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25 CENTS

SHUTDOWN TO BUST UNION?

Some decisions to close plants are made for other reasons than that they are losing money. It may be to switch orders to some plant owned in part by some of the same directors so as to stimulate real-estate sales in its vicinity. Hidden among these mixed motivations can be a desire to weaken the unions in the industry.

The boycott of Perdue Farms illustrates the process. Perdue Farms is a large supplier of chickens to markets from Maryland to Boston. It is non-union, and growing. It bought some union operations, closed them down, and later re-opened them as non-union. The company says the closedown was to renovate these plants. The United Food and Commercial Workers (the merger of former unions of Butcher Workmen and Clerks) says this was done to fight unionization and is responding with a boycott which it expects the AFL-CIO to endorse at its Febuary session. The UFCW charges that Perdue questions workers about their union sympathies, and also says that Perdue chickens are no better than other chickens, even though biochemistry makes them yellower and they sell for a higher price. The company answers that its turnover is less than that of its competitors, its pay is 29¢ an hour higher, and its workers are welcome to join a union if they want to.

Buying up plants, closing them, re-opening them as non-union either at the old stand or at a new location, and perhaps adding a nickel or two to the pay can put the union in an awkward position and be viewed with favor by those providing working capital. The substantial union response, of course, is working-class education pointing to our long-range and collective interests; but how to cope with the immediate situation? The UFCW does not want to see a larger share of the chicken market go to this nonunion employer whose workers it is having difficulty organizing. The boycott is "a two-edged sword"; it will no more help organize Perdue Farm workers than the J. P. Stevens boycott did, for workers do not welcome a union policy that cuts down their employment. Yet not to boycott lets Perdue get away with it.

The Steel Workers watched United States Steel lease its Joliet wire mill and its American Bridge plant at Gary to non-union firms. At Youngstown the union hoped, along with community leaders, to open up the closed US Steel McDonald Works; but when it was arranged for Toro Enterprises to be founded and run non-union, the unioncitizen group had to withdraw its suit or be cast in the role of blocking jobs for unemployed steel workers. The Glass Workers have just won a round with Midland-Ross for closing a plant in 1974 to scare other workers away from joining the union.

De-regulation of airlines and trucking gives the process a new twist. It generates non-union upstarts to do work formerly done by union members. How much behindthe-scenes conniving has gone on to provide the connections for these new enterprises is sheer guesswork. But in mid-December informational picket lines appeared at La Guardia Airport to tell the public that the new New York Air which offered cut-rate flights to Washington DC was a runaway from These international to escape the unions.

While the picket lines went up at La Guardia, down in Florence, South Carolina Milliter agreed to pay out five million dollars for closing a plant when the workers voted union in 1956. Some of this goes to relatives of workers who died in the intervening 34 years. When the Darlington, South Carolina plant voted 256-248 to go union, Milliken closed it. The NLRB said that was naughty and ordered reinstatement with back pay in 1962, but years of litigation followed. The 1975-79 back-pay compliance suit alone runs over 37,000 pages. The union was asking for \$26 million in back pay, but the victimized workers decided to accept the five-million-dollar offer.

Geographic distribution of shutdowns presumably has something to do with decisions to shut plants down. The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union reports that last year 281 plants it had organized were closed down, losing it 20,611 members, and that half of these were in the northeast and north-central districts. Motivations for closing these plants can be complex, especially in a period when the big ones are eating the little ones, and the concentration of capital permits shutdowns to be a part of the policy game and collective-bargaining program of the upper crust. It just isn't safe to let a handful of capitalists be in a position to tell the rest of us whether we have jobs or not. And they are so organized and sneaky that often they just have to decide which plant will get the orders to achieve about the same union-busting effect as a shutdown.

Tour Sparks Growth

Bruce "Utah" Phillips, singer of labor songs, treated workers in the Northwest to a series of concerts in December, as a benefit for IWW organizing efforts in that area. He was aided and abetted by Bob Markholt, Washington lumberjack, steer roper, and butcher, who gave a spiel, issued IWW membership cards to new applicants, and sold the literature. We'll have some pictures of some of the events and a fuller report in the next issue.

The series started off in Helena, Montana on Saturday, December 13th, where posters announced it as a One Big Union Revival and Medicine Show— no stuffed-shirt stuff. The folks liked it, and a few joined to help build there an organization they know they need.

In Missoula on the 14th the tour had the additional artistry of Fellow Worker Mark Ross, and some recollections from old-timer Art Nurse. Once more a half dozen joined the handful we already had to give some serious thought to getting Missoula organized.

In Butte on the 15th there was time to visit the grave of Frank Little, put some flowers there, and admire the inscription: "Frank Little, 1879-1917 – Slain by Capitalist Interests for Organizing and Inspiring His Fellowmen".



Labor History Fair For Chicago Students

Chicago high-school students are being encouraged to get acquainted with unionism, preferably by digging into the unions to which their parents or grandparents belonged.

Chicago labor history is the new theme for the Chicago Metro History Fair in 1981. In last year's Fair over 4,000 students participated, 350 of whom won cash awards for their research papers, exhibits, performances, and slide or tape presentations. This year's local labor-history theme has been promoted by both the Chicago Teachers' Union and the Illinois Labor History Society.

Again a half dozen were welcomed into the Union, and they figure to make it serviceable to the working class once more in what is left of what was once an old labor battleground and the richest hill on earth.

On the 18th, at Washinton State University in Pullman, the students liked what we had to offer and so did a few outsiders, and we added to our ranks.

On Friday the 19th in Olympia the hall was completely filled as the president of the local Central Labor Council introduced the show. Again in Everett on the 20th, the tour was officially welcomed by the president of the Central Labor Council, where they still remember the IWW heroism of 1916, and old Nels Peterson, an eyewitness of the Everett Massacre now in his 90s, spoke briefly of his recollections.

At Tacoma Community College on the 21st there was a welcoming introduction from the secretary of the Central Labor Council, and an audience glad that they had come.

The tour brought in about \$350 over expenses, and this will be used for further efforts in the Northwest, with plans under way for a similar tour in Oregon in the near future. The main result is the flock of new members, who, along with the few we had in these towns before, can be counted on to build more working-class solidarity, more understanding, and more determination among workers to rescue this planet and make it the home of the working class. Chicago bus drivers, after basic fares rose to 80¢, complained that they were becoming the victims of angry riders, and wanted more protection. It may cheer bus riders to know that there are places where one can ride for free, as summarized in *California Socialist* last fall.

No-fare transit, once only a "utopian" vision, is now beyond the experimental stage. The US Department of Transportation reports that 14 cities had adopted no-fare by early 1977. These were not short-term, federally-subsidized experiments. Commerce (California) has had a complete no-fare system since 1962. Seattle (1973), Portland (1975), and Dallas (1975) started successful no-fare service in their downtown sections. In 1978 both Denver and Trenton extended the idea to their entire systems during non-peak hours. Other cities operating no-fare busses, mostly in their central business districts, include Albany, Akron, Birmingham, Dayton, Honolulu, Nashville, Norfolk, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Syracuse.

No major city has yet adopted a system-wide, unrestricted no-fare plan, but three small lines – Commerce, East Chicago, and Independence, Missouri – have complete no-fare operations.

No-fare in a central business district is an obvious advantage to downtown merchants. Shoppers benefit too. But to raise money from workers so the central business district can attract customers is another case of socialism for the rich. If no-fare is to achieve the goals of less pollution, reduced gas consumption, and less traffic congestion, it must curb auto traffic during normal commuter hours.

Free Bus Rides ... OK!

A fare-free system operating during peak traffic hours would require a great expansion of bus fleets. But the auto industry, plagued with idle plants and massive layoffs, would surely welcome such an opportunity, and would spend federal aid for production rather than for unemployment insurance.

Ever watch Archie Bunker going through a door? Until they stop trying it two at a time, no one gets through. It's much the same with private cars and public busses.

Because the public bus system is costly and the service is poor, people fill the streets with a couple of tons of glass and steel for every hundred pounds of humanity. As a result the busses can't give good service because the cars are in their path. As a further result, busses are behind schedule and often almost empty, thus raising the cost of carrying a rider. So fares go up, more people drive cars, amd the cost per rider rises even more.

Do we have to be even dumber than Archie? Most of the people using busses are going to stores or workplaces, so merchants and employers should foot the bill for public transportation just as they foot the bill for elevator transportation in their buildings—where it actually costs more per ride! PAGE 2

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According to the Children's Defense Fund, an organization in Washington DC, the future for black children born in Freedom Land is anything but bright. According to their statistics black kids are far more likely to be sick without a regular source of health care than white kids, thrice as likely to be labeled "mentally retarded", twice as likely to-drop out of school, and thrice as likely to be unemployed.

That is not so far-fetched a projection in the light of today's statistics. Nationwide here in the good old USA the unemployment rate for black youths runs 40%, and in many a ghetto it runs 50% or more. By comparison, the unemployment rate for young whites is 15%.

The president of the Children's Defense Fund says that millions of alienated black children who will be unable to benefit from the black liberation movement, and who are growing up with resentment, are "a time bomb that poses a threat to us all". The black middle class has grown over the last decade, but the black poor have increased at an even faster rate.

This is a supreme bit of irony for a country that boasts about its "melting pot" image, where the one group who crossed the ocean against their own will and whose unpaid labor got this country started in the first place do not get the respect that is supposedly due to the early American settlers.

One of the leaders of the National Black Independent Political Party, which proposes self-determination for the Black Nation, says "Black independent politics must begin to include demands to limit the mobility of capital and to halt plant closings and factory relocations which place thousands of black workers in unemployment lines annually." That is an idea that all workers should look into, and not just make "political demands". After all, it does take workers to close down plants and move equipment. It would be a hell of a lot nicer if the workers shut down the factories and sent Capital packing before opening them up again. Maybe then there would be a great hope in this country that was founded by slave owners and Indian butchers.

Meanwhile, here in what poet Carl Sandburg described as "the hog-butcher of the world", our dear windy city of Chicago, the public-transportation fares have gone up once again, and sure enough we are waiting longer for the busses to pick us up as we dig into our pockets for more change. Every time the candy bars get smaller, you can be sure that the price is going up another nickel. Such is life in a society where workers don't have any say about what happens to the stuff they produce.

The public-transportation officials keep crying that the public-transportation system is going broke and may eventually have to close down. These high-salaried officials, many of whom live in the lily-white suburbs, never use public transportation themselves. Their complete ignorance of what constitutes good public transportation is dramatically illustrated every time they discontinue another bus line that is used daily by thousands of working people. And guess where the routes are being discontinued. Usually in minority neighborhoods. Perhaps the good officials figure there won't be too many workers riding to work or going shopping in those neighborhoods anyway.

One way to help improve public transportation while

Les Femmes Fight Part - time

French women working in both the public and private sectors fear that new laws will force them to accept parttime work. Resentment against a policy of "ladies first" in laying off or cutting back the work force is growing, and there is talk of organizing a demonstration in Paris as powerful as the demonstration last year when women asserted their right to choose with regard to abortion and contraception.

French capitalists and other capitalists all over the world justify part-time work for women at the moment by saying it gives them more time for their children and household tasks. Women say it will keep them in their traditional roles and will encourage them to get married and stay married in order to survive economically. It also perpetuates the concept that women work only to supplement their husbands' incomes. French women currently earn 33% to 50% less than men, and they certainly can't afford to see their salaries cut in half.

Employers are also saying that part-time and temporary work will cut down the absenteeism rate. All working people know that part-time employment, determined and regulated only by management, will erode fringe benefits, base pay, and holiday and vacation pay. The capitalist drive for part-time and temporary workers is a relatively new experiment now being imposed on women in private industry who are unskilled and traditionally poorly paid (in food, textile, clothing, sales, and restaurant work), and on large numbers of office and clerical workers in the government sector. At present the trend toward part-time work is developing a little slower than the trend toward temporary work. However in the next few years the French Government plans to create 145,000 parttime jobs in the postal, telephone, and telegraph service (PTT). The boss benefits by being able to maintain full production schedules, employing more workers and cutting labor costs. The State as an employer benefits from all of the above, and will also benefit from the drop in applicants for unemployment-insurance benefits.

Part-time and temporary work, at reduced salaries, appeals only to married women with three or more children and to workers over 60. Others accept it because they can't find full-time work.

Capitalists are discovering that two part-time workers are cheaper than one full-time worker. No matter what ideology is expressed, and no matter what sector of the working class is currently aimed at, all workers are in danger. French women resent being denied the right to choose whether they want to work full-time or part-time, and feel they are the first to be singled out in the drive to initiate part-time and temporary work schedules. The boss says it is his management right to arrange production and work schedules without consulting factory committees and trade unions. The changes are being made gradually, but the security of all workers-men and women, organized and unorganized — is threatened.

(Data taken from the November 18th, 1980 issue of Le Monde and the November 13th, 1980 issue of Rouge.)

Ruth Sheridan

SCABS LEARN HARD WAY

When employees of a British Petroleum refinery in Pennsylvania went on strike earlier this year, BP brought in a scab-herding detective agency to break the walkout. Seventeen men were brought into the plant and told they would have to live inside 24 hours a day, with no time off outside.

According to the Pennsylvania State Hospital Unemployment Compensation Board of Review, which recently looked into working conditions for the strikebreakers, things were dismal indeed inside the struck plant.

There were only 12 cots for 17 men to share... the toilet did not work... the sink in the bathroom did not have hot water, and the cold water was rusty brown... the shower was two blocks away, and the men were forced to walk in temperatures of 30 degrees or lower to take a shower," an investigator said.

Furthermore, the scabs couldn't wash the one uniform they'd each been given because it required dry cleaning. One scab suffered a skin rash, attributed to unclean uniforms and inadequate washing facilities. They were also dissatisfied with inadequately-prepared food.

For all this, the 17 men were paid \$4 an hour and \$3 per diem.

The climax of the story isn't hard to guess: The strikebreakers themselves walked out. True to form BP opposed their receiving unemployment compensation; but after hearing the evidence, the Board of Review told the men they could collect.

(reprinted from Solidarity, December 16-31, 1980)

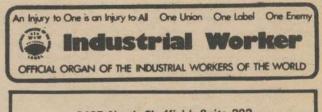
LABOR ABROAD

FINLAND IL SUCHE OF THE

Finnish journalists closed all the newspapers in Finland for three weeks. Prior to their strike the State's radio and TV had reached agreement with their news staffs, and these were the only news sources during the strike. The strikers won 10% now with 2% more due in April 1981 and 1982, as well as a shorter work week.

BRITAIN

British coal miners settled without a strike December 1st for a 13% raise instead of the 35% they had proposed. The press says pit workers now average \$356 a week before taxes, and surface workers \$302.



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alleviating the financial burden would be to adjust the salaries of these transportation officials so they too would be able to go to work via public transportation like the rest of us do. Knowing that the aforementioned suggestion will never be acted on, it is better that those who do the real labor in the transportation system—the drivers, ticket sellers, repair crews, and the like—should be prevailed upon to take over the operation and management of mass transit themselves and retire those high-salaried suburbanites.

There is no excuse for the workers who produce all the wealth in this society having to pay that much for such lousy service. In fact the workers shouldn't have to pay at all to ride to work or to the department stores to spend their money. It's the merchants and the employers who benefit the most from public mass transit, and they don't pay a nickel. We used to ride the bus to work. Now we work so we can afford to ride the bus.

The public transit gets worse every day, so the automobile manufacturers are having a Roman holiday unloading heaps that won't last on workers who can't afford them, and the streets and parking spaces get increasingly choked up beyond the point of no return. As Marx and the Wobblies say, the Capitalist system contains the seeds of its own destruction! Until recently the Pentagon officially acknowledged only 13 nuclear-weapons accidents. These were contained in a list published in January 1968, after a B-52 armed with nuclear bombs plunged into the ice not far from Thule, Greenland, scattering radioactive plutonium over a wide area. A similar crash contaminated acres of agricultural topsoil at Palomares, Spain in 1966, and the US cleanup operation cost \$50 million. Many authorities on nuclear arms insisted that these 13 admitted accidents -admitted only because they could not be concealedwere only part of the total number.

MORE BOMB GOOFS

Now the Pentagon's Nuclear Defense Agency has released an updated count of acknowledged "Broken Arrows" (military code for nuclear-weapons accidents). The new count stands at 26. In addition, the Pentagon admits that there have been other Broken Arrows which they will not describe for "political and national-security reasons". The number of these accidents, they say, is "less than ten". That makes a grand total of up to 36 Broken Arrows, not to mention at least 70 nuclear-weapons "incidents", known as "Bent Spears".

There are already some 9,000 strategic and 22,000 tactical nukes in the US arsenal. As their numbers grow, so will the number of nuclear accidents. Industrial Workers of the World. It is owned entirely by the IWW and is issued monthly. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Unless designated as official policy, *Industrial Worker* articles do not necessarily represent the official position of the Industrial Workers of the World.

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> General Secretary-Treasurer Michael Hargis

SO)

C. C. Redcloud

(adapted from the Nation)

Let's Not Have a War!

Daily the threat of war increases. Daily the anti-war included in the registration data to facilitate the hunting movement grows.

In Britain the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament drew a crowd of 70,000 for its annual rally in Trafalgar Square in October. A year earlier the same event drew only 600.

One reason for the increase is the growing fear all throughout Europe that the Pentagon and the Kremlin may have a "limited war" with each other in Europe to try out their tactical nuclear arms, with those Europeans who do not have deep shelter as victims. Governments are set to go underground. Now the old hostility between nations is being shouldered off center stage by the hostility between pro-arms and anti-arms people in each country - and therein lies what hope exists for the human race.

Examples: In Britain Prime Minister Thatcher asks for a \$2 billion fleet of submarines equipped with Trident missiles, while Foote, leader of the Labour Party, promises that if he gets elected he will send back to the USA the 160 cruise missiles scheduled to be based in Britain by 1983. In Norway, where the Labor Party governs, it is torn between a right wing that wants to use North Sea oil revenue for arms to protect that revenue, and a left wing that opposes the use of Norwegian territory for stockpiling US weapons. The left has induced the Government not to irritate Russia by stockpiling the stuff so close to the Russian border, and, for the same reason, to shift to short-range planes.

Peace movements have made Belgium and Holland refuse the USA any bases for the deployment of its cruise missiles. Belgium, Holland, and Denmark have resisted American pressure to increase their arms budgets, as have also West Germany and Japan, nations the US once disarmed, but now wants to arm again.

"MERCHANTS OF DEATH"

Part of the picture is the arms business itself. To what extent does its desire to build more business for itself threaten world peace? That is an operating factor. Example: In Germany the governing Social Democrats are split over arms policy, the unions shocked that Schmidt should agree to build two submarines for the dictators of Chile. Schmidt justifies this on the ground that this \$150 million contract will assure work for a thousand German workers for a year. German arms shipments have run to six and seven times what they were in 1960, and have gone mostly to Third World countries. The German parliament debates whether to allow an order from Saudia Arabia for 300 tanks. That would bring in over a billion dollars and lots of work, but would it contribute to Middle East peace? Would German tanks to Saudi Arabia help the anti-war people in the Labor Party of Israel negotiate their Palestinian-Jordanian state proposal, with self-government for the Palestinians of the West Bank?

Arms export is a troubling business. Now some of the Third World countries have become arms exporters too, especially Israel and Brazil. In 1978 Third World arms exports were over \$5 billion. That is a small figure compared to the total world arms expenditure of \$480 billion, but is still enough to kill a lot of people and kindle a bigger blaze.

Arms trade with and between developing countries is calculated not to enable them to tackle the great industrial powers, their former imperial masters, but rather to enable them to fight with neighbors of about the same military might. This growth of arms in hungry countries does not strengthen democratic forces there, or enable these countries to secure better trade terms with more industrialized nations. Everywhere the growth of armaments and of attendant fears and hostilities makes the underlying population more hesitant to assert itself, lest neighboring dictators pounce on the opportunity. Arms for defense against the neighbors can be and are used to suppress that underlying population if it has other ideas.

The Annual Report of the US Arms Control Agency says that in 1978 the world spent \$480 billion on arms, or 5.4% of the world's gross product. The Agency figures that Russia spent \$153 billion on arms that year. the USA spent a bit over \$100 billion. Russia and the USA sold \$13 billion worth of arms to other countries that year.

down of those who did not register. Comparative figures for January are not yet available.

Europeans are worried not only about Reagan, but also about the cabinet he proposes: Haig is president of United Technologies, which gets the third-largest number of military contracts; Weinberg, vice-president of Bechtel Corporation, to head the Department of Defense; the chairman of Merrill, Lynch, and Company to handle the Treasury; Carlucci, deputy director of the CIA, to be deputy secretary of Defense, and the head of the Export-Import Bank to run the CIA; Smith, a lawyer who handled labor matters for corporations, to be Attorney General.

The concern is over the thinking and feeling that went into the election-that of folks addicted to autos who wonder why we shouldn't send in the Marines to get oil cheaper, who resent being citizens of a great power whose nose gets tweaked by the Ayatollah, whose technology is being surpassed in other countries, and whose standard of living is no longer tops.

DOCTORS VERSUS WAR

Those predominant views are unhealthy. So is war, and Physicians for Social Responsibility keep reminding us of that fact. This organization is growing rapidly, over 3,000 doctors having joined it in the USA alone. Among its more prominent members are Dr. Howatt, Dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, and Dr. Helen Caldicott, who resigned from Harvard to give full time to the organization. Says Dr. Caldicott: "Now the vectors of disease are not rats or mosquitoes. They are the scientists in the militaryindustrial complex." Warns Dr. Howatt: "If a 20-megaton bomb fell on Boston, more than 90% of its three million residents would die or need immediate medical attention. while we could expect only 650 doctors to survive and have to get along with bombed-out hospitals." Both US and Soviet doctors have joined a new body, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

This war business is also bad for the pocketbook. Between 1940 and 1980 the USA spent \$2.6 trillion on arms. During that period the national debt rose from \$43 billion to \$925 billion. The part of the arms bill that was not paid out of current taxes was paid by increasing the national debt. The dollar now buys a fifth of what it could buy in 1940.

To US corporate heads this is just one more reason for America to urge other countries to divert more of their resources to armament, leaving less to devote to competing with American corporations for markets.

NUCLEAR CLUB GROWS

The threat of war is entangled with international financing. Examples: In November the International Monetary Fund (IMF) made a loan of \$1.7 billion to Pakistan. This was the largest IMF loan ever made, and the USA was the big contributor. The next-largest IMF loan was for \$1.6 billion to Turkey last June-both to dictatorships that the Pentagon would like to use as pawns in the battle with the Kremlin, but that are likely to have plans of their own. When Pakistan's dictator aspired to become a new nuclear power, the USA put restrictions on what merchants could ship there. But in mid-December at Montreal airport, a \$42,500 shipment listed as condensers and resistors from an American supplier was seized, and three were charged with violating export laws. The shipment contained electronic equipment used for enriching uranium to weapons grade, along with other components for the development of nuclear weapons.

Around that same time the General Auditing Office opined that the USA could not effectively restrict capacity for making atomic bombs by withholding enriched uranium, as too many governments already know how to make spent nuclear fuels usable. The GAO says that by 1978 the US had already supplied enough enriched uranium to 31 countries to make 750 A-bombs.



On Christmas Eve, among sundry expressions of the old subversive wish for peace on earth and good will among people, Major General Nikolai Petrov warned the West that if NATO stations middle-range nuclear missiles in Europe, "the Soviet Union will be compelled to take retaliatory moves, and nobody should have any doubt about that". The American cruise missile is supposed to be the answer to the Russian SS-20. European-based cruise missiles can reach far into Russia, while SS-20s cannot cross the Atlantic. The growing European disarmament movement aims to rid Europe of both. Its reasoning runs that if they allow the American cruise missile, they inevitably face those SS-20s.

CAN YOU EXPLAIN?

Suppose you had a visitor from Outer Space: someone who knew only of a congenial, rational, non-military life, where folks did their work outside their homes as they did inside their homes, to make things the way they wanted. Suppose you wanted to explain the state of the world in the winter of 1980-81 to this fellow who knew nothing about generals or nations or profit margins. How could you explain it?

Probably you would have to end up explaining how misorganized we earthlings are: that we do our work with equipment owned by those who do not work even though we made the equipment, and that they compel us to work for them because they own that equipment; that they have us misorganized into nations so they can keep it that way through threats to set us to killing each other if we try to upset the arrangement; that they keep us workers hostile toward each other with the news and entertainment that they feed us; that the owners of the equipment often own equipment in many different nations, but instead of this uniting us workers against them, it makes us afraid of losing our jobs and our meal tickets to workers in those other nations ... and so on and so forth, with the ultimate prospect that we will make this planet unlivable with atomic warfare.

Your visitor from Outer Space would probably sigh and say "And it was such a nice planet!" He very likely might ask you a question or two like "Couldn't you Earth workers have communicated with each other in some way, reasoned together, and reached your own decisions about what work you should do for the common good, and then carried out your collective decisions, instead of the decisions of those structurally foredoomed to send you all to disaster?'

ft

Couldn't we?



CORPORATE VULTURES

The arms merchants are not the only ones who can see gains in limited wars. As the Wall Street Journal puts it:

"The only sure winners in the Iraq-Iran war are the foreign companies that will help put the two countries back together after the fighting stops"-meaning Brown and Root, Fluor Corporation, John Brown and Company, and others who will help get the oil fields and shipping facilities operable again. In the detective stories one asks who benefits from the murder.

THAT AMERICAN MIND

In the USA a trifle over half of those who voted in November voted for Reagan and for a Congress to support his policies. This has much of the world worried. Before the elections about a guarter of those who were supposed to register for the draft did not go. Self-preservation, a distaste for killing, and quibbles about whether women should be drafted too may have been helped by ACLU intervention to stop Social Security numbers from being

Some things are even more dangerous to your health than smoking.

ITCHY TRIGGERS

Information obtained via satellite and other means speeds up our awareness of remote events and our reactions, and can trigger wars. Example: Sadat heard that Soviet surface-to-surface missiles deployed in Southern Libya were aimed at his Aswan Dam. Satellites showed a dozen launching pads for Scaleboard missiles, range 500 miles. The United States advised Sadat not to attack these installations, and promised in return for such restraint to support Egypt if it became the victim of attack.

Meanwhile, Libya's Khadafy had some 3,000 Sovietequipped troops infiltrating Chad, which once used to be part of French Equatorial Africa. Some may call it a swap; but anyway, while the French Government offered no opposition to the take-over of Chad by Libya, the French State oil trust acquired from Libya the right to explore in Libva for more oil. The take-over of Chad alarmed those running other nations in those sections of Africa where the officials still speak French, and France has dispatched more troops in January. All of which is enough to make inhabitants of Planet Earth restless.

1981 Bargaining

Either because of contract expirations or because of wage re-opener clauses, two and a half million workers will be involved in the following major wage negotiations scattered through 1981, as placed on the calendar by the Bureau of Labor Statistics:

February: Steel Workers to bargain for 18,000 company workers.

March: United Mine Workers to bargain for 125,000 miners and varied railroad unions for 400,000.

June: Masters, Mates, and Pilots, National Maritime Union, Seafarers, and Marine Engineers to represent some 50,000 East Coast workers.

July: West Coast maritime workers, including 11,500 longshoremen, and 571,000 postal workers.

November : Trans World and United Airlines to bargain with Machinists, involving some 30,000 workers.

December: Eastern Airlines to bargain with 11,500 ground-crew workers represented by the IAM.

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INDUSTRIAL WORKER

FEBRUARY 1981



In those grim bleak days between World Wars I would sit on the wooden steps of the Unemployment Office sharing the hatred of our past and the hopeless rage over our worthless State-dictated future with all the other elderly young. And I had a friend, and in God's name I admired him; for his sister had vanished into the raindrenched towns of Ireland as a chorus girl in a fifth-rate touring company, the State had thrown his mother and her young children into the local workhouse, and he knew the answers. There on the steps of the Unemployment Office he would declaim on the virtues of Joe Stalin's democratic Russia and on the wonders of America, where every man was a Clark Gable; for there in that USA, he would state, every working man was a king in a land of equals. I had a friend-and that line has echoed on every battlefield, in every Greek tragedy, and in every divorcecourt showdown-and he would tell me of that glorious day when the Red Army would march past our drear Unemployment Office, and we had dollars in one hand, hot dogs in the other, and chewing gum in our mouths as we cried "sez you" to the rich.

My friend is now no more than an honored and loved memory, and I pray that the antics of the American and Russian Governments did not harm him, for they were unworthy of the devotion and idealism of Europe's young and dedicated dreamers. Yet these two great power blocks still dominate the industrial wasteland of Europe, for our deaths and our daily bread are their political playthings in their global battle for the right to own my questionable soul

America has a new breed of dedicated admirers within these small islands, and they are the wealthy right-wing supporters of Britain's Tory Establishment who believe that history has served them well with the election of Ma Thatcher and Ron Reagan. And when those two soul mates meet in early 1981, there will be hosannas and much knee slapping in the Tory clubs off the Royal Mall; for they choose to believe that if Ron Reagan is a hollow Hollywood Stalin, then Ma Thatcher is his drag-queen Lenin-one tucked safely in a guarded tomb, and the other 3,000 miles away in London annoying the natives.

Ma Thatcher has this dedicated obsession with the brutality of the American economic system and its apparent lack of humanity toward the people who work within it, where profit is the ultimate end, no matter what the human misery in the gaining of it. If I wrong the Ewings of

Dallas, the owners of Penthouse magazine, or the Chicago marched into the "Kremlin", as the main office building hog dealers, then with my hand on my Old Age Pension book I do most humbly apologize. But Ford and General Motors do own Britain, and hence one should be allowed to draw assumptions on the conduct of the away teams no matter how false or biased they may be

Ma Thatcher has long sat with glazy eyes at the flattish feet of the American monetarist Friedman, who advocates the economics of Darwin's survival of the fittest-which means a strong bank, a strong bank balance, and a wellarmed, well-heeled police force to guard the rich, who hold onto the keys of the food stores and the collection and distribution (at market prices) of the people's food. But Ma Thatcher is no public barfly shooting the crap over a pint of Guinness; for she has brought over from America, at a fee of two million dollars, Ian MacGregor to perform a major hatchet job on Britain's steel industry, and this he is performing with all the panache of a legalized Jack the Ripper. Wages have been frozen for the next six months, 20,000 jobs are to go, 5,000 jobs linked to the British steel industry will be lost, and four major plants are to be closed down, with the threat that at least one of the huge Welsh steel plants will be closed down. And for that the people of Britain have had to pay this Scottish-born American "expert" two million dollars. There must be cheaper ways of committing suicide. "And what of the steel unions?" you rightly ask, comrades; and the answer is that after a losing 13-week strike that they dare not repeat, their leaders are still in a state of horrified shock, too scared even to open an envelope.

And Ma Thatcher has hired another American economic "expert", Alan Walters, at \$100,000 a year; but one does not feel that he can save the situation at Britain's Motown, where 300 auto workers decided to physically fight it out with the management and staff. But two months ago, as Dickens would have phrased it, 900 auto workers arrived to find that they had been laid off because there was a lack of space to store the new Metros car from off the line. No work, no pay. Some 300 auto workers started a five-minute march to the union office, but 60 broke away and marched to the main assembly lines to argue their bitter case with those still working on other lines. There was bad feeling, a few windows broken, some slight damage to about 30 cars, and a few minor punch-ups between those laid off and those still working. All good harmless fun, you will cry; but the men then

Illinois Mine Wildcat

A sporadic wildcat strike wave broke out in Southern Illinois during the month of October. It began in four surface mines of Consol (Consolidation Coal Company) over a variety of workplace control issues. At Burning Star Number 5 (De Soto, Illinois), the issue was management's decree that lunch breaks could no longer be used for socializing, only for eating. At Burning Star Number 4 (Cutler, Illinois), the issue was reduction of drill crews from three workers to two. At Burning Star Number 2 (Pinckneyville, Illinois), there was growing resentment against the increasing number of attempted discharges and suspensions. Yet the issue which got the strike wave started was the firing of a miner at Burning Star Number 3 (Sparta, Illinois) for being absent, even though the miner had a doctor's excuse. Since it had been a long-standing practice for management to accept doctors' excuses, this raised the contract issue of "past practices". Under "past practices", management is not permitted to change any long-standing policy, whether or not it has been mentioned in the contract, without consulting the union. It was clear to the Consol miners that management was trying to exert a stronger authority over the work force, regardless of what the contract said. So on the weekend of October 3rd and 4th, 1300 miners wildcatted in protest.

The relations between the Consol management and the rank-and-file coal miners had been gradually reaching the breaking point. Consol, a subsidiary of the Conoco energy corporation, has a long record as being the coal industry's

might make the strike more effective, like urging a company-wide sympathy strike.) This was similar to the position of District 12 union officials, who urged the wildcatters to either work through the grievance procedure or let the international union deal with Consol at the bargaining table. "Leave it up to us!" the officials chanted almost in unison. But the wildcatters weren't buying these solutions - not yet, anyway.

The miners recognized that Church and his flunkies are not about to strike the BCOA over retaining "past practices". As a reporter for Carbondale's Southern Illinoisian put it: "The use of past practices is stronger in Illinois than in the East, where most union members are, and there may be some questions about how much Eastern miners may want to risk to keep the past-practices language in the contract." (October 22nd, 1980)

The problem for the Consol miners was how to put greater pressure on the company to settle the matter before it got lost in the upcoming industry-wide bargaining. For the time being the management, the international and district union officials, and the local courts (which had refused to issue an injunction) were content to let the strikers starve themselves out. With the Christmas holiday approaching, family pressure would help demoralize the isolated strikers. Then, after three weeks of the conflict, the miners got a lucky break. Apparently encouraged by Consol's tough absentee policy, the management at Old Ben Coal Mine Number 21 near Sesser, Illinois decided to fire a miner even though he brought a doctor's excuse. It was no longer just a Consol policy, but was now beginning to be applied at other companies. Miners at Old Ben Number 21 walked out in protest on October 28th, along with miners at Old Ben 25, 26, and 27. (The Southwestern Illinois Coal Corporation Captain Mine had been struck the day before in solidarity with the Consol miners, but the Captain miners were unfortunately going back to work just as the Old Ben miners were walking out.) Now there were eight mines out, raising the number of strikers to about 4,000. The strike continued to spread October 28th and 29th, when three Freeman United Coal Company mines struck along with the Southwestern Illinois Coal Corporation Streamline Mine and the Consol Hillsboro Mine. This raised the number of wildcatters to between 6,000 and 7,000, or roughly half of the union miners in Illinois Unfortunately for the Consol miners, these wildcats dissipated almost as soon as they had begun. The rank and file had caught the local union leaders napping. As one local union president admitted: "I didn't know anything about it until they went out." This didn't last long, however, and the miners in most of the locals were persuaded to limit their sympathy strikes to 24-hour protests. But what probably took the wind out of the sympathy strikes

is called, and the locked glass doors were broken, curtains were torn, a commissionaire's desk was knocked over, and a useless and angry argument was waged with the management.

It was not the storming of the Winter Palace, and it did not call for a Sergei Eisenstein to immortalize it on film; but eight auto workers were sacked for their alleged part in the march, and four of them were union leaders. It is held that Sir Michael Edwardes, the dough-faced boss of Britain's Motown, used this as an opportunity to not only get rid of the four union leaders, but also put the fear of Christ into the rest of the union's top brass who might have had wrong ideas. Some 1500 auto workers came out on unofficial strike, and the TGWU-the big, big unionhas been forced to make it an official strike in defense of those men, and now we wait.

Christmas comes, Christmas goes; and I sit in Ward's Irish pub beneath Piccadilly, and Michael the landlord buys me two pints of Guinness, and Steve and his beautiful girl friend pass through. I sit at the table as the condensation drips from the low stone ceiling and listen to the once-a-year roaring "office party", while a young Swede tells me of Sweden and of how "it is a prison offense to come out on strike", and we drink Guinness, and I dream of Joe Hill the Swede. The American Mafia have taken over the prostitution in Soho, and the girls now sit in windows behind bars; and the Chinese gangsters control the drug trade; and I wish Lindi St. Claire well. For she is a pretty prostitute who sought to turn herself into a limited company as Prostitutes Ltd., but the Attorney General argued that it was "against public policy", and Mr. Justice Skinner and My Lord Justice Ackner agreed, saying that "a contract made for sexually immoral purposes was against public policy and therefore illegal", and so Lindi St. Claire cannot go public Stock Exchange-wiseonly bodywise. Soho, it was ever thus.

And I have a bottle of Vladivar Vodka, a can of supermarket tomato juice, and a bottle of Worchester sauce, and I shall make Bloody Marys in a stolen Ward's halfpint Guinness glass, and with Vicki on my lap remember I had a friend who believed.

Arthur Moyse, London

was a separate agreement between the local union leaders and management at Old Ben Number 21. The discharged miner was reinstated, but with a suspension. Old Ben Coal Company was not in a strong financial position like Consol, so it decided to back off for the time being, and the ogminers at Old Ben Number 21 returned to work Friday, October 31st. The rest of the non-Consol mines gradually returned to work over the weekend, leaving only the original Consol wildcatters out on Monday. Seeing that their attempts to build support were a failure, the Consol miners returned to work November 3rd and 4th, with none of the original issues resolved.

Yet this was not the last act of the drama. In spite of the wildcat's failure, it had affected 14 union locals and over half the membership of District 12. The union leadership had been severely discredited, so the bureaucracy needed a scapegoat to blame for the debacle. Two weeks after the wildcat ended was the date scheduled for the District 12 elections, and a palace revolt was staged against incumbent president Ken Dawes. A group of district leaders including board members Parks and Bunton and union lobbyist Hawkins put forward their own candidate, John Banovic, a miner who had previously held various union positions. Blaming the Consol debacle on Dawes, Banovic made the familiar claim: "Our district president has lost his contact with the rank and file. I pledge to establish contact with our people."

Thoroughly disgusted with incumbent Dawes, the rank and file played the bureaucrats' cynical game. Dawes was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin in the November 18th election. What was ironic was that Dawes had been a national co-chairman of the Miners for Democracy in the early 70s. He had been appointed district president by Arnold Miller to take over the district from a Boyle trustee in 1973. His assignment had been to restore self-government to District 12. He was re-elected to the post in 1973 and 1977. While in power he had gone the way of most bureaucrats-whether appointed or elected-and become more of a dictator than a servant of the rank and file. Dawes had played a key role in shoving ratification of the 1978 contract down the throats of his rank and file via threats and intimidation. Now the very same wildcatters who had helped him to power in the early '70s had helped to topple him seven years later. The outlook in UMW District 12, as in the rest of the union, is bleak. "Past practices" will undoubtedly be dropped in the 1981 contract. This will leave the coal operators the ability to change policy from day to day without consulting the union leaders, let alone the rank-andfile miners. The lack of worker control over the daily affairs of the union makes the UMW useless as far as taking up the fight for worker control in the workplace is concerned. Management emphasis on greater productivity per worker is already being translated to a higher rate of injuries on the job. The absence of a worker-run organization to co-ordinate resistance to management will be paid for in miners' lives as well as in miners' freedoms.

"mean kid on the block". It was Consol's disregard for miner safety, particularly the Farmington mine disaster in 1968, which provoked the reform movement and the wildcats that toppled UMW president Tony Boyle in the early '70s. In the mid-'70s, Consol had grown to become the dominant power in the industry bargaining arm, the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. It has displaced the somewhat more moderate voice of the steel corporations due to the slump in the steel and auto industries, as well as the increased demand for non-metallurgical coal for energy. It was Consol's hard-line approach to bargaining that helped prolong the 1978 contract strike. Most of the few wildcats that have taken place since 1978 have been provoked by Consol. In its quest for higher productivity, Consol has been determined to assert management power at every opportunity.

With the UMW's commitment to helping Consol and the rest of the BCOA boost productivity, its response to the Consol wildacts was no surprise, Eldon Callen, publicrelations director for the UMW, was dispatched to Southern Illinois to urge the miners to go back to work. Citing Consol's powerful financial position, Callen rightfully pointed out that the wildcat at only four mines would not hurt the corporation badly enough to force a settlement. (Of course, Callen did not suggest ways the international

Jeff Stein

WORLD'S HEADACHES:

Whether the job is felling Douglas fir in Washington or floating teak down the Mekong, whether it is harvesting wheat in North Dakota or harvesting jute in Bangladesh, it's all in the day's work and makes us kin.

Let's look around, here and there.

To start with a prospering spot: In Singapore the influx of Japanese businesses has created such a labor shortage that employers are fighting current job-hopping by setting up a system to keep tabs on workers who don't stick with their employers. Singapore's GNP grew 10% last year. Japanese investments are followed by Japanese acculturation. For example at Matsushita Electric, 1800 Singaporean workers build record players. Their average age is 20. They wear special uniforms and, Japanese-style, start the day with collective gymnastics. But in this prosperous spot there is also child labor and crowded living.

Another sort of "prosperity" is to be found in the United Arab Emirates, so flush with oil profits that Sheik Zayed had a hundred-mile road built into the desert and hired workers from the outside to plant trees along it, and every tree needs a Pakistani "guest worker" to keep it watered. The average annual income of the Emirates comes out to about \$90,000 per citizen, and even though it doesn't get averaged out, all citizens are offered free education including university abroad, health care, and a civil-service job. The hard work is done by outsiders. The "in thing" for high-school kids to do is to ride around in a chauffeur-driven Mercedes-Benz. Yet among these welloff youths a hostility is developing toward traditional autocracy, and a concern for generations to come. They live under conditions in which it is considered radical for them to write in their youth papers such slogans as "The legitimacy of a ruler lies in meeting the needs of his people." They wonder what could be done in this land where there are five people per arable acre, if oil revenue stops. The guest workers don't expect to be there then; they worry about home and what they can send there.

Saudi Arabia joins the United Emirates on the west. There the average income of the nine million people is only \$6,000 a year, and there is less inclination to import "guest workers" to do the work, though the oil revenue is not averaged out among the millions. Instead there is investment of some oil revenue in mechanisms to raise wheat on irrigated deserts using very little labor. Three guarters of the country's food is now imported, and costs less than it would to raise it under desert conditions. If the oil revenue stopped flowing there would be disaster, and one questions whether the vast Arab investments abroad would then be used to feed the folks at home.

Next door is Israel, where the inflation rate was 135% last year, and rather taken for granted. Armament has boosted inflation, and many Israelis would prefer a more neighborly attitude toward their neighbors. Inside the country there is conflict between European Jews and Sephardic Jews, with "affirmative action" efforts that get denounced as "reverse discrimination"—all of which sounds a lot like the USA. There is pride in making the desert bloom and yield a living, and there is fear about dependence on oil—all of which leads a few to wonder: If religious and ethnic and similar barriers were abated, couldn't the resources of the Middle East be used cumulatively with good engineering so that all could live well?

Skip to France and, despite earlier traditions of urbane welcome to people of all races, one finds workers as contemptuous of each other as Ashkenazic Jews are of Sephardics, or as Chicago wasps are of dark-skinned fellow workers. The reason seems to be growing unemployment. This has made French workers feel like telling their four million "guest workers" to go home, for Frenchmen now would like the less-desirable jobs that they have held.

On Christmas Eve the mayor of the Paris suburb of Saint-Maur played a trick on the Communist mayor of the suburb of Vitry. He decided that 300 black workers from Mali were living in sub-standard housing in Saint-Maur, so he had them moved to better premises available in _Vitry. The workers of Vitry, who are fond of singing about world labor solidarity, used bulldozers to pile up dirt against the entrances of the building which had been

EL SALVADOR TEACHER'S UNION DECIMATED BY TROOPS

The mass murders in El Salvador continue. While the killings may seem almost random, on close examination they can be seen to be highly selective. The Government-sponsored death squads target people associated with or alleged to be associated with peasant, labor, or religious organizations. The leadership of the National Association of Salvadorean Educators (ANDES), the national teachers' union, and a member of one of the country's opposition groups have been systematically attacked.

Amnesty International reported that in 1980 84 members of the teachers' union, mostly leaders of local union branches, were assassinated or seized and executed by the Government forces. An unconfirmed report mentions 42 other teachers killed. Reportedly 23 teachers were seized in their own homes, and 21 others were seized and killed with automatic weapons in front of their students.

Teacher Angel Erasmo Figueroa survived one assassination attempt on April 19th, 1980, but was killed in the operating room by machine-gun fire as Army and National Guard troops surrounded the hospital.

The teachers' union was organized 15 years ago in re-

sponse to the teachers' economic circumstances. The organizing drive first targeted primary-school teachers and then moved on to high-school teachers, stressing the need to improve the status and conditions of teachers. The union's success led the Government to force teachers working in the capital to take jobs in distant provinces.

Beginning in 1970, the secondary teachers began to oppose Government-controlled policy changes. The Government responded by dispersing militant teachers to remote areas, taking prisoners, and arranging an occasional assassination or "disappearance". By 1975 the primary teachers were 100% organized and the secondary teachers 90% organized. State violence escalated.

The union's original focus on immediate economic issues began to shift, and the organization became politicized. Under the General Molina regime (1972-1977) 150 teachers disappeared and 36 were killed; under General Romero (1977 to October 1979) 96 were killed; and under the present regime, from October 1979 to July 31st, 1980, 181 were killed.

All this against a total of 22,000 teachers.

Two Pickets Shot At Kentucky Mine

Ray Broughton, 34, and Ernest Wayne Begley, 33, both of London, Kentucky, died of single bullet wounds in the head December 18th after being shot near the entrance of the Big K Coal Company mine in Southeastern Kentucky. The haulers have been on strike since December 9th, asking for an increase in the money they get for each ton of coal they haul. There were around 15 scab truckers picking up coal when the shootings occurred, and several dozen witnesses to them. occupied by their Mali fellow workers; turned off power, gas, and water; and left them there to shiver in terror over Christmas. So the Government offers a bonus of \$2500 to "guest workers" to go home.

A SAMPLING

Next door is Belgium, with a middle-of-the-road Government deserted by its right wing, which argues that the Government's social-welfare program keeps foreign capital out. Anti-war groups stopped the Government from yielding to NATO demands, and the unions don't like its national austerity program, as 365,000, or 9% of the work force, are unemployed—a tragically high figure by European standards. The Government proposes to cope with this via a two-year limit on the size of wage increases, higher social-security taxes, and a cut in social services. All of which raises the old question: When we get caught up with the work, why don't we have a picnic instead of a panic?

'Up in Sweden, land of the "middle road", guest workers have the same status as native Swedes. Unemployment is rising, but it is a bit more comfortable, for welfare payments average 95% of the annual manufacturing wagecompared to 49% here, including food stamps. In Sweden some 90% of blue-collar workers and 70% of white-collar workers belong to unions. Their unions participate in formulating a national income policy which by raising the wage scales of the lowest paid has killed off marginal and inefficient employers. This has put them out of business, raised the overall productivity of labor, and helped give Sweden an advanced technology. (Those who claim we should exempt employers from the minimum wage, please take note.)

Though Sweden is often wrongly called a socialist nation, the ownership of capital is more concentrated into a few families there than it is here. Farmers find it best to feed their critters well, and Sweden proves that welfare works. It gives 85,000 people jobs helping 350,000 handicapped by age to maintain their own households. Sweden exports half of its manufactures and imports its oil and much of its food. As World War II ended, it had the trading advantage of America as a country not bombed in a bombed-out world. Since then its share of world trade has dwindled from 7% to 3% as the industries in which it excelled develop in Japan and elsewhere. So again the old question: Why shouldn't I be better off, instead of worse off, if my fellow workers somewhere become more productive?

And so on to Japan, where 37 firms make robots, and making them is a growing industry. The USA has only two robot manufacturers and uses a mere 3,200 robots, while Japanese industry already uses over 10,000. Will Japanese robots put Japanese workers out of work, or will they get jobs making robots to put us out of work? It's a matter of organization. If we can't welcome a robot, it's because we are not organized to welcome it. It should no more put us out of work than the sun puts light-bulb makers out of work.

On to Mozambique, another country that has vowed it wants to be socialist and has found that that isn't easy. Its GNP is \$170 per capita, and half its deaths are those of children under five. It is a land endowed with coal and ore, with natural gas and hydroelectric potential, rich in soil and in fishing sites. But its long Portuguese rule cultivated underdevelopment and assured illiteracy, with no technical training or job opportunities to acquire familiarity with mechanical equipment. There was a consequent economic collapse as the Portuguese withdrew, enlarged by deliberate sabotage.

Mozambique bears the scars of attacks from South Africa because of its support for those turning Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. The aim of the current regime is shown by its naming of streets after Marx, Lenin, and Ho Chi Minh, but the output of its one hydroelectric plant still goes entirely to South Africa. In its economy workers cannot be laid off, even when there is no work; and that does not tend toward optimum utilization of manpower and other resources. Will life be better trying to build productive resources and human skills on their own, or can an advantageous deal be made with the capitalist world? The nation's communist government says it is looking toward the latter. And on toward home by way of Central America. In Nicaragua the alliance that ousted Somoza is falling apart. The business men want capitalist business freedoms. The church hierarchy tends to side with them, while the village priests tend to side with the masses and the Sandinistas, who in turn are suspected of being more concerned with building and retaining power than with building an economy that will enable folks to live well. In El Salvador 2% of the people own 60% of the land, and the children suffer from malnutrition. The typical diet has the lowest calorie intake of any country in America, and it is the most densely populated land in America. On January 4th two members of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development were dining with Jose Viera, head of El Salvador's Agrarian Reform Institute, when assassins walked into the hotel and killed all three. People argue about whether the assassins were right-wingers who disliked the modest reforms Viera had sought or leftists who viewed these modest reforms as impediments to their program.



And so back to the USA, where only one worker in five belongs to a union, and where old country immigrants now get along together, but don't like new ones. Wake up – it's one world.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Book Reviews: WHY SO LITTLE INTERNATIONALISM?

Toward a Theory of Trade-Union Internationalism, by John Logue, Kent Popular Press, 1980, 72 pages, \$2.95 (or order from Kerr)

This pamphlet is likely to initiate as much discussion among students of labor history as Sombart's 1905 question: "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" It too gives a "roast beef and apple pie" type answer. Trade unions are responsive to the short-term concerns

of their members, especially the market for their members' services. This market grew as a national market, and union structures were shaped in the same national matrix. Unions, apart from decorative and ineffective functions, have engaged in international action only to the extent that they faced problems they could not solve within their boundary lines. The growth of union power and influence on government policy has enabled unions to handle their problems inside the national framework with minimal international action. It has been easier for

The "Wobbly Judge" Again

The Court Years 1939-1975: The Autobiography of William O. Douglas, Random House, 1980.

To those who fear that Reagan will load the Supreme Court with reactionary judges, Douglas offers the comforting thought: "Presidents are notorious for their mistakes ... Holmes was a 'mistake' by Teddy Roosevelt's standards, Reynolds was a 'mistake' by Wilson's, Warren was a 'mistake' by Eisenhower's." This is fortunate, for Presidents "tend to follow American Bar Association recommendations in their appointments", and the ABA reflects "big corporate and financial interests"

Soon after Douglas was appointed to the top court, Chief Justice Hughes told him: "Remember one thing: At the constitutional level where we work, ninety per cent of any decision is emotional. The rational part of us supplies the reason for our predilections." These predilections of Court members reflect the "fears, anxieties, cravings, and wishes of their neighbors". Yet their primary job is to make sure laws remain consistent with an inherited constitution. This document is diversely interpreted, with men such as Douglas and Black maintaining that where the First Amendment says "no law" shall hamper free speech, it means "no law", and likewise it means that only Congress, and not Presidents, shall declare war, in Vietnam or elsewhere,

Douglas speaks highly of Hughes: "No wiser man than Hughes ever sat on the Court. I say that although his predilections, drawn from a different age, were not always mine. I never could envision Hughes in a boxcar filled with Wobblies roaring across the dusty plains of Washington State at night, but it was not difficult to picture Hugo Black, Wiley Rutledge, Felix Frankfurter, and Frank Murphy there. I could, however, imagine Hughes as an advocate pleading our cause.'

Douglas's book is a frank collation of incidents that show how America gets governed, for he had an inside view. Its meat, however, is the stabilizing role of law in a changing social order. He writes:

'There are few creative forces in the law because it is by its nature rooted in the past Judges come and go, so there is a constant re-casting of the constituency of the bench. Yet the judges are not protagonists of change; their oaths quite properly commit them to maintaining the existing order. Since law must change under the pressure of new conditions and newly discovered facts, the change in law is like a glacial movement, slow and relentless."

Much of the book traces that glacial change. The Court reflects community resistance to change even more in the cases it refuses to hear than in the opinions it writes. After the Civil War the 14th Amendment provided that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law". Corporation lawyers soon had it confirmed that corporations are persons so protected. Black and Douglas are the only justices so far to say that corporations are not people, any more with respect to the 14th Amendment than with respect to other matters. "Liberty," writes Douglas, "in the setting of the 14th Amendment meant the 'liberty' of the corporation to exploit labor, to pay cheap wages and then get them back in the company store." The Court killed efforts to regulate child labor up to 1941 by arguing that production is grams to be shown, for the series aims to cover the develnot commerce, and the Federal Government was allowed opment of the union movement from 1835 to 1945. to regulate only commerce between the states.

was the victim." Its purpose, he judges, was political, not to increase the security of the nation. Douglas was a man who traveled the world and knew its people. In the present international heebie-jeebies it would be helpful to have a man as sane as he was in as high a position.

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Labor On The Boob Tube



Executive producer Elsa Rassbach's project is "a massive undertaking."

The Killing Floor, a TV presentation of labor struggles in Chicago's meat-packing industivy, is to be one of a series of ten TV shows on American labor titled "Made in USA". The stockyard sequence will also bring in the 1919 Chicago race riot.

The series has been given a \$500,000 grant by the Endowment for the Humanities, and a group of labor historians and union officers is trying to raise the rest of the \$15 million that is needed. They hope to have the series running by year's end to commemorate the centenary of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, predecessor of the AFL, in December 1981.

unions to meet the competition of lower wages abroad by getting governments to raise tariffs than by helping to organize distant and low-paid workers. Thus international union functions tend to consist of junkets that get good press coverage for union leaders, but do little else. What union practice exists across national boundaries is largely the practical steps taken by International Trade Secretariats to cope with multinationals.

The above is too brief a summary to do justice to a detailed and tightly-reasoned argument that says about the same and is equally gloomy, and is somehow all premised on unions taking "rational" action. Here "rational" is used as economists use the word "to designate the selection of the alternative that maximizes the probability of achieving members' goals at the minimum cost to the members'

Some economists argue that it is irrational for a union to try to raise the wages of its members, as this will reduce the demand for their services. Logue rejects this, recognizing that even if this should happen, it switches demand for the labor of those ousted to other industries and does raise the standard of living. On that question the answer one reaches depends on how large a picture one views-the factory, or the more-extensive economy that includes the factory. Likewise with the question of whether transnational unionism is rational: For those who want to maximize jobs and overtime in each of a network of national states, the answer is to raise tariffs, support your rulers, and build more bombs. The union preference for good living suggests transnational unionism as more rational

Logue's study is one of a series on post-war history sponsored by the University of Copenhagen. In an earlier contribution Logue traced the shrinking concern of the Danish labor movement with international matters, and foreshadowed this argument. Up to 1907, when the Kaiser required guest workers to carry identification cards, most skilled workers capped their apprenticeship with travel to other countries. In those days trade unions reciprocated with fraternal treatment for traveling unionists and tough treatment for traveling scabs. In their labor papers workers looked for news of union struggles abroad, in places they had been or in the home towns of workers who had visited them. But since then, except for brief flurries following each world war, union ranks have developed an indifference to the faraway world, though now TV brings it instantly to our eyes, and the supermarket to our shopping bags.

The analysis given by Logue does fit established union practices, but does it fit current developments? Swedish workers face the fact that the sort of vessels they used to build with largely automated procedures are now being built in Japan at lower wages, and tariff walls can't help. The high price of oil and the more competitive market for Swedish exports induce some Swedish workers to wonder whether a "Nordic Union" of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark might not combine Danish farm products, Nurwegian power sources, and Swedish technology to maintain a good life in cultures inclined toward economic planning, and a bit less dependence than each has by itself on the world market. And why not bring in Canada, Australia, and a few other supplementary economies with similar tendencies? The resistance of unionists to participation in the European Common Market, as well as their concern with where transnational corporations get their work done and at what pay rates, alike mark the teetering instability of traditional union practices and perspectives.

Unions, peddling labor power, laggingly develop structures in response to the market. In the process they get linked to national governments, and this linkage has been reinforced by the favors national governments could offer. To respond to the facts of a world market, unions need to act independently of national states, which themselves have become hazardous anachronisms. To the limited extent that we can be moved by foresight, union members have every reason to develop a functional transnationalism to bring about better uses of this planet than corporations and militarists are offering. Every day the market in which we peddle our labor power shoves us in that same direction. Is it irrational to combine a bit of that foresight with our tropistic response to the world market?

Of the Truman Loyalty-Security program he notes that both Britain and the USA had to cope with spies and saboteurs, and Britain did so without any such program, while in America no spy or saboteur was caught with it. "The unpopular person, the offbeat, the nonconformist

The Killing Floor will not be the first of the ten pro-

The series is a joint venture of WGHH of Boston, wellknown for its sundry documentaries for public television, and Public Forum Productions Ltd of New York. Elsa Rassbach is the producer.

This is a challenging pamphlet, possibly tongue-incheek, alerting us to the difference between functional transnational unionism and the empty formality of international labor conferences.

EVEN THE MUSE DIRTIES HER HANDS

Going for Coffee: Poetry on the Job, edited by Tom Wayman, published by Harbour Publishing, Box 119, Madeira Park, British Columbia, VON 2HO Canada, 1981, 209 pages, \$6.95

There has been poetry about the working class before (spurts of it in the early years of this century and in the

'30s), but most of it was written by somebody else. These people write about their jobs. Their poems tell how their jobs feel: boring, mind-grinding, dangerous, rushed, halfway decent. They set their jobs in context, getting ready for work, going to work, coming home from work, and then the great division: Do you make your supper or does someone else make it for you?

Tom Wayman has put together an anthology of poetry by more than 90 American and Canadian workers. The jobs that inspired these poems are as varied as the North American job market: psychiatric nurse, logger, computer technician, park ranger, homemaker, secretary, fisherman. The poems are mostly short and sharp.

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ft

FEBRUARY 1981

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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

Silicon Valley **Goes Sweatshop**

PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

St. Louis Shrinks

St. Louis is the city where more people have left than are left. Since 1950 the city has literally shrunk to half its former size. As a result it has become the nation's worst example of urban decay and abandonment.

Housing abandonment has been epidemic for the last 20 years, during which the city has lost a fourth of its dwelling units. Half the city's births are to unwed mothers and three out of every ten first-graders fail to return to second grade. The "switch out" ratio was almost five out of ten during the '60s, when thousands of parents, after their children had had a year's experience in the public schools, opted for private schools or moved to the suburbs. The public schools are now 75% black, even though the city is split evenly by race.

Two years ago St. Louis pushed ahead of Houston and Detroit to become the homicide capital of America, with a rate of 46 killings per 100,000 people. More than 300 manufacturing firms have shut down or left in the last 20 years, costing the city about 58,000 jobs.

One theory as to why St. Louis has been hit so hard is that St. Louis was the first big city on the road of the northern migration of Cotton Belt blacks after the Second World War. Predictably the city pioneered all the mistakes that would later be repeated in other cities all across the Northeast. As in other cities, expressways were ramrodded through stable neighborhoods, displacing thousands.

This was the first city to warehouse its poor in highrise public housing, and the first to tear it down after the buildings became vertical jungles. Mindless urban renewal has created unwalkable expanses of brick-strewn vacant

St. Louis may lead the nation in urban decay, but the ro-offered solutions are the familiar ones tri boarding up abandoned buildings in the hope of attracting rehabbing urban gentry, and building shopping malls and chic restaurants and stores to lure the big spenders downtown.

SUBSCRIBE!!

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IWW Directory $\star \star \star$

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

Juneau/Douglas IWW, Barry Roderick, Delegate, PO Box 748, Douglas, Alaska 99824.

airbanks IWW, Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks Alaska 99707

ARKANSAS: Arkadelphia IWW, PO Box 371, Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923.

CALIFORNIA: San Diego IWW Group, Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4472 George, San Diego, California 92116, Phone (714) 296-9966. San Francisco General Membership Branch, Frank Devore, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140, Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, Phone (415) 658-0293.

Industrial Union 450 Branch, Laura Rosenfeld, Secretary, Synthex Press, 2590 Folsom, San Francisco, California 94110.

ILLINOIS: Chicago General Membership Branch, Leslie Fish, Branch Secretary, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illi-nois 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.

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 Friday of each month. Child care provided arranged in advance with the Secretary, Phone 522-7090 or 876-0807.

MICHIGAN: *Detroit/Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, Eric Glatz, Delegate, 2305 West Jefferson, Trenton, Michigan 48183, Phone (313) 675-8959.

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Station, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. Upper Peninsula IWW, Robin Oye, Delegate, Terrace Apartments 6, Lakeview Drive, Hancock, Michigan 49930.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/Saint Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Col-lins, Delegate, 1688 Dayton, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104. Scott Burgwin, Delegate, 3343 15th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

MONTANA: Thompson Falls IWW, A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59873, Phone (406) 827-

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque General Membership Branch, c/o 700 Vassar Southeast, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106.

NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW Delegate, Henry Pfaft, 77 Ekhert, But-

falo, 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) 723-0547, 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 IWW, Fred Hansen, Delegate, Box 728, Rye, Texas 77369, Phone (713) 885-4875.

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as 78212, Phone (512) 736-6033.

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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, Del-egate, 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.





An electronics industry is mushrooming south of San Francisco in what has come to be called Silicon Valley. It hires mostly women, largely Mexican, Filipino, or Oriental. Much of the work is the assembly of parts on circuit boards-a tiresome and repetitive job, but not repetitive enough to lend itself to automation. The human role is so robot-like that it is accompanied by a brisk sale of illegal drugs to speed workers up while inuring them to boredom.

Much of this work is being transferred to homes, where the heating of cancer-causing solvents on kitchen stoves is even more hazardous than it is in factories, and is with the worker 24 hours a day. Free-enterprise lice collect \$200 as entrance fee to set folks up in these garage and kitchen sweatshops. It is a Friedmanian paradise with no minimum wage, no ban on child labor, no limit on hours, and no control over working conditions.

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.

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INDUSTRIAL WORKER

FEBRUARY 1981

DID YOU NOTICE ?

Blue Shield of Northern California claimed that it was going broke and demanded that its office employees give back many past gains. The San Francisco *Rank and File Reporter* helps explain Blue Shield finances:

"They subcontract their computer work to Electronic Data Systems, and this accounts for almost half the cost of every claim that Blue Shield processes. EDS uses Blue Shield to train its young, non-union, corporate-minded clones for more lucrative positions in other corporations. EDS uses Blue Shield to experiment with costly systems enhancements."

In Sweden women complain that they make only 89% as much as men, while in America they complain that they make only 59% as much as men. In Sweden, however, some 90% of blue-collar workers and 70% of white-collar workers are organized.

The fastest-growing industry in the US in the '70s in terms of sales was the bubble-gum industry, racking up a tenfold increase. In terms of percentage growth in employment, it was the "security" industry.

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

TO:

The recent events in Poland are having an effect on worker-government relations elsewhere inside the Soviet bloc. In Estonia, when workers struck in Tartu, the republic's second-largest city, Government leaders quickly gave in to the main demand—for productivity bonuses and agreed to discuss the reduction of fixed production quotas.

Anti-Semitism is on the rise—in the US as well as in Europe. The Anti-Defamation League counted some 377 cases of assaults and vandalism against Jewish homes, synagogues, and cemeteries—an increase over 129 property incidents in 1979, which in turn was an increase over the 49 reported incidents in 1978. Most of the incidents took place in the Northeast.

The world's refugee population—now 10 to 12 million —has increased nearly 20% in the last two years, chiefly because of the conflicts in Ethiopia, Indochina, and Afghanistan.

The latest US Government figures show that 26.6 million Americans have no health insurance at all.

San Francisco cab drivers circulated a petition for the citizenry to sign to ban cab leasing by local ordinance. They object that leasing deprives cab drivers of pensions, medical "care, and other benefits of collective bargaining, for leasers are not legally employees.

When the IUE struck the Westinghouse plant in Abingdon, Virginia last year, 50 "loyal employees" stayed on as scabs. As a token of appreciation after the strike was over, Westinghouse sent the 50 thank-you notes including tickets for dinner at a local steak house. The IUE told the NLRB that this wasn't fair. Now, to clear itself of discrimination charges, Westinghouse has had to send 20dollar checks to the 250 workers who didn't scab. Newport News Shipbuilding continued to check off dues for its old company union after the Steel Workers won the right to represent all of its 16,000 employees. Now the company has to refund the \$20,000 it collected from those who used to belong to the company union.

British Seamen went on strike January 12th using an old IWW tactic: the intermittent strike. This tactic is appropriate where endurance contests aren't. The workers will tie up selected ports for 24 hours, then repeat their performance at other ports for another 24 hours. The British Seamen's Union is seeking a 16% increase for its 47,000 members.

The printers' union in Montreal has negotiated a contract providing two days' divorce leave. But they also won four days' wedding leave.

"Neutrality" clauses are being sought by unions in their dealings with corporations which have numerous plants, such as Westinghouse and General Electric. The UAW initiated such a clause in its 1980 contracts, obligating the company to be neutral toward the union efforts to organize unorganized plants. Better provisions on plant safety and plant closings are asked. If we can't get more real money, let's make the job a decent place to earn a living.

Rank-and-file dissidents in the laborers' union in Alaska have won the return of \$1.5 million to the members at Fairbanks as an unauthorized dues increase, and have sent out a press release asking members who would be interested in attending a Conference of Concerned Laborers to build a rank-and-file movement throughout the union to get in touch with Chris White or Sam Goodman, PO Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707, 907-479-4184.

The Austrian Metalworkers Union, which represents workers at an armaments-manufacturing firm, criticized the firm for signing a deal for the sale of tanks and machine-guns to the Pinochet regime in Chile. The Austrian union refused to back the company's applications for an export license even though jobs for its own members were involved. Finally the Government was forced to ban exports of tanks to Chile. We applaud the AMU's stand, and wish only that they would demand the end of all tank exports from their country.

