



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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## EUROPE SAYS "HELL, NO!"



A London street is clogged with some of the 150,000 people marching to Hyde Park for the biggest anti-nuclear demonstration in Britain in two decades. The protest was staged after a similar rally in Bonn drew 250,000 people.

### ANTI-NUKE DEMONSTRATIONS SPREAD ACROSS EUROPE

The month of October saw more than a million people take to the streets in protest marches against nuclear weapons. Increasing numbers of people in the five countries where NATO intends to site cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in 1983 (Belgium, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and West Germany) are now either opposed to the missiles or doubtful about the need for them. Anti-nuclear sentiment was fueled by Reagan's decision to build the enhanced-radiation neutron bomb.

In Rome, more than 200,000 Leftists, unionists, and members of anti-war groups marched for nuclear disarmament in the biggest demonstration in the Italian capital in more than a decade. In London 150,000 streamed into Hyde Park for an anti-nuclear demonstration coinciding with a visit by US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. More than 120,000 Finns marched in more than 54 Finnish cities and towns. More than 100,000 people marched in Milan, carrying banners bearing slogans against the arms buildup by both the Soviet Union and the United States.



In Holland, the Church has played a prominent role in building the country's anti-nuclear campaign. In most European countries, according to public-opinion polls taken in March, people do not share the general American assumption of imminent Russian attack in the next five years. An overwhelming majority of the Europeans polled thought that arms-control talks are a better way to improve their security than strengthening NATO's military forces.

According to Maurice Wilkins, a Nobel Prize winner who was sent by the British Government to the US in 1944 to help create the atomic bomb, what is needed is the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. "If you sit down and think about it, it's not at all obvious that the Russians would advance if Western Europe disarms. Why would they want to? If the Russians took over Western Europe, there would be an enormous amount of opposition. There's nothing in it for them."

Sanity too is contagious. This outpouring of anti-war feeling may yet cross the North Atlantic and strengthen opposition to the US military-industrial complex in its very heartland.

## A Place To Hide?

"There's only 90,000 Micronesians out there. Who gives a damn?"—Henry Kissinger

A move has been developed to declare the Scandinavian countries a nuclear-free zone. Unions in general back it, and wouldn't mind its being extended beyond Scandinavia. A similar movement is growing for a Nuclear-Free Pacific, and trade unions in the Pacific give it support.

Between 1946 and 1963 over 70 nuclear-bomb tests were conducted in or near the Marshall Islands in Micronesia, with the indifference cited from Kissinger above. "By 1970," says a summary of this development in the October issue of *Win*, "the Marshallese were suffering high rates of cancer, retarded growth, and miscarriages."

The USA stopped those tests in 1963, as it had developed the technique for underground testing in the Utah-Nevada desert. France gained entry to the nuclear club and started testing its nuclear bombs, at first high in the skies, then in the waters near its Polynesian colonies. Britain, Russia, and China added to the nuclear pollution.

At the Kwajalein Missile Range in the Marshalls, the USA is getting set to test the delivery systems for its MX missiles and neutron bombs. To build facilities for this, over 8,000 Marshallese have been crowded onto the island of Ebeye "as many as 13 to a room, without schools, hospitals, or modern sanitation."

There are mixed motives for the movement for a Nuclear-Free Pacific. There is a distaste for making one's home a prime target for a first strike in World War III. The missile ranges in the Marshalls and the fields filled with B-52s in Guam are such bull's-eyes. At the same time, these projects create jobs, and the economies of former island paradises have changed now so that one's life often hangs on getting a job. Still, workers in Guam don't want Japan to dump nuclear waste in their vicinity, and this woke them up to the consideration that the jobs the US gives them are much like building the gallows on which one is to be hanged.

Unions in the area and along the Pacific rim are taking increasing interest in the idea of a Nuclear-Free Pacific. Multinational activity in connection with military plans is making wage slaves out of island peoples, conditioning them for exploitation in world trade, under conditions

that give them little democratic control. For example Belau, 500 miles from the Philippines, in Micronesia, became an independent country, and wrote a constitution that bans all nuclear materials. The USA says that sort of constitution is "invalid".

How about a Nuclear-Free Pacific, including the two American continents that border on it? For contact with the NFP movement in this country, write to the Bay Area Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Pacific, 2120 Eighth Street, Berkeley, California 94710.

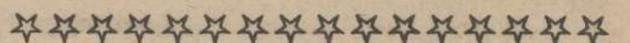
## Utah In NYC

For Utah Phillips' concert at Folk City, 1303 West 3rd Street in Manhattan November 15th, the New York Organizing Committee of the IWW arranged to have a special table for the NY/NJ Wob contingent and a literature display. At the same time we celebrated Fellow Worker Minnie Corder's 86th birthday, her 62nd year as a Wobbly.

The IWW was represented at the anti-apartheid demonstration against the South African rugby team in Albany with a sign reading "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All: IWW".

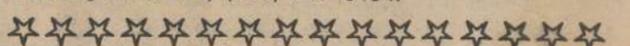
The Wob delegation at the September 19th Solidarity protest in Washington found many friends there. We gave out copies of the *Industrial Worker* and other literature, talked to hundreds of interested people, and signed up some new members on the spot. We got a great reception from everybody who stopped to talk to us.

R. S. and C. B.



### UTAH PHILLIPS TOUR

After touring the Northeast in November, Utah Phillips will hit the southern and western portions of Alaska in December—and perhaps see Santa Claus and tell him to quit class-angling and gift-giving. In January Utah will show his good judgment by touring California. Then he'll go back to the Northeast for February, visit the Midwest in March, greet spring in the Southwest, tour the South in April, and visit the inter-mountain Northwest in May. If you want to set up dates, get in touch with Utah or with Sheila Collins, 1720 West 14th Avenue, Spokane, Washington 99204, (509) 747-6454.



### NOTE ON VOLUME NUMBER

We are numbering this issue Volume 78, Number 13, Whole Number 1425, to permit starting Volume 79 in January, when most librarians expect a volume to start.

## The Lakota's Last Stand!

The Lakota nation (Sioux) have occupied the Black Hills in South Dakota, which the courts ruled were illegally stolen from them. The Lakota have refused offerings of money for these lands, and are prepared to resist any encroachments, legal or military, on their encampments.

It is obvious to the editors of this paper that one of the last bits of unspoiled territory on this continent is better off in the hands of the Lakota than in the clutches of the power-hungry utility corporations. No matter how much natural beauty gets strip-mined or plowed under, utility rates are not going to be reduced under the present system.

Help is needed by these defenders of the Black Hills. Interested Fellow Workers can send their help to Yellow Thunder Camp, Lakota Nation, Post Office Box 9188, Rapid City, South Dakota 57701.

## Sierra Leone

As of November, the Sierra Leone Labor Congress (SLLC) was still battling President Siaka Stevens over demands it had presented to the Government July 28th. Members of the 250,000-strong SLLC began a general strike August 14th to press for Government action on a list of issues ranging from price controls to rent subsidies and improved health care. The following day strikers defied a Government ban on public demonstrations to mass at the Labor Congress's headquarters.

The principal grievance is the price of rice (the nation's food staple), currently selling for twice the price charged in neighboring Liberia. On the fourth day of the strike the Government offered to cut rice prices by as much as 55%, but rank-and-file workers shouted down the leadership suggestion that the strike be called off. The workers are pressing for a full 67% cut, as well as other economic and social measures by the Government.

SLLC leaders have called for a provisional return to work while negotiations with the Government continue, and many workers are now back at their jobs. The labor action, the first-ever general strike in Sierra Leone, won the backing of students, housekeepers, and market women.

# LEFT SIDE

—Speaking of nostalgia, a little item I saw in the daily blurb reminded me of boyhood Depression days during the Thirties when the guys used to go to the parks and vacant lots and out to the suburbs with baseball bats to look for rabbits to supplement the dried potatoes and weevily oatmeal that the Government would allot to unemployed families. Chicago's finest had arrested eleven young blacks for hunting rabbits in a vacant field on Chicago's South Side, and among the charges were criminal trespassing and cruelty to animals. It seems these dudes were in the business of selling rabbit meat to their neighbors, and were really engaging in the all-American pursuit of free enterprise.

The bust, it goes without saying, was made during the daylight hours, as the "finest" are not greatly inclined to venture from their prowl cars at night, especially in minority neighborhoods. By the light of day the boys in blue are quite evident, but as the mantle of night creeps over the metropolis, one must go into some all-night restaurant to get a glimpse of them.

Because of the apparent shyness of the protectors of law and order that seems to descend with the evening darkness, a group of young people calling themselves "Guardian Angels" have formed a volunteer vigilante organization to patrol the city's streets and subway system and protect those who have to be out at those hours from the holdup, artists, muggers, rapists, and other lower echelons of the army of free enterprisers. The folks who ride the subways seem to be glad to see these Guardian Angels, but the folks at City Hall and Police Headquarters are not quite as enthused. There are many attendant mumbblings about "taking the law into one's own hands" and what all can be expected of those who are in "responsible" positions when they find out that those whom they are responsible to want to assume some of their own responsibility. Needless to say, the Guardian Angels are not very popular with the Chicago cops.

However to show that the local constabulary are not remiss in their vigilance, the "byses" in blue made a big sweep of one of the North Side drags recently and arrested over a hundred practitioners of the World's oldest profession along with many of their clientele. While there are lots of arguments as to whether prostitution is or is not a victimless crime, it is safe to say that the "johns" who got picked up in the recent sweep would prefer the prostitute's manner of emptying one's pockets to that of the mugger. However one has to see things from the cop's point of view. It's a hell of a lot easier arresting prostitutes, as they are easily accessible—which cannot be said for the muggers, who melt into the shadows. Besides, the hookers don't carry guns. Interestingly enough, this recent assault on the dens of iniquity by our stalwart constabulary was modestly called "Operation Angel". Now, Byes, yez wouldn't be tryin' to plagiarize the Guardians now, would ye?

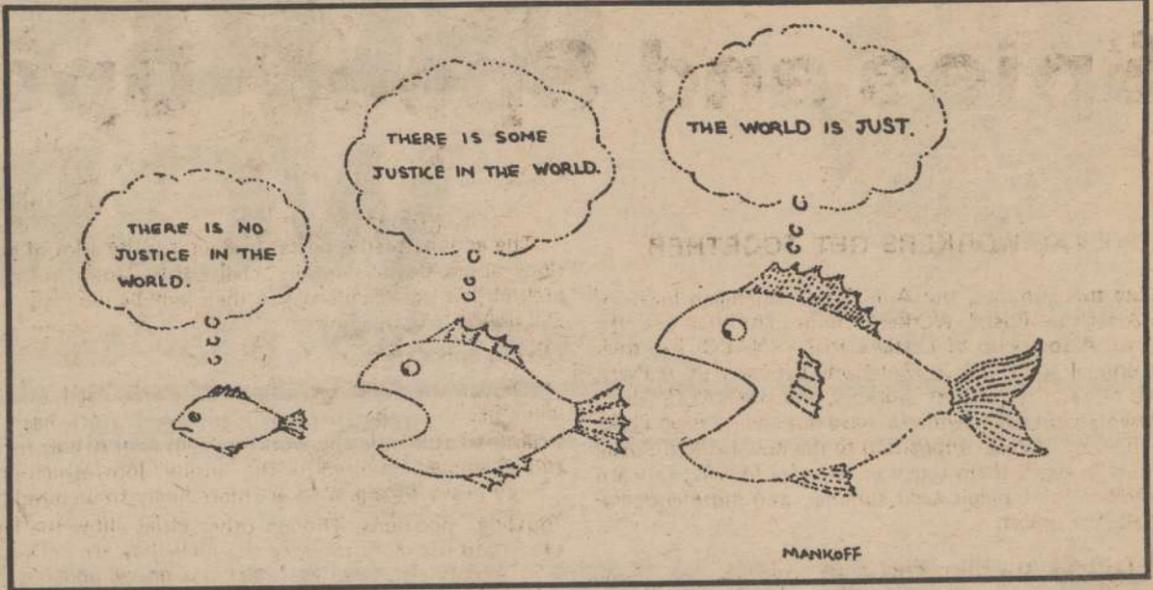
This is the time of year when the light of the Sun reaches its weakest point, and then the days become noticeably longer. Academically this particular time is known as the Winter Solstice, but for millennia it has been a festive occasion among many nations who celebrated the return of the Sun and eventual good crops. It had developed from the observances of simple people living on a subsistence economy welcoming the eventual return of better hunting and growing weather to the elaborate Saturnalia of the Roman Empire. The custom of the decorated tree dates back to the Northern European forest people who cherished the evergreen trees that remained green through the winter months, and would bring such trees into their dwellings to celebrate the endurance of life.

At the time when the Roman Empire was in its most oppressive stage, a resistance movement arose against it, and like all movements it was personified by the name of one person. Only the New Testament makes mention of this person, as the historians don't seem to have any record of anyone by the name of Jesus Christ. This can be interpreted as proof that this particular personage never really existed, since the Romans kept meticulous records of all those they executed; or it can be another example of the historical rewriting whereby certain people and events are carefully omitted by successive historians. How many Russian history books, for example, mention Kronstadt or Makhno?

Many revolutionary movements have been co-opted by the very forces they were revolting against. Take Russia and China as classic contemporary examples. The resistance movement against the Roman Empire became so strong that one of the emperors decided that if he couldn't lick 'em he would join 'em and take some of their steam away by making them respectable. There is nothing more reactionary than an institutionalized revolution.

Anyway, what the Roman emperor institutionalized became the placebo of the area of the World from which sprang capitalism and imperialism, and that is why your ears are being assaulted with Christmas music forty days before the "birth" of the prince of peace. His birthday was arbitrarily determined by said Roman emperor to coincide with the Winter Solstice or Saturnalia, since it is no easy thing to do away with traditional practices. The United States Cavalry killed off a lot of Native Nations here in this country in order to stamp out their spiritual observances, and they haven't succeeded yet.

C. C. Redcloud



## editorial: Rearranging

In 1893 Jacob Coxey led his army of unemployed to Washington to urge that the nation needed better roads to carry its commerce and that the unemployed be given the work of building them. A perceptive young economist of the times, Thorstein Veblen, wrote that to ask the Washington authorities to solve either the problem of hungry men or the problem of mudhole roads was a critical turn in American history from which to expect no return.

Today there are more unemployed than at any other time since 1939, and streets and highways are wearing out far faster than they are being repaired. Half of the country's two million miles of paved streets and highways need replacement or major repair, at an estimated cost of \$220 billion. Can the two facts wipe each other out?

If Coxey had won out, building the roads would have used a lot of manpower. Today that \$220 billion job would use a lot of machinery, require the purchase of a lot of materials, and give employment to only a relatively few, relatively highly-paid workers. Should we be glad or sad that roads get built today without all the sweat and wheelbarrow pushing and cussing at mules that it took in Coxey's day?

Fifty years before Coxey's march, Thomas Carlyle took a look at England's unemployed and the arrangements that kept them idle. He described them at the workless Workhouse: "their cunning right hand lamed... they sit there pent up in a sort of horrid enchantment..."

an Earth all lying around, crying 'Come and till me, come and reap me', yet they sit there enchanted... in their eyes and brows the gloomiest expression... not of anger, but of grief and shame and manifold inarticulate distress." They sat there paralyzed because the arrangements for putting them to work, or letting them put themselves to work, were not in working order. And so it is again today for nine or ten million (according to how you count them) ... their right arms lamed. The arrangements need rearranging.

America has had the most bountiful harvests ever. But at Thanksgiving could even the most pious farmers help but wish they had not been so bounteous, at least on other farmers' farms? Instead they complain that this abundance is ruining them. The arrangements that do that with food in a hungry world surely need substantial rearranging.

Did the workers at Boeing and other armament plants give thanks for the boom in the bomb business? Did they rejoice that the arms race assures jobs—and Death and Taxes? Or did they fret over the advice of Bishop Mathiesen of Amarillo to quit the jobs that threaten to eliminate the human race? We ought to fret—and arrange among our fellow workers the world over to plan the world's production for the common good, and quit making things that harm or threaten us. It can be done. It just needs some arranging.

### Farewell, Fellow Worker

Joseph Vizi, one of the last of the Hungarian workers who joined the IWW during the Akron rubber strike in 1913, has passed on to the land of peace, freedom, and equality at the age of 92. He died in his native Hungary, where he had returned to spend his declining days in the land of his youth.

Joe was a devoted Wobbly and a steady worker for *Bermunkas*, the IWW Hungarian paper. After that paper folded he retired to Miami, where he and other Hungarian old-timers issued a monthly letter to keep other veterans informed and keep in touch with each other. (At 86 am I the last of our 1913 Akron recruits?)

When he had outlived his old friends, Joe decided to go back to Hungary, where he died in September of this year. Although we miss him, we shall not mourn, for life at 96 is no longer an inducement to keep on going. Joe and I were born a quarter-century too soon to see our dream come true, but he did his best for me and you.

Henry Pfaff

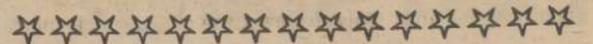
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 ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

### Industrial Worker

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# Spies and Speed-Ups

## POSTAL WORKERS GET TOGETHER

Late this summer, the Ann Arbor, Michigan locals of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) had their first annual joint picnic. Relations between the APWU, which represents "inside" workers, and the NALC, which represents "outside" workers, have not always been close. But this year, mutual opposition to the now-ratified postal contract brought them together. They're looking forward to another joint picnic next summer, and more cooperation all year round.

## Post Offices Are Like Factories

Since the public sees mostly window clerks and letter carriers at work, many people think postal service jobs are easy. The picnickers felt otherwise. The president of the APWU local pointed out that post offices are like factories. Workers tend automatic machines that operate at high speeds. The inevitable accidents that occur around such equipment are aggravated by supervision, who may deliberately remove safety devices to increase productivity. The automated postal system has the highest productivity of any postal system in the world. It also has a higher accident rate than the military.

Letter carriers are also subject to speed ups and on the job risks. Eleven thousand clerks and carriers were assaulted on the job last year and two hundred were killed, mostly in connection with mail theft.

## Workers Spied Upon

The picnickers agreed that their jobs are tedious and stressful, but that the work would be bearable if it weren't for the constant harassment by supervision. The top-heavy supervision system provides one supervisor for every five and a half workers. In addition, there is a sophisticated spy system staffed by a special force of postal inspectors. It includes the use of cameras which monitor workers on the job.

The special force of postal inspectors was initially created to investigate fraudulent claims. They have become an internal police force, enforcing compliance with every regulation on the books. Estimates of the number of inspectors run about one inspector per hundred workers.

## Internal Police Force

Inspectors tote handcuffs, conduct interrogations of employees, and use police surveillance methods. Workers told us that they pull clerks off of the floor and try to intimidate them into informing on their fellow workers. They plant drugs in mailboxes to see if workers will turn them in, and alter scales to see if the clerks check them in accordance with regulations. Inspectors have followed employees off duty and have tapped phones.

In Ann Arbor, the inspectors set up telescopes in an apartment across from the post office and ran checks on every car that went through the parking lot. On the West Coast, a worker's arm was crushed in the automatic machinery. Two postal inspectors interrogated him in the ambulance on the way to the hospital.

The actions of the postal inspectors raise a lot of questions about postal workers' civil rights. Union members predict that legal challenges to their high-handed approach will not be long in coming.

## Divide and Conquer

Though the postal service is heavily unionized, management has the upper hand in many areas. Work has been structured to divide the workforce. In Ann Arbor, for example, women are hired for the "inside" jobs, which often require heavy lifting. Men are more likely to be hired into "outside" positions. Though other cities allow the letter carriers to use carts to carry the mail they are delivering, Ann Arbor letter carriers must use heavy pouches that weigh about thirty pounds when full. This provides management with an excuse not to hire or promote women to letter carrier jobs, as the work is "too heavy" for them.

Another division created by management is the use of temporary/flex positions. All entry level positions are labeled as temporary/flex, which carries with it a lower level of benefits and a fewer number of guaranteed hours of work per week. Workers must stay temporary/flex until a permanent position opens up. In the Ann Arbor area, people have retired after thirty years in a temporary/flex position.

The PASS system is designed to make workers think like supervisors. Ostensibly a management training program, PASS offers workers the opportunity to spend their free time in seminars that deliver an anti-union indoctrination. Most PASS participants, however, must wait for years before a management position opens up.

## Can Unions Solve Problems?

The union is faced with the problem of uniting what management has divided, administering a contract that includes nineteen management-written handbooks and manuals, and negotiating agreements without the legal right to strike. Many difficulties lie in the way of the postal workers' unions, and the Ann Arbor workers doubt whether their internationals can or will solve them. Nonetheless, the pressures that they are under are forcing NALC and APWU to take a first step. They are now considering a merger.

## The Hidden Issue: Decontrol

President Reagan went to particular lengths to cow the postal workers' unions during this summer's contract negotiations. The Ann Arbor workers received their ballots on the same day that the PATCO strikers were fired. According to James Schaefer, president of NALC Brotherhood #434, the contract itself was a secondary issue. He feels the hidden issue concerns future control over electronic transmission of communications.

Electronic communications will operate over home size computers. Messages can be transmitted to the home and be viewed immediately on a terminal, or stored in the computer to be viewed later. Datapro Systems, a research group, recently predicted that a full scale electronic communication system will be in place within the next twenty years. It would largely replace the postal service as we know it.

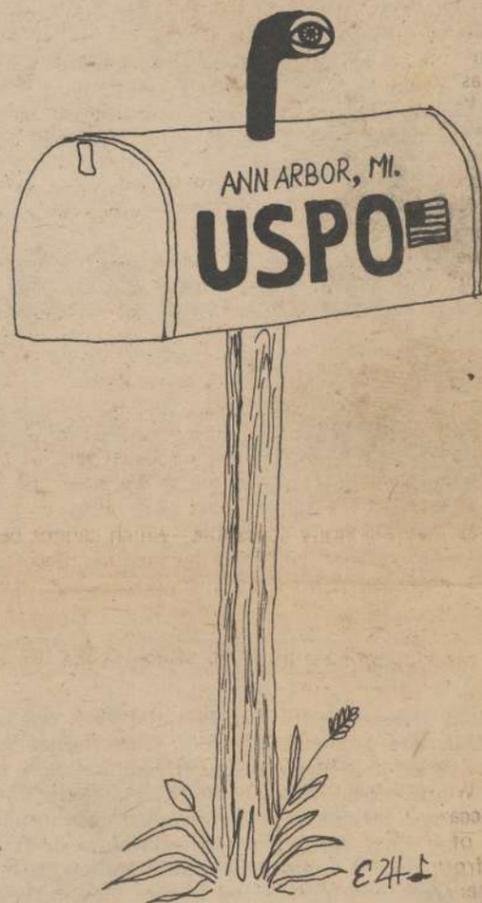
## Will Corporations Regulate Communications?

President Carter, and now President Reagan, have moved toward decontrol of this area. IBM, ITT, AT&T, Exxon, Volkswagen, and other large multinationals are eager to get a share of the new market. If the FCC no longer regulates electronic communications, private industry will regulate it in its own interests.

One of the few sources of resistance to decontrol, reasons Schaefer, is the postal unions. Strong postal unions will be able to fight for their members and provide a voice for consumers in an area that few know about, though it will affect all of us. To forestall this, the Reagan administration orchestrated a campaign to frighten postal workers into accepting a poor contract, using PATCO as an example.

That contract has been ratified for a while now, though the local leadership in Ann Arbor mounted a successful campaign against it. As a result, Ann Arbor postal workers have become more aware of the need to work together.

—Susan Fabrick



## LABOR NEWS IN BRIEF

The Teamsters hope to recover \$2,000,000 or more from the Great Coastal Express Incorporated. Back in 1970 this trucking firm framed the Teamsters and got them convicted of puncturing tires, throwing bricks, and the like during a strike, and the union was fined close to a million dollars. After dragging its appeal through the courts for ten years, the union has obtained a ruling from a US district court that the trucking firm ordered its hirelings to commit that sabotage and then tell the lies needed to frame the union. The union now seeks return of the fine, plus interest, plus legal fees.

This attack on the Teamsters was perpetrated under the Hobbs Act. Some Congressmen, through S 613, are trying to amend this act so that a striker who throws a punch at a scab on a picket line could end up with 20 years in prison.

The Transport Workers Union set up a Mass Transit Division at its San Francisco convention, and continues to consider a possible merger with the Amalgamated Transit Union.

The jobs of 3500 Philadelphia teachers were saved by the threat of sympathetic strikes by Teamsters and the city's organized clerks, hospital workers, and transportation workers, with no other unions giving the proposal favorable consideration. The teachers had settled in 1980 for no gain then, but a 10% increase due this fall. The City pleaded poverty, refused the increase this fall, and laid off 3500 teachers out of 22,000. On September 8th the teachers struck. A judge ruled that (a) the inability of the City to pay the increase freed the City from that con-

tract obligation, but (b) the contract still forbade the union to strike; so he enjoined the strike. On October 28th, with a large sympathetic strike in the offing, an appeals court ruled that all the teachers could return to work under previous contract terms, but with no pay raises.

Houston is the home of the three largest anti-labor management consultants in the country. Thirty AFL-CIO affiliates are sending their organizers there in a consolidated effort to expand unionism in that city.

The ILA has won a partial court victory for East Coast longshoremen. Its contract requires that the handling, packing, and unpacking of van-sized cargo containers anywhere within 50 miles of a port must be done by ILA members. Enforcement of this provision has been held up for years by injunctions. The top court has refused to review federal court orders in this case, and an NLRB administrative-law judge has now ruled that these work rules are a lawful response to reduced job opportunities.

The auto industry's 1982 contract maneuvers have already begun, with General Motors Chairman Smith warning: "Every time the cost of labor goes up a dollar an hour, a thousand more robots become economical." The robots too are likely to be imported from Japan, where auto makers complain that wages are only 60% of what they run here.

Though Ford's UAW contract runs till September of 1982, it has given its workers in Sheffield, Alabama only till November 15th to accept a 50% wage cut or see the

plant closed. Ford can dodge a charge of contract violation by making this plant a subsidiary. In return for the 50% cut, it offers a 30% share in the profits of this plant that it says is losing money. (That production incentive is being offered many places these days, and some union counselors suggest that if you must accept a cut or lose the jobs, why not trade off for stock in the company?)

In Livonia, Michigan, Ford tells the UAW local that unless it grants work-rule concessions, it won't get to build that new front-wheel-drive trans-axle. There is an agreement among Ford locals not to underbid each other to land a job, but the Livonia local assumes that this is bidding against the Japanese Toyo-Kogyo, in which Ford owns a quarter interest.

The Federal Labor Relations Authority, completely disregarding that PATCO was the union chosen by the air controllers to represent them, decertified the union for going on strike. This happened in the USA, not in Chile or Poland. Meanwhile, most of those studying to replace them—for all 11,000 of them have been told they are fired—have flunked their first tests. Keeping air traffic to about three fourths of the flow that gave the strikers ulcers has kept it without major mishap, but with fewer planes and long delays. Private-company planes hit by the General Aviation Reservation Plan are being given room at higher altitudes. The Air Line Pilots, with flamboyant disregard for union solidarity, now offer the services of their furloughed members to help break the controllers' strike.

# European Nuclear Disarmament

In the last nine months the burgeoning nuclear disarmament movement in Europe has achieved a series of successes. Broad-based coalitions have been formed in Belgium, Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and West Germany to prevent the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe, which is scheduled to begin in 1983. This loosely-federated popular opposition has been responsible for some of the largest demonstrations in the history of postwar Europe, and has mobilized European public opinion on a scale that would not have been thought possible just a few years ago.

In October 1980 the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the British Labour Party, and scores of liberal, left, ecological, communist, and church groups held a demonstration in London that drew between 80,000 and 100,000 people—an unexpectedly large turnout—which marked the rebirth of the British disarmament movement. An important factor in the growth of the CND during the last year (the number of affiliated groups went from 30 to 300) was the decision of Prime Minister Thatcher's Government to bow to US pressure and agree to station 160 cruise missiles on British territory. This decision, along with a deal whereby Britain will buy five billion pounds worth of Trident 1 missiles from the US, has driven the Trades Union Congress into coming out for unilateral disarmament.

In the Netherlands, public-information campaigns, demonstrations, peace fairs, and other means of protest have won the Dutch disarmament movement wide support. In parliamentary elections last summer, the anti-

nuclear candidates won large vote gains. A petition campaign against the neutron bomb sponsored by the Dutch Communist Party has collected more than a million signatures—a significant number in a nation of only 13 million people.

In Northern Europe, the campaign to transform Scandinavia into a nuclear-free zone has been going on for more than 30 years, but has never before had the popular and parliamentary support shown in recent months. Even Norway, which has traditionally maintained strong NATO ties, is having second thoughts about nuclear weapons. NATO's decision to station cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Central Europe, the announcement that the US will manufacture the neutron bomb, and Washington's hair-raising rhetoric about the new "Soviet threat" have triggered greater anxiety in Northern Europe about US saber rattling than about potential Soviet aggression. Anti-war groups throughout Scandinavia have joined in demanding nuclear disarmament by both the US and the USSR.

There are supposed to be no nuclear weapons in Northern Europe now. Seven thousand US-controlled nuclear warheads are currently located in Central Europe, however, and most of these are bunkered in the Federal Republic of Germany, giving it the dubious honor of having the heaviest concentration of nuclear weapons per square mile of any nation in the world. West Germany's so-called "forward defense" system consists not only of an assortment of nuclear missiles targeted at East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other nations in Eastern Europe, but also of atomic mines programmed to wreak destruction within West Germany itself. According to the mad logic of

NATO's Gotterdammerung defense system, the Russians will be atomized after they have occupied West Germany—along with the West Germans. Resistance to this "better dead than Red" strategy is what is fueling Europe's potentially-most-explosive anti-nuclear movement.

Within West Germany's ruling Social Democratic Party, splits are forcing a major crisis for Chancellor Schmidt's Government, which supports the NATO decision. Outside the Party, the wave of anti-nuclear demonstrations and what has become an agonizing national debate on military security continue unabated. More than 1.2 million West Germans have signed the Krefed Appeal, directed against US arms policy.

At the annual Church Day in early June, more than 120,000 people took part in five days of panel discussions on atomic weapons and disarmament. US army bases in Germany have been bombed by a revived Red Army faction protesting the presence of US nuclear weapons. On October 10th, more than 250,000 people attended an anti-war rally in Bonn, applauding speeches urging Europe to free itself from nuclear weapons and to prevent Germany from becoming "a shooting gallery of the super-powers".

The danger of atomic war is perhaps greater than it has ever been before. But from the vantage point of Europe, it is clear that the movement against this danger has never before been as well informed and as effectively organized as it is today.

*The Nation*, Volume 233, Number 11

## SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

The pickets have moved into their places, and the first of the great industrial showdowns with the Tory Government of Ma Thatcher is now doomed to take place. There is a bleak element of Greek tragedy in this confrontation. Every barroom prophet gazing into the bottom of his empty beer glass to read the tea leaves knew that Ma Thatcher and her newly-appointed cabinet of neurotic hit men were seeking (as with Lady Diana and her essay into gormless deer stalking) a standing target for their primed guns. They now believe (as with Lady Diana and her unfortunate wounded stag at rest) that they have found one.

With a weak President or Prime Minister one can talk of collective responsibility, but with Reagan and Ma Thatcher we have two individuals who are ready to work out an obsessional hatred of resisting workers. They have surrounded themselves with sycophantic ministers, just as in the First World War an indifferent or frightened chain of command obeyed without question the orders of any general who literally saw victory only in the bloody carnage of the body count—and an entire generation was destroyed to become the theme for a series of poems, novels, paintings, and autobiographical apologues. The 57,000 Americans dead or missing in Vietnam now move back into art history, and their agony joins the broken bodies within the etchings of Francisco Jose Goya y Lucientes on exhibition within the British Museum.

The pickets standing in the rain outside the gates of Leyland's huge Motown assembly sheds wait, and the Detroit Ford Company wait, to see what Ma Thatcher will do. Sir Michael Edwards, who in moments of mental aberration believes he is running the huge Leyland Motown complex, has offered the 58,000 Leyland workers a six-dollar wage increase, in place of the forty-dollar increase they demand, and has stated that unless the workers accept the six dollars he will close down and sell off the whole of Leyland's Motown.

### DENATIONALIZE ?

A half-million jobs exist in relation to the Leyland Motown complex. With an annual overseas sales tally of \$2,500,000,000—repeat, \$2,500,000,000—one must ask, if for no other reason than to make casual conversation, how this sad little man can state that he intends to sell off this huge State-owned industry if 58,000 lads and lasses refuse to accept a six-dollar pay raise. And the answer, comrades, is pure Charles Dickens; for Ma Thatcher has dreamed up the scheme to end all schemes, and the Sting to end all Stings. She is determined to hawk off all State-owned assets, in theory belonging to the people, to any money speculators who wish to buy them, whether they be working-class houses or North Sea oil barons.

If Ma Thatcher and her Tory hatchet men can force the Leyland men and women out on strike, as indeed they have done, then it is reasoned that they can begin to sell off the great British Motown complex without having to shell out the legal severance pay that would be due the individual worker whose job was legally written off. Like the Reagan Administration, Ma Thatcher's Government eyebrow-deep in debt despite all the slashing of work-

ing-class social services, and money from the sale of Britain's Motown could be used for papering over the economic blunders of the Tories.

### WHO WOULD BUY ?

In the wings are the Japanese industrialists, waiting to step in and buy up the plants with their \$2,500,000,000 in overseas sales. And smiling gently on the sidelines is the Ford Company of Detroit, waiting to see Leyland's union destroyed as a fighting force and the company either destroyed or the workers forced to crawl back; for if this happens then Ford of Detroit can use it as a weapon against their own British work force.

The paper stays in the typewriter, the long night is passed, the empty unwashed glasses are in the sink, and my black bitch Vicki snores in a broken armchair. Out in the street I can see two men sweeping up the falling dark-red leaves of autumn, while a third man, who must be the foreman, stands and watches.

Within hours the Leyland workers have been sold out; for in the time it has taken to write this article, the top-ranking union bosses have accepted, in the name of the workers, the six-dollar pay raise and all the dreary management junk offers that go along with it in the form of "bonuses" and "workers' participation in decision making, lads" and "we saved your jobs, lads". But the industrial battle has now begun.

### PICKETS SAY NO

In Coventry the pickets are solid around the factory gates. They stand there two thousand strong, and within minutes of the news of the union sellout one policeman and one strike picket were carried off injured to the hospital, with the inevitable aftermath that the policeman will smile into the nation's press cameras from a hospital bed and the picket will be charged and be made to stand in a magistrate's dock.

The men are asking for a forty-dollar-a-week pay raise on their basic pay with *no strings*, for they know that employers will rat on any bonus, piecework, or golden-handshake payouts. What cannot be denied is that workers walk through the gates of Britain's Motown with \$135 in their pay packet for a full week's work. And that, comrades, is what pays the rent—the weekly cost of the hired TV and the food from the supermarket. The pickets stand firm and there is anger in the air, for they know that they have been betrayed, as always, by the self-proclaimed leadership of their union. There will be demonstrations, there will be leafleting, there will be collections for the Motown workers; for their fight, as always, is your fight and my fight. And Sir Michael, the Japanese industrialists, Detroit Ford, the union top brass, and Ma Thatcher grin and grin and grin.

President Reagan tells the lads in the Kremlin to have no fear, because in the Third World War only the entire population of Europe will be genocided in a nuclear holocaust, after which the two major powers can come to terms. One supposes that one should cheer on the thousands of nice middle-class liberals who had a happy day



Can you tell by looking what country this unemployment line is in? (It happens to be Britain.)

shepherded by jolly policemen in the perennial "Ban Our Bomb" march; but the real battle is being fought by the Polish and German and French and Italian workers, and the unreported strikers in Russia and China. And the battle for survival is being fought out even as I type by the pickets standing in the rain outside Leyland's Motown factories. And I will drift to the Royal Academy for the Great Japanese Exhibition and the warm saki, while President Reagan will continue to ramble and Ma Thatcher will grin and grin and grin.

Arthur Moyse, London

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# SILICON VALLEY CHIPS AWAY AT WORKER'S HEALTH

Often referred to as clean and light because of its dust-free fabrication areas, the electronics industry is actually one of the most hazardous. It uses a wide array of toxic chemicals and other dangerous substances in the manufacture of integrated circuits and semi-conductors: corrosive hydrochloric and hydrofluoric acids, toxic solvents such as benzene and xylene, extremely dangerous poisons such as arsine gas and cyanide, and a number of known and suspected carcinogens including PCBs, vinyl chloride, and trichlorethylene (TCE).

The California Occupational Health and Safety Administration (Cal OSHA) has found that 85% of the reported injuries and ailments are caused by corrosive acids, foreign objects in eyes, and inhalation of harmful fumes. Containers leak, overflow, break, and spill. Hydrofluoric acid can penetrate the skin painlessly and burrow into the bone, causing excruciating pain hours after exposure.

Medical researchers point out that in addition to the known and suspected carcinogens, many of the chemicals used in the industry are too new to have been tested for

long-term health effects. In a recent survey, Cal OSHA found 130 chemicals in use—some of which they didn't know how to measure, some of which they had no safety standards for. Besides the effect of individual chemicals, there are the combined effects—the "synergistic" effects that can make singly harmless chemicals deadly when combined.

## SPREADING POISON

The nearly 400 electronics plants in "Silicon Valley"—Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties—generate daily thousands of gallons of effluents containing the chemicals and metal compounds used inside. The acids are supposedly neutralized on site, then flushed into the municipal sewage system, and the other chemicals are supposedly shipped to approved waste-disposal sites or taken to a recycling company. On-site waste treatment can result in leaks into the ground water because of leaky storage tanks however, leading to traces of solvents and carcinogens showing up in well water.

Transporting the toxic wastes from the plants by truck to the dumps poses its own dangers. On August 21st, 1981 10,000 pounds of toxic silicon tetrachloride spilled from a storage tank hit by a truck, forcing the evacuation of about 10,000 people in South San Francisco. On September 8th a truck carrying a mixture of sulfuric, hydro-

chloric, hydrofluoric, nitric, and acetic acids began to leak its cargo on a highway in an East Bay community. Houses, schools, and hospitals in a ten-square-mile area around the spill had to be evacuated because of the acids' toxic fumes.

Questionable dumping practices have also been reported. Instead of shipping the wastes to an approved toxic-waste disposal site,, companies have been known to pay dumpers to bury the wastes wherever convenient.

## COTTAGE INDUSTRY

Besides the more than 85,000 people—mostly women—who work in the electronics plants, a growing number of workers—mostly Asian and Latino women—are assembling printed circuit boards at home or in garages or warehouses. This estimated million-dollar underground industry hires undocumented workers and single women who can't afford child care. The potential dangers of bringing this work into the home include exposing entire families to the toxic fumes of heated cleaning solvents. And of course, as in all sweatshop industries, children help with the work.

(Adapted from *Not Man Apart*, Volume 10, Number 11)

## Literature

### THEORETICAL

- ( ) IWW Organizing Manual ..... 75¢
- ( ) Collective Bargaining Manual ..... 75¢
- ( ) IWW Preamble and Constitution ..... 30¢
- ( ) Inflation: Cause and Cure ..... 25¢
- ( ) Workers' Guide to Direct Action ..... 25¢
- ( ) General Strike for Industrial Freedom ..... 50¢
- ( ) One Big Union ..... \$1.00
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# Buttonholes By The Bushel

I started my 64 years' experience making handmade buttonholes on men's coats at the Leopold Morse Company. My first day in the shop I noticed that while most of us were sitting in poorly-lit areas working on dark coats, one buttonhole maker had a seat near the window and was working on light coats of soft material. I wanted to find out why, and discovered that her father was a saloon keeper. Every Monday morning she brought the shop foreman a bottle, and she earned \$6 a week more than the rest of us.

In 1913 the Boston tailors went on strike, under the leadership of the United Garment Workers (AFL). Fiery speeches in the union hall proclaimed that we would make that shop look like a palace and abolish piecework. Though I was only 16, I felt the pain in my eyes from working on blue serge coats in a bad light, and felt it unjust that the girl working on soft light flannels had that seat near the window.

At six the next morning I was the only girl on the picket line. Soon the snow was knee-deep. We were out 13 weeks. Just before Easter Sam Gompers and Meyer London came to Boston and settled the strike. We came back to the same old filthy shop. We had not abolished piecework, but we had cut the work week from 54 hours to 48. We had not been called to a meeting, and no one had asked us our opinion of the settlement.

In 1914 many tailors broke away from the United Garment Workers to form the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Our union told us nothing about the reason, and we kept on working. One morning in 1915 as I came to work, there was a picket line in front of the shop. Some of the pickets whom I respected in the shop told me not to go up to work.

I had to go in to get my tools. When I entered the shop I saw a very big fat man, his neck red as fire, standing on a table saying he represented the United Garment Workers and urging us to sit down to work and not bother with "those bums on the sidewalk who call themselves the Amalgamated Garment Workers of America". He pointed to three policemen at the door to protect me from "those bums", my fellow workers and friends.

I took my tools and joined the picket line. I was out of work for a year. One day on the street I met a man who used to be foreman at Leopold Morse, and he asked me if I needed a job. He was now foreman at McCuller Park, a firm that had never been union. I went to work there, for the shop was busy making Navy officers' uniforms, getting ready for World War I. The place was pleas-

ant and clean and the women were mostly Portuguese, but we worked piecework.

In 1916 the daily papers announced that 6,000 tailors were joining the Amalgamated, and I was surprised when the shop foreman asked us to go down and join the union. The ACW had signed a contract with the American Men's Clothing Manufacturers and pledged it would call no strike during the war. We were not asked about that or about the contract terms.

There too I found and resented favoritism. In the alteration department making new buttonholes paid double. An old maid in charge of that work had been fair in dividing it, but with war came a shortage of sugar and chocolate. One buttonhole maker somehow arranged to get large boxes of chocolates delivered to her in the shop. She gave these boxes to the lady in charge of alterations, and from that time on got all the good work.

In the '20s Sydney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, went to Russia to perfect the piecework system there.

In 1970 I worked in a shop on Fifth Avenue in New York. They had some specials on which we got a few cents extra. One day the forelady's daughter gave birth, and a few buttonhole makers took up a collection to get a present for the forelady's grandchild. On principle, I did not contribute, and from that day on I got none of those specials.

It would take volumes to describe what piecework does: the heart-breaking tears, the hair-pulling, the bribes, the conniving, the cheating—the disunity it generates along with the speedup.

Minnie F. Corder

HE WON'T JOIN THE UNION



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# THE AMERICAN WAY—REALLY

(This article first appeared in the Grand Valley Labor News, and is reprinted here with the permission of author Mike Johnston.)

Strip away the legend, take away the glitter, and almost nothing is known about the estimated 800-million-a-year Amway Corporation.

Behind the fence that surrounds the 300-acre industrial complex, ten miles east of Grand Rapids, Michigan in Ada, is a secretive, privately-owned multi-national which affects the lives of millions.

Despite hundreds of "rags to riches" articles which have built a legend around Amway's founders and given their opinions almost a sacred aura, very little has been written that has not come from Amway first.

Amway, short for the American way, has operations in 16 foreign countries. According to company statements it was founded in 1959 and is solely owned by Chairman Jay Van Andel, President Richard De Vos, and their wives. Their operations are entirely non-union.

Because it is a privately-owned US corporation, it does not have to file any public reports with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Van Andel and De Vos do not have to disclose any information about the company's operations, finances, new purchases, or sales—information which is routinely required of corporations with public stocks and bonds. The public has no way of checking the accuracy of Amway's public statements.

Information of real concern to employees and the surrounding communities—like hiring practices, salaries, working conditions, disposal sites, and potential shut-downs—remains unavailable.

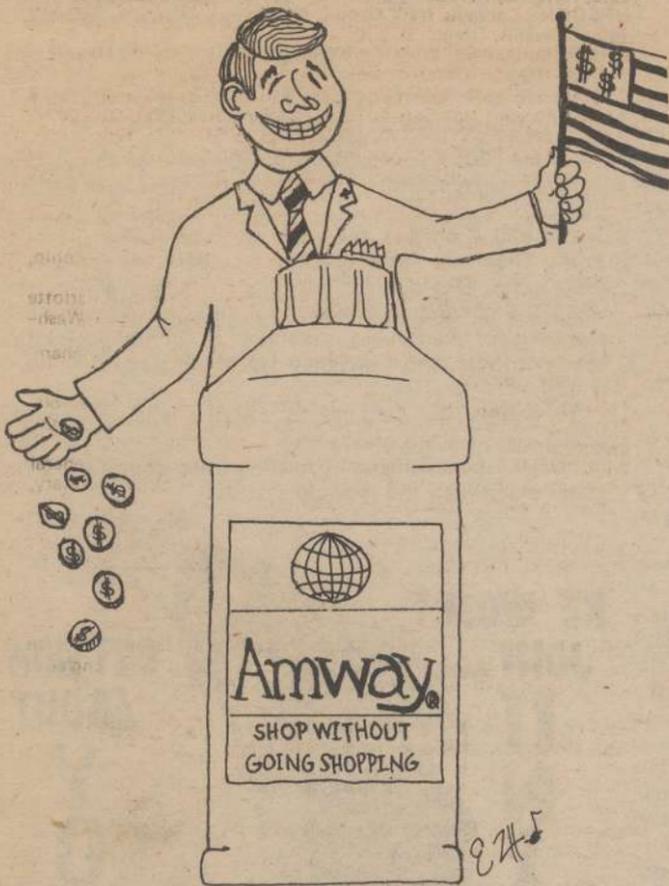
## Amway Reaches Millions

With very few exceptions, the only thing the public knows about Amway is what Mr. De Vos and Mr. Van Andel want it to know. With its own radio network and publishing house, Amway is able to reach millions daily with an expertly-tailored flawless image.

Many say this is the reason for Amway's success—the ability to make company philosophy seem like news.

Recently, Amway Communications, a subsidiary, bought the Mutual Broadcasting System. It is the world's largest radio network, with over 950 stations. Ironically, a recent purchase also included WCFL, the voice of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Every year the Company produces tons of literature for the public and its network of 300,000 distributors—



including some seven and a quarter million "Amagrams", 225,000 "Newsgrams", and 622,000 "RDC Bulletins"—in its ultra-modern web-offset plant.

Interchange, a public research organization, reports that "Van Andel and De Vos have their own in-house public-information machine in the Center for Free Enterprise and the Free Enterprise Institute.

"Besides De Vos's own book, *Believe!*, the Institute distributes free, or at low cost to other corporations and individuals, other books and booklets which promote Amway thinking.

"The Amway chiefs are expanding their efforts year-by-year to get their views in the classrooms... Amway [has] organized a series of two-week summer workshops for teachers in 60 cities... In addition, Amway's Institute offers classroom visual teaching aids for grades 4 through 12 and ages 14 and up... Backing up these visual aids are printed teachers' and discussion leaders' guides.

"Like Mobil Oil, Amway spends more of its advertising and PR budget trying to get its ideological views across than selling its products. And like Mobil, its 3-column [by] 10-inch cartoon and copy "op-ed" ads... are seen everywhere continually... and often in the same place as Mobil's in major newspapers throughout the country.

"Amway (also) subsidizes a little newsletter that unfolds into a poster called the 'Ada Report'. It is sent free to anybody who wants it, and specifically to the President, 100 Senators, 435 Representatives, and the 50 State Governors... so they can read for themselves the message that hard-working people want to send them."

When not relying on the Corporation's assets, De Vos and Van Andel are quite adept at spreading corporate philosophy personally. President De Vos uses his \$40,000 green Rolls Royce, or if need be Amway's four corporate jets and 119-foot yacht "Enterprise", to crisscross the country on national speaking tours. Chairman Van Andel, as head of the US Chamber of Commerce, had access to its syndicated national TV program and a weekly newspaper of 425,000 subscribers. As head of "Citizen's Choice", a Chamber lobby group, he was able to reach 10 million people through an extensive direct-mail campaign.

Finally, noted radio columnist Paul Harvey, who weekly advertises Amway products over 600 ABC affiliates, gave an indirect compliment to Amway ideology by suggesting that Mr. De Vos run for President.

The Corporation has publicly stated that it is seeking more media acquisitions... "to communicate with the American people".

## Amway: The Right-Wing Idol

Richard De Vos and Jay Van Andel have been compared to missionaries seeking converts because of their tireless work to promote their views. Combining "big business" economic theories with a large dose of selective Bible teachings, patriotism, and elitism, the two have become outspoken national leaders of the conservative movement in this country.

Interchange states: "Amway sales meetings and conventions... have been likened to revival meetings, and President De Vos, a charismatic speaker, to Billy Graham."

Unlike the public image of leisure-seeking corporate executives, these two millionaires are very politically active, and spend hundreds of thousands of dollars from their private fortunes promoting the Right-wing gospel. Shrewdly building upon their reputations as successful businessmen and regular church-going family men, De Vos and Van Andel have managed to become the idols of the Religious Right wing.

The list of organizations they support reads like a "who's who" of conservative and anti-labor organizations: the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the American Conservative Union Victory Fund, and the Public Service Political Action Committee.

## Chairman Van Andel

Van Andel, 55, besides being the top fund raiser for the Michigan Republican Party, actively helped the US Chamber of Commerce defeat several pro-worker Congressional legislators in the last election. As ex-Chairman of the Chamber, Van Andel used his position to voice his views before an estimated 25 million people. During his speaking tours he urged businessmen to "speak out" and use the media to argue business's viewpoints.

He urged an end to the Comprehensive Employment Training Program (CETA), dismantling of the Department of Energy, and more money for the military. He openly supported the big oil companies in their opposition to then-President Carter's windfall-profits tax. Other messages included his opposition to the Consumer Protection Agency, Universal Voter Registration, and the regulation of natural-gas prices.

## President De Vos

Not as well known, the younger of the two Amway founders, President De Vos, 53, is an active member of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). NAM is an industry group which in 1977 formed the Council on a Union-Free Environment, an in-house union-busting service for its members.

Interchange states: "De Vos... has for years been the quiet Godfather and financial angel of the Religious Right movement... The Religious Right (RR) is a loose grouping of strict religious organizations which use the Bible to explain and justify their actions. De Vos has been largely responsible for bringing the RR movement into the mainstream of American politics. Through him it has become respectable and wealthy. He contributes heavily to several RR front groups, including the Christian Embassy, the Christian Freedom Foundation, and Third Century Publishers.

The Religious Right's goals parallel Ronald Reagan's program. They would like to see massive cuts in federal programs to help the poor, handicapped, unemployed, and minorities; the institution of right-to-work (for less) laws; an end to the political power of unions; and a weak-

ening of the Federal Government's ability to regulate business.

The RR would also like to see the nation return to the gold standard, a balanced federal budget, an end to American support of the United Nations, and a return to Cold War politics. They are outspoken in their opposition to the ERA and the women's-rights movement.

According to their studies, there are at least five million potential members in 60,000 churches who can be harnessed to the RR campaign to capture the American political system.

Interchange says: "In the speeches by its leaders, pastors are being urged directly to personally endorse candidates, to invite Christian candidates deserving conservative support to preach or to offer prayers before their congregations, and to set up voter-registration booths in their churches.

"In 1975, De Vos and several other conservative businessmen... made a significant move to implant their Religious Right views into elective politics. They took control of the tax-exempt Christian Freedom Foundation for the main purpose of using its tax-exempt status for their Religious Right organizing efforts."

Recently De Vos announced that he would use Amway-style sales techniques to recruit regular contributors for the Republican Party—people who would be willing to part with \$2,500 a year. As chairman of the Republican Congressional Leadership Council, he hopes to raise at least a million a year to elect Republican Congressional candidates.

De Vos and Van Andel have seen their efforts bear fruit in Ronald Reagan's election to the Presidency.

## Amway: Pro-Worker?

"Amway is not anti-union... Amway is pro-worker," states Richard De Vos. Both the Michigan Education Association (MEA) and the State AFL-CIO Building Trades have recently charged Amway with being anti-labor.

According to De Vos, they are either "misinformed or biased. If they want to term it an anti-union attitude, that's only because we don't happen to agree with their philosophies. We deal with people as persons, not numbers or members of some group... We will not accept a gang theory..."

Although the two Amway owners readily admit that they have not worked for anyone else since high school, De Vos is fond of telling people how America was built by the men and women who got out of bed and went to work every morning.

## Workers Want Unions

Despite the publicly-stated pro-worker sympathies of Van Andel and De Vos, Amway workers have been asking area unions for help since the firm began.

In the middle '60s the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union AFL-CIO (RWDSU) tried to organize Amway. A comparison of wages and benefits with an RWDSU-organized Stanley Home Products warehouse in Battle Creek, an Amway competitor, showed several Amway factory workers that they would be better off with a union contract. But before the organizing drive had a chance to spread beyond a dozen union sympathizers, De Vos began to hold weekly in-plant meetings which everyone was required to attend.

These "captive audience" meetings were like church services. De Vos would stand up before the multitude and preach to them on the company's virtues and the evils of unionism. Anti-union workers were encouraged to stand up and give testimonies on what Amway had done for them. After a series of these meetings, the drive petered out.

In 1967 the most ambitious and most nearly successful of all organizing attempts took place. The International Chemical Workers AFL-CIO (ICW), with headquarters in Akron, Ohio, received word that several Amway workers wanted to join a union. They assigned their Michigan representative full-time to the Amway campaign. With the help of Grand Rapids Local 132 ICW, which represents Michigan Consolidated Gas workers, leafleting began at the plant gates in Ada.

The ICW file of the campaign shows that first there was only a trickle of signed authorization cards. Then they started coming in bunches. Everything was moving along steadily until November 21st, when headquarters received a call that one worker had been transferred to nights "in retaliation for his participation in the formation of a union". Next, Amway filed charges with the NLRB accusing the ICW of forcing three people to join the union against their will. The charges were later dropped when the Board found there were no such people.

As the campaign progressed, half-truths and rumors began to circulate throughout the plant. One rumor stated that "If we join a union, we will no longer receive our uniforms free." Union activists were told they would lose their jobs, were ordered to attend the weekly "captive-audience" meetings, and were interrogated about their union activities.

Foremen and shop-floor workers alike were expected to wear "vote no" buttons which were freely distributed throughout the plant. Several departments suddenly re-

# Amway

ceived unexpected pay raises.

As the election approached, the union also stepped up its activities, which included more leafleting and regular meetings at the Ada Township Hall. Then on April 9th, 1968, two days before the election, De Vos and Van Andel called all the employees together during working hours and read them a six-page typed letter. Using the loopholes that exist in the federal labor law, the letter explained in detail why Amway did not need a union, and threatened what would happen if the union won.

The ICW report of this incident reads: "Mr. De Vos's remarks at the meeting and the letter to the employees leave no doubt that if the union won the election, the company would not work with the employees."

Finally the election was held on April 11th, 1968, and the union lost 105 to 190.

Evidence in the union files shows that De Vos and Van Andel, expertly skirted the law and purposely created a climate of fear, confusion, and hostility in order to defeat the union.

In the summer of 1971 the RWDSU returned and tried to unionize Amway a second time. The campaign fizzled after several pro-company lead people formed a "Committee Against the Union" and were allowed free run of the plant during working hours. The Committee was allowed to hand out flyers attacking the union while asking people to sign petitions showing their support for the company. One union supporter refused to sign a petition, and was told the company now knew where she stood.

Jack Kirkwood, RWDSU Vice-President and one of the two organizers in this campaign, stated that the union was never able to sign up more than 23 people. "The Committee Against the Union could talk against the union; they could do 'most anything they wanted on company time."

From September of 1972 until June of 1973, the Chemical Workers renewed their efforts to organize Amway anyway. But by this time Amway's anti-union forces were veterans at beating unions. Fresh from their victory over the RWDSU, they were ready to take on the ICW again. An Amway Employees Affairs Committee (Movement Against the Chemical Workers' Union) formed and started pressuring as soon as the union campaign began.

Using the same people and tactics as the earlier committees, this "new" committee isolated any support the union had. The committee finally succeeded in forcing the union to call off the campaign for lack of support. Two abortive attempts by other unions followed the RWDSU drive and failed.

## Life at Amway (Keeping the Unions Out)

De Vos and Van Andel have been very successful using their own brand of behavioral psychology to keep the

## PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION 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.

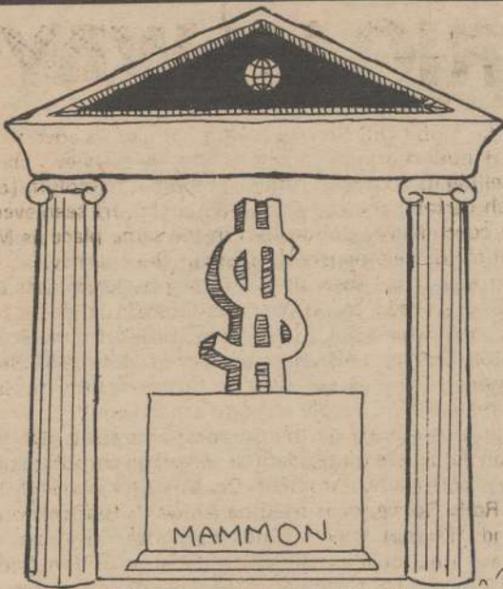
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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.



Amway work force content and the unions out. In the past, enough Amway workers have looked up to Jay Van Andel and Rich De Vos to insure that the union elections ended in their favor.

A prominent union-busting consultant, Dr. Charles Hughes, advises his clients to give workers a chance to speak directly to management—though he cautions that workers' views should not be expressed through elected committees, because that would be teaching a "union mentality". Amway requires that workers attend monthly "speak out" meetings where they can air their views, gripes, and ideas, with De Vos present.

A 26-year-old office keypuncher, who had worked at Amway for two and a half years and who did not want to reveal her name because her relatives still work there, described a typical "speak out".

Everyone assembled, and De Vos would begin by giving a pep talk about Amway's continued growth. He then answered employee questions which were written on slips of paper. Then, almost always, the meeting turned into a sermon in which De Vos preached about the evils of big government or unions, or how the oil crisis should be handled, or whatever his pet subject happened to be that day. She says he always acted as if he were talking down to little children.

She recalls one "speak out" in which a very pregnant office worker complained to him that she had to walk at least a mile from her car to work because of all the building going on. De Vos replied that there wasn't a parking problem, but a walking problem.

She remembers fuming because everyone knew De Vos drove his Rolls Royce right up to the door every day.

Union-buster Hughes also recommends that management hire people "who like working" at factory jobs, are not involved or leader types, and have no great ambitions. Much of Amway's work force comes from the farming communities which surround Grand Rapids: Alto, Coopersville, Ionia, Lowell, and Saranac, where jobs are scarce and wages are low, and having any job is something to be grateful for.

Dr. Hughes lumps blacks together with rabble rousers, misfits, and union leaders, and hints that they should be avoided. The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), a Grand Rapids inner-city neighborhood group with a large black membership, picketed Amway last year for not hiring more minorities. Unlike many large area employers who hire through the state-run employment commission in an effort to attract minorities, Amway takes employment applications only at its tiny personnel office in the Ada plant.

Amway also relies heavily on temporary help from Action Services, Man Power, and Kelly Girls. These temporary workers are used often for regular 40-hour weeks over periods of months, but do not receive any benefits.

Wages vary widely from job to job. Some skilled workers like the pressmen in the Graphics Department are well-paid, and many other workers at Amway make about \$7 an hour. But this wage rate does not apply to about 300 workers employed in the factory and office "pools". With the exception of people hired with certain skills, every new person at Amway must start in the "pools". Office "pool" people start around \$3.85 an hour, while factory "pool" people make around \$4.85 an hour. Until recently, when "pool" people were granted three paid holidays a year, there were no benefits.

A person can bid on a job to get out of the "pool", but the decision on when a person leaves to fill that position is up to the company. There is also a seniority system, and workers are allowed to bid on posted jobs; but with Amway's recent cutback in production, people have been forced onto jobs and shifts they didn't want. Some workers have been forced to give up fringe benefits after being reassigned into the factory "pool".

Fringe benefits for people in the regular work force at Amway match and in some areas top those of union shops. They include paid dental care after six months' service, paid optical care after a year's service, life and health insurance, and paid holidays and vacations. Yet the turnover rate at Amway has been described as "incredible".

As one 20-year-old from the Catalogue Department who had worked there a year and a half put it: "Those people who stay there more than five years are considered old-timers." Workers who stay at least five years are honored with a pin and a dinner.

There is also a class system in the plant. Those who have been there for more than five years tend to be fore-

## ★★★ IWW Directory

### NORTH AMERICA

ALASKA: Anchorage IWW, Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99504.  
Juneau/Douglas IWW, Barry Roderick, Delegate, PO Box 748, Douglas, Alaska 99824.  
Fairbanks IWW, Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.  
ARKANSAS: Arkadelphia IWW, PO Box 371, Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923.  
CALIFORNIA: San Diego IWW Group, Sandra Dutke, 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 450 Branch, Laura Rosenfeld, Secretary, Synthes Press, 2590 Folsom, San Francisco, California 94110.

IOWA: All Workers Organizing Committee, Box 382, Sioux Rapids, Iowa 50585, or Jake Edwards, (712) 283-2816.

ILLINOIS: Chicago General Membership Branch, Leslie Fish, Branch Secretary, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, Phone (312) 549-5045. Meetings held on the first Friday of the month at 7:30 pm. Child care provided if notice given in advance to Branch Secretary.

Champaign/Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820.

MARYLAND: J. K. Spitzberg, Delegate, 13042 Open Hearth Way, Germantown, Maryland 20874.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 13, Willie Marquart, Branch Secretary, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings are held the first Sunday of each month. Child care provided if arranged in advance with the Secretary. Phone 522-7090 or 524-0529.

MICHIGAN: Detroit/Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, Eric Glatz, Delegate, 2305 West Jefferson, Trenton, Michigan 48183, Phone (313) 675-8959.  
University Cellar IU 660 Branch, PO Box 7933, Liberty Street Station, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

Upper Peninsula IWW, Robin Oye, Delegate, 1101 Cottage Drive, Hancock, Michigan 49930.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/Saint Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1621 Marshall Avenue (3), Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104; Scott Burgwin, Delegate, 3343 15th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407.

MONTANA: A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59873, Phone (406) 827-3238, or PO Box 8562, Missoula, Montana 59807.

NEW MEXICO: New Mexico General Membership Branch, PO Box 4872, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87196.

NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW, Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Ekhert, 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.  
Syracuse IWW, Georgene McKown, Delegate, 605 Hickory, Syracuse, New York 13203.

OREGON: Corvallis IWW Group, Bill Palmer, Delegate, 546 NW 14th, Corvallis, Oregon 97330.

Eugene/Springfield IWW Group, Tim Acott, Delegate, 442 Monroe, Eugene, Oregon 97402.

TEXAS: Houston IWW Group, PO Box 35253, Houston, Texas 77035, Phone (713) 865-4875, or Gilbert Mers, (713) 921-0877.

Austin IWW, Red River Women's Press, 908C West 12th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, Phone (512) 476-0389.

Rye, Texas: Fred Hansen, Delegate, Box 728, Rye, Texas 77368, Phone (713) 685-4875.

San Antonio: Industrial Worker Distribution Project, 1602 West Huisache (2), San Antonio, Texas 78201.

Industrial Organizing Committee, PO Box 12831, San Antonio, Texas 78212, Phone (512) 736-6033.

WASHINGTON: Seattle General Membership Branch, Charlotte Jahn, Branch Secretary, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle, Washington 98144.

Bellingham, David Tucker, Delegate, PO Box 1386, Bellingham, Washington 98227.

Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, Ottilie 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, 4631 East Pender Street, Burnaby, British Columbia V5C, 2N2, Canada.

### EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN: British Section IWW, Paul Shellard, 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.

AUSTRALIA: IWW Sydney Office, 417 King Street, 1st Floor, Newton, Sydney, Australia.



men and lead people, receive higher pay, and be extremely loyal to Amway. They are older and more stable, and work primarily days. Those who work nights, in the "pools" and temporary services, are younger, more open-minded, and more transient. Not surprisingly, organizing reports show that these people have been the most pro-union.

Workers who have left Amway tell of feeling that the company was trying to tell them what to think and how to act.

Dr. Hughes says "Being non-union is a state of mind" to be attained by "slowly eroding the thought processes until it changes".

Amway promises a secure future to those workers who accept and conform to its philosophy. For those who resist conformity and expect more, there is the hope that Amway workers will someday organize.

## DID YOU NOTICE?

In Canada pet food is now a \$300 million business, exceeding every other grocery item except soft drinks and occupying more shelf space than any category of human food. Sales of "luxury" dry dog and cat food have increased by 10%, while those of cheaper canned food have declined by that amount.

The Reagan Administration has begun banning movies, and not because of the puritanism of its Moral Majority supporters. The films suppressed thus far were titled *Worker to Worker*, *Can't Take No More*, and *OSHA*. All three encouraged workers to organize around health and safety, and made it clear how to use OSHA for that purpose. OSHA has also begun to censor its own educational materials. In addition to the three banned films, a pamphlet on cotton dust with a cover picture of a man who later died of brown lung has been recalled and destroyed, and so has a slide show about the chemical acrylonitrile, produced as an educational tool for workers in the plastic and synthetic fibers industries, where the chemical is most heavily used.

Banning movies and burning pamphlets, though, won't make the conflict over occupational health and safety disappear. In 1979 there were 43 million days of work reported lost due to occupational illnesses and injuries—an average of 170,000 people out of work each working day. Eula Bingham, the head of OSHA under Carter, estimated that as many as 100,000 workers die each year of occupational illness.

The Texas petrochemical industry has one important product in addition to plastics, synthetic fibers, and fertilizer: cancer. Texas now has one of the nation's highest cancer rates. The number of cancer deaths has grown 32% over the last 10 years while the state's population has grown 18%, and the Houston Gulf Coast (including Beaumont, Freeport, Galveston, Port Arthur, and Texas City) has a cancer rate approaching epidemic proportions. Only in the last three years, however, has the link between the petrochemical industry and cancer begun to be confirmed. An investigation by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) turned up 18 deaths from glioblastoma (a rare and unusually deadly brain

cancer) between 1965 and 1980 in Union Carbide in Galveston—twice the rate outside the Union Carbide population. The investigators also uncovered an unusual concentration of glioblastoma among Dow Chemical workers in nearby Freeport and in the Gulf Oil refinery in Port Texas and the Amoco refinery in Texas City. At Amoco, workers were also found to be more than seven times more prone to melanoma, a form of skin cancer, than the normal population.

Nationally, Dow has been a leading opponent of Federal controls on occupational health. It helped set up the American Industrial Health Council (AIHC), which was initially chaired by Dow's president. One AIHC representative, Dr. Francis Roe, testified before the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in 1979 that "cancer is probably one of nature's ways of eliminating sexually effete individuals who would otherwise, in nature's view, compete for available food resources without advantage to the species as a whole."

In August Chilean police expelled four well-known former politicians from Santiago, accusing them of breaking the "permanent prohibition of Marxism in our civic life". Their "crime" had been to sign a letter of support for the jailed leadership of the CNS, a union confederation which had sent a set of demands to the Chilean Government. Under Chile's new constitution, unions are forbidden to create confederations or to elect any leaders with a political record. Meanwhile, more than a million Chileans—10% of the population—are in exile. Chile's national debt has increased from \$5.1 billion in 1976 to \$11.2 billion last year—one of the highest per capita in the world. Unemployment has increased dramatically, as at the urging of "Los Chicagos" (American financial advisors) public services are being slashed. More than three million Chileans are without a place to live.

The widening split in the ranks of US labor is evidenced not only by the number of visible disputes, but also by union officials' use of unsubtle means of controlling wayward locals. Department of Labor statistics show that 144 locals were, for one reason or another, placed under trusteeship by their national organizations in 1969.

Just after the recession in 1973, the number climbed past 200. By 1980, more than 230 locals were being placed under trusteeship—an increase of 62% in only 10 years. While many of those takeovers were purely administrative—due to a plant closing, others were clearly political, such as the Iron Workers International placing San Diego Local 627 under trusteeship after the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company tried to frame Communist Workers Party union activists for conspiracy to bomb the shipyards.

Rumania has become the second Eastern European country (after Poland) to introduce food rationing, and the first to ration bread. There were sporadic strikes over food supplies and working conditions in several Rumanian factories earlier this year, but they were swiftly put down. The leaders of Rumania's biggest postwar strike—in the mines of the Jiu Valley in 1977—have disappeared from the scene, as have the organizers of a free union which flourished briefly in 1979. Living standards in Rumania have been lower than in neighboring countries, but until now there has at least been plenty of food.

Irish pubs are almost out of draft Guinness, the nation's most popular brew, because of a nearly month-long strike at Guinness's Dublin brewery. The walkout has cut production by more than three million pints a day, and bottle stocks of the dark stout are also dwindling. Brewery workers walked out when a supervisor switched departments, and negotiations to end the strike have failed.

According to Colombian Government figures, about a thousand people were arrested a few days before the "paro civico" (civic strike) of October 21st, organized by the Confederacion Sindical de Trabajadores de Colombia and some left-wing organizations. A week before the strike was due to take place, the Colombian Council of Ministers declared the strike "subversive and illegal" and approved a provision under which the organizers of the strike can be sent to prison for up to 180 days. It also authorized the police and the army to detain any person who "constitutes a danger to public peace". Most of the people detained are union and political leaders, members of human-rights organizations, and people who, after serving prison sentences imposed on them by military tribunals, had been released from prison only a few months. According to Amnesty International, many of the detainees were taken to the Brigada de Institutos Militares, where torture has regularly occurred in the past. After the strike, 13 leading union federations had their registrations as legal entities canceled, and hundreds of new detentions took place.

## Too Many Prison Suicides

The suicide rate for people in jail in the US is 16 times the rate for people out of jail—200 per 100,000 compared to 12.8 per 100,000.

Only South Africa puts a higher portion of its people behind bars than the USA does. *Prisoners' Rights Focus* apportions the imprisoned half million thus: 27,298 are held by the Federal Government, including 3,563 by the US military; state prisons hold 299,134, city and county jails 151,551; there are 1,611 youth held in jails for adults, and 79,929 children imprisoned in reformatories and detention centers.

Half of those in city and county jails are there because they can't raise bail. (When they get set free with or without trial after months of waiting behind bars, do they feel they have had the equal protection of the laws—as equal as if they had money?)

About a thousand people are said to kill themselves in jail each year. Usually the suicides occur shortly after arrest. But do all of them really take their own lives?

Families of young men, alleged suicides in Chicago jails, are demanding autopsies. Photos have shown head injuries that the county medical officer had not listed. Their relatives wonder how a man can hang himself with his sweater. Why is it that with very limited means for suicide, and never free from observation, so many kill themselves in jail, usually via means that must produce very slow strangulation?

*Win* magazine writes: "Carl Harp, prison activist and author, is dead. Prison officials at Washington State Penitentiary claim they found him hanging in his cell, with both wrists slit. Wife and friends are convinced that Carl Harp was murdered by the State."

### CROWDING

The Illinois prison population has risen 87% in the last six years to 12,600—herded into crowded jails that the courts find constitute cruel, though no longer unusual, punishment. Texas prisons hold 31,000 prisoners, but have only 28,000 beds. Last summer the University of Texas, after a study of prisons throughout America, concluded that prisoners, like caged mice, behave normally or go berserk according to whether they have enough space. The Department of Justice standard is 60 square feet per inmate—a trifle above what the researchers concluded was bare minimum; but three quarters of the people in state prisons have less space than that.

The Attorney General is urging more arrests, more

convictions, longer sentences, more time served. Combine that with the recession and no funds for more jails, and you have a formula for prison riots. "During the depression years of 1930-1939 state prison populations rose by nearly 40%, while during the prosperity of the war years 1940-1944 they declined by 29%." Crowding can provide motivation for suicide, but surely can't facilitate it.

Most jail suicides occur shortly after arrest, when people see the foundations for their hopes in life fall away from them as suddenly as the trap door in an official hanging.

### OUR CONCERN

Prison populations are concentrations of working-class people, predominantly our young. Out of concern for them, prison conditions should be a concern of the labor movement—and also out of concern for the rest of us, for prisons do not improve people. Can central labor bodies provide ombudsmen?

Recently the Justice Department concluded from a national survey that 23% of violent crimes against people were committed by people under 18. And that number is jumping. In Cook County (the Chicago area) the number of juvenile arrests jumped 42% between 1978 and 1980. The typical confession of a young man: "My girl left me for a dude with more money to spend, so I set out to get some too." At some time during the year 1978 a total of 470,000 children passed through adult jails "pending juvenile action". These kids committed suicide in jail at five times the rate of their age group outside.

In thirty cities now the Guardian Angels are recruiting young people to discourage crime, chiefly by their mere presence in subway systems and the like. Some of the Angels are school dropouts, some are university students, and most are volunteering their time and their necks out of compassion for both the victims and the victimizers in these crimes of the working class against itself. Some, it is said, are there to ease the painful powerlessness of their lives. On another tangent, community groups are bringing victim and culprit together to work out compensation for harm done instead of jail. Both approaches have possibilities, including a new abuse of power. Advice to the young: Don't try taking the world over individually and piecemeal; get together and take it over whole—and leave the suicides to the bankers.

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Cultural events by and for working people—especially song and story—have long been part of the IWW in action. Now a new booklet produced jointly by the Bread and Roses Project of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, and the American Labor Education Center offers examples, ideas, and a list of further contacts for anyone interested in expanding cultural happenings in the labor movement.

Called *Our Own Show: Organizing Cultural Programs for Working People*, the 25-page booklet covers setting up union cultural committees; labor theatre; union songs; photos, drawings, and cartoons about work; work writing; labor on film, TV, and radio; teaching labor history (including involving retired workers); and funding such labor projects.

*Our Own Show* includes an extensive reference list of other sources of help in initiating or developing cultural programs. The list gives names and addresses of work-oriented cultural newsletters, relevant record and film distributors, labor theatre groups, collections of work writing, teachers who can provide information on school labor-studies programs, funding sources, functioning labor-history projects, and more.

Copies of *Our Own Show* are available for \$2.95 from Moe Foner, District 1199 Bread and Roses Project, 310 West 43rd Street, New York, New York 10036. Bulk rates are available.

The Bread and Roses Project, named after the slogan carried by textile workers in the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts strike, is a two-year project in the arts and humanities sponsored by District 1199, with supplementary funding from public and private foundations. A list of books, posters, records, and audio-visual material produced by District 1199 during the Project is also included in the booklet.

Tom Wayman