2.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Draftees of the World Unite!	\$2.00

## MISCELLANEOUS

<input type="checkbox"/> General Defense 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.

## AVAILABLE FOR LOCAL GROUPS AND BRANCHES

Available from the Chicago Branch, 3435 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60657: *Fat Cat Poster*, \$2; *Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job*, 50¢; *Durruti: The People Armed*, \$5; *Bicicleta*, a Spanish anarcho-syndicalist magazine (in Spanish), \$1.50. Available from the Tacoma-Olympia Branch, 2115 South Sheridan Avenue, Tacoma, Washington 98405: *Fellow Union Member*, 10¢ each; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢ each; 15 to 499, 3¢ each; 500 or more, 2¢ each.

# SMOKING IN THE "3rd" WORLD

US adults consumed 2% fewer tobacco products last year than they did two years before, the least in any year since the Spanish-American War. Tobacco consumption has fallen to 7.91 pounds for each US resident. About time, you might say, seeing that tobacco kills approximately 346,000 people in this country each year.

But the seven trans-national tobacco companies that control 75% of the non-Communist world's tobacco production are simply refocusing their attention on the Third World. Tobacco consumption and production today is growing fastest in the world's poorest countries, spreading ill health and socio-economic problems. Cigarette marketers in the Third World rarely have to print the health warnings that are slowly curbing sales elsewhere. They dump lethal substandard tobacco on unsuspecting buyers while the local media, eager for tobacco advertising, keep awareness low. Cigarettes sold in the Third World usually contain twice as much cancer-causing tar as the identical brands elsewhere.

Some 58% of the world's tobacco—5.69 million tons in 1976—is grown in developing countries. British American Tobacco alone has encouraged tobacco production in 50 countries, with expert technical advice and loans.


The side effects of this increased production, however, are increasing economic inequalities in the host countries. According to a United Nations survey of 83 countries, 3% of the landlords have come to control 80% of the land. When a new agricultural technology and cheap credit are introduced into a land with a social system shot through with power inequalities, those who already possess land, money, credit "worthiness", and political influence benefit most.

The potential productivity represented by commercial agriculture attracts a new class of farmers—money lenders, speculators, bureaucrats, foreign corporations—who rush in and buy land. Land prices soar, and so do rents, pushing tenants and sharecroppers into the ranks of the landless. Deprived of their land by rich local elites and foreign agribusinesses, the former farmers must eke out a living as day laborers or must migrate to the slums of the nearest city.

# SUBSCRIBE!!

NAME .....	ZIP/POSTAL CODE .....
STREET .....	
STATE/PROVINCE .....	
<b>ENCLOSED IS:</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$1.50 for a six-month introductory subscription	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.50 for a two-year subscription
<input type="checkbox"/> \$4.00 for a one-year subscription	<input type="checkbox"/> \$11.00 for a three-year subscription
<input type="checkbox"/> \$..... as a donation to the Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund	

# SLOW DOWN



The job you save  
may be your own!

I. W. W.

3-4 copies

# DID YOU NOTICE ?

- A study by the Illinois Commission on the Status of Women found that 50% of married women are the victims of some sort of physical violence perpetrated by their spouses. According to a 1977 survey at the Women's Correctional Center of Cook County (Chicago), 40% of the women jailed on charges of killing their husbands or live-in boyfriends had been the victims of severe and chronic abuse. Almost half of the women murdered every year are murdered by their husbands.

- Working women as a whole have no higher rate of heart disease than do housewives, according to Dr. Suzanne Haynes of the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute. But women employed in clerical and sales occupations have twice the coronary-disease rate of other women. The women with the greatest risk of coronary disease are clerical workers with blue-collar husbands and three or more children.

- According to union leaders in Chicago, as many as 25% of the area's construction workers are either jobless or working on reduced schedules. Carpenters are among the hardest hit, with nearly 30% either unemployed or under-employed. The head of the Chicago Journeymen Plumber's Union estimated that 40% of the plumbers are under-employed, and expected the situation to remain

unchanged in the immediate future.

- Girls begin high school equal to or better than boys in math, but fall behind by their senior year, according to a study by the Educational Commission of the States.

- One out of every three people who get lung cancer is a non-smoker. In the last two decades, the rate of lung cancer in non-smokers has doubled. Of the 27 major studies of smoking and lung cancer, *none* inquired about the smokers' occupational history. The last thing the chemical industry cares to know is the connection between air pollution and the discharge of carcinogens into the environment.

- The US Labor Department reports that in half a year it caught employers cheating 334,000 workers out of \$65 million through violations of minimum-wage and overtime laws. The Department secured payment of \$42 million to 255,000. Inspectors have found the garment industry in New York City "like the old days"—including sweatshops where 5,242 minors were found working illegally, and people were found working for \$10 a day.

- Regional differences in standard of living are shrinking in the USA. In the Far Western states in 1940, the average personal income was 2.4 times the average personal income in the Southeast—but by 1978 it was only 1.2 times as high. The Far West and the Southeast remain the regions of greatest difference in income, with the Great Lakes riding the middle throughout.

- The new state of Zimbabwe started off with "over 10,000 university graduates, a black middle class that includes a number of millionaires, and at least 30 American-trained PhDs who fought with Mugabe in the army of liberation".

- There are still four labor banks: the Amalgamated in both New York and Chicago, the Broad National Bank of Newark, and the Brotherhood State Bank of Kansas City. Back in 1926 there were 35 banks founded by unions in the hope that this would be a more sophisticated way to cope with capitalism; but the collapse of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers led unions to drop that dream. Now with big pension funds, the old cry returns: Why use our money to finance our enemy?

# Old, Young, in Between

In the USA a million old folk live in nursing homes—many of them dosed into semi-vegetation to make them easier to handle. It's a \$13-billion-a-year industry, note the Gray Panthers, who are set to attack the custodial abuse, filth, and semi-starvation they hear of too often. Then there are about a million more old folks in "geriatric boarding houses".

For many elderly persons, the main monthly event is their Social Security check. The SS mails \$9 billion a month to 35 million individuals. Of these 23.2 million are over 65, 3.5 million are between 62 and 64, 2.3 million are younger but disabled workers, 1.4 million are widows with children under 18, and 4.7 million are children of retired, disabled, or diseased workers. Only about 300,000 checks are sent to workers who have moved out of the country.

"One child in seven—or 10 million children—has no source of health care. One out of every three children—18 million—has never seen a dentist. Sixteen per cent of all children live in official poverty. Five hundred thousand kids are taken from their parents and placed outside their homes by government agencies. One million school-aged children are not enrolled in any school," says Marian Wright Edelman, a professor at Northwestern University (as quoted in the April 26th, 1980 issue of the *Chicago Sun-Times*).

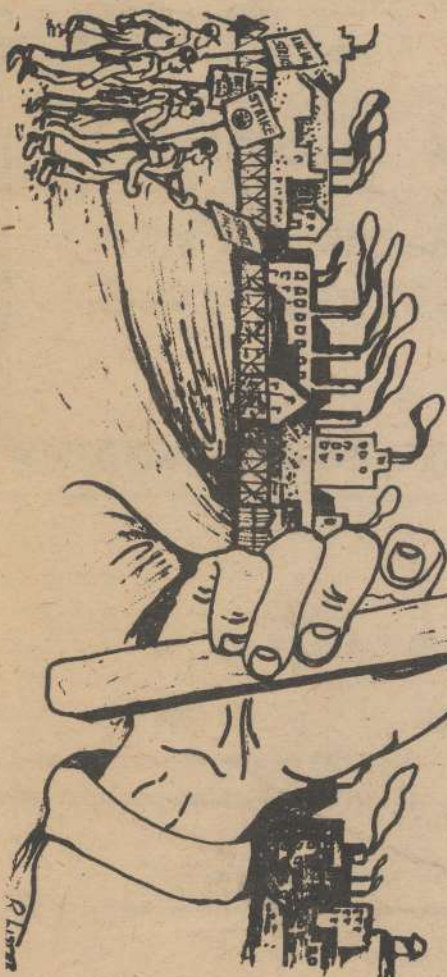
A million young folks run away from home each year. Since 1950 the suicide rate for boys between 15 and 19 has tripled. A seventh of the 17-year-olds who haven't already dropped out of high school are illiterate.

About 75,000 folks under 18 are imprisoned. The official count of all who greeted the New Year 1980 in state or federal prisons ran to 314,083.

The sun rises daily, and organizing the job could make this whole planet a pleasant place to spend a lifetime.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER  
3435 N. Sheffield Avenue  
Second Class Postage Paid at  
Chicago, Ill. 60657, USA

**I W Y W**  
**HITS**  
**ITS**  
**YS TH**  
**!**



Abolition of the Wage System

★ EDUCATION  
★ ORGANIZATION  
★ EMANCIPATION

VOLUME 77, NUMBER 7 - WN 1407

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 16TH-JULY 15TH, 1980

25 CENTS

EDUCATION ★  
ORGANIZATION ★  
EMANCIPATION ★

# Industrial Worker