



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

VOLUME 73, NUMBER 8 - WN 1420

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JULY 1981

25 CENTS

UNIONS IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY

Back in 1893, metal workers' unions in various European countries founded the International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF). Though it has long had affiliates all around the globe, its 25th world congress held in Washington this year was the first such congress outside of Europe. The next will be in Tokyo in 1985.

Selection of congress sites is only one straw indicating the global character of the IMF's concerns. General Secretary Herman Rebhan said: "The lives and prosperity of all our members are now based on an international economic interdependence that makes a mockery of national frontiers."

Douglas Fraser of the UAW spoke of the "massive concentrations of economic wealth we face from the multinational corporations who think of the world as their factory, of workers as their chattels, and of governments as their foremen."

All of mankind's institutions, including unions, are inescapably responses to past situations rather than to present ones—but the lag of union function behind economic change threatens mankind's survival. The union heads at the IMF congress know that too. Those from Europe are especially worried about plans to deploy US short-range nuclear missiles there to face Russian SS20s, using Europe as the battleground for those two powers.

To quote Rebhan once more: "Each day 500 million people go to sleep suffering from chronic hunger, and 1400 million do not have access to clean drinking water. Yet scattered around the world are 124,000 tanks, 12,400 combat ships, 35,000 combat aircraft, nuclear weapons representing 50,000 million tons of TNT, and 50,000 atom bombs. . . . Did all the arms poured into Southeast Asia by the United States help to bring peace or prosperity to that troubled region?"

The unions meeting in Washington have been shaped in the matrix of national states whose boundaries have little to do with modern economic reality. They use "we" to mean us German workers, us Japanese workers, or us American workers. They do not use "we" to mean us machinists or steel workers around the globe. Japanese auto workers in Domei talked with UAW people there, but about the most substantial thing they could agree to was that Japanese capitalists building plants here should recognize American workers' right to organize. When US auto workers visit Japan along with representatives of auto management, it will be to learn how to make American auto workers more productive.

In this global economy run by multinationals, a major complaint of workers everywhere is that the work is getting shoved somewhere else. You hear it most about cars and TV sets, but Julius Isaacson of the Novelty Workers complains that baseball is "played with balls from Haiti, shoes from Spain, and uniforms from Japan, under American flags made with textiles from Japan". Or consider the complaint of the Inter-Union Wet Corn Milling Council. It was formed by five unions, some of whose members work for such concerns as Staley Manufacturing or American-Maize. They complain that the recently-lifted embargo on grain to Russia resulted in Russia's "buying processed products such as flour, feed concentrate, meat, and poultry from Western democracies which import American grain and then have their workers process 'value added' products from the grain".

Years ago the coal miners of Pennsylvania were organized by counties and allied with their employers to resist the filling of coal orders by miners in other counties. The national perspective with which unions view their place in a global economy today is obviously equally irrational. But other union folks, as aware of this as you and I, ask "If we don't look out for our members inside this set of boundary lines, how are they going to keep on eating?"

There is nothing impractical about doing some engineering studies. The research resources of the world's labor movements are capable of conjuring up a realistic picture of work and life as it could be if we undertook that work for our collective long-range benefit. It is a picture that assigns a new, global meaning to that word "we", and with it a new perspective on what to do here and now. The perspective we have inherited will not fit today's facts or enable us to cope with today's problems, but that new perspective will. It is progress that labor organizations have begun to recognize the inappropriateness of ancient attitudes. Getting new bifocals will not impair

their ability to cope with today's problems.

The Israeli bombing of a nuclear plant in Iraq punctuates this argument thus: The rulers of Israel say they are not safe if Iraq builds atomic weapons; the rulers of Iraq say that in the modern world they cannot let Israel or any

other country say whether they can build nuclear bombs too. The inherited system of national states is as incompatible with modern weapon technology as oil and water. For unions to build a future, we must discard the national perspective.

Profits Grease Skids To War

WAR MANIA

The governments of the world are spending a million a minute on the arms race. Early in June the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm announced that mankind's murderous insanity had reached that dimension.

The Institute is especially alarmed by the Third World appetite for sophisticated weaponry. People who direly need equipment for raising food and handling water spent \$80 billion on arms last year, 16% of the world's total expenditures.

Advanced nations like France, the US, and the USSR are swapping deadly weapons for oil and metal that they lack, thereby permitting the arms craze to accelerate. The developing nations are building a thriving business selling arms to each other and to the less developed. "Every man his own mass murderer" is the operative slogan.

LULLABY FIGURES

Horrendous as a million a minute for arms may sound, the statisticians are doing a lullaby job on the arms race. The advanced nations portray their budgets as philanthropic projects. We are told that in the USA, federal, state, and local governments spend 34% of the Gross National Product, in France 40%, in Germany 42%, in Britain 44%, and in the Netherlands 51%, much of this for pensions, hospital bills, and other worthy projects. But as Steve Max pointed out in the May 27th edition of *In These Times*, the practice of including in the federal budgets large sums of money which the Government has no choice about spending (its unemployment and pension funds, for example) can make it look as if care for the elderly, not war, were the Government's main concern.

The press tells us how the money is spent, usually with appetizing pictures of a pie cut into wedges to illustrate the sundry types of expenditure. By including in the total figure large sums of money that the Government is simply holding for us till the day we retire or get laid off, it can make "Direct Payments to Individuals" account for 48% of all the money it spends. Enlarging the pie in that way reduces the money it puts into the arms race to a mere 25%. But if you leave that padding out, then only 18% of the money the American Government has any choice about spending goes for benefit payments to individuals, and the money spent on past, present, and future wars grows to 55%.

BE KIND TO THE RICH

That sort of juggling also helps Americans tolerate the fact that while in the 1950s corporate taxes made up 20% of all federal taxes, they now account for only 12%. It even got folks to elect a President on a platform of cutting taxes on the rich and giving them bigger handouts.

Government critics keep on wondering whether those billions got spent so the Pentagon generals could kill more people faster than ever before—or could it be boondoggling for Pentagon pals in the arms business? Those newer and fancier items break down faster than the old-fashioned F-4 Phantom jets, and some folks are wondering what school dropouts will do with more sophisticated weaponry.

MADE IN ISRAEL

Those who get mailings from the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority may be puzzled as to why it stresses support for Israel. Its hysteria over the alleged Panama Canal "give-away" and its demand that the USA increase its military strength both give some idea what it is about Israel that the Moral Majority likes: Israeli arms sales

throughout Latin America.

The major arms supplier to El Salvador is neither the Soviet Union nor the United States. Between 1974 and 1979, El Salvador purchased 18 Israeli fighter bombers, six overhauled trainers, and 25 Arava short take-off and landing tactical planes well suited for fighting poorly-armed peasants. Israel has given the El Salvadoran military and its closely-linked right-wing death squads the best-equipped air force in the region.

Israel has been willing to supply Latin American regimes shunned by other arms exporters. When the USA stopped military aid to dictator Somoza, Israel sent heavy mortars, machine guns, and helicopters. In 1976, when the USA stopped all aid to Chile, Israel sold Chile 150 Shafir missiles. Israel's other Latin American customers include Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama.

Before the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel got its weapons from France. An arms embargo led it to establish its own arms industry. It now exports a billion dollars worth a year. Its arms industry employs a fourth of its work force. Its state-owned Israel Aircraft Industry is its largest enterprise and its largest exporter. Shalom?

THAT HUMAN ELEMENT

There is increasing worry about the human element that the missile systems cannot quite eliminate. There is second Lieutenant Christopher Cooke, "one of two men who, given the proper orders, are authorized to turn two keys that enable a Triton missile to be launched"—a missile with 400 times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb. Lieutenant Cooke, selected for his indubitable loyalty to handle those two keys, paid three visits to the Soviet Embassy for some reason, and is now being held incommunicado. Press accounts make it seem unlikely that he was selling out for money or acting from some subversive itch—perhaps the inactivity of his job and the steady, mounting dread of the consequences of his highly personal and specialized assignment.

The absurdity of seeking security and a good life by amassing lethal weapon systems has been encapsulated in a new worry of the General Accounting Office (GAO), which notes how open the American network of power plants and power lines is to terrorists, whether they be freaks, racketeers seeking ransoms, or persons whose loyalties to other governments make them want to impair the industrial and military might of America. The GAO says of the American electrical network: "Its components are widely dispersed, are operated in a low-manpower environment, have minimal security, and are highly interdependent."

Of one area that has 120 power plants, the GAO says: "An attack on just eight substations could result in cascading blackouts throughout the electrical grid." That would leave cities with neither communication, nor light, nor furnaces, nor sewage systems, nor traffic controls, nor industrial power, nor elevators, nor any other sort of power-dependent service except that which might be provided by storage batteries and emergency gasoline engines.

Q. E. D.

Things—robots, weapons, VDTs, and the like—are talking back and telling people: Put not your trust in things, but in solidarity—in a growing sense of common mutual concern for one another.





MASS TRANSIT MESSSES UP

Karl Marx said it: The capitalistic system carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. Look at the mass-transit crises hitting American cities for illustration. In the Chicago area, a number of suburban bus lines have cut out their service, hitting commuters especially hard, and there is talk of cutting down on transit service within the city as well.

Politicians and transportation executives parley *ad nauseum* and come up with the proposal to cut services in half and double fares. And as usual it will be the workers who will have the pleasure of paying higher fares for poorer transit services to the places where they will be working for paychecks that will buy them less.

Fed up with busses and trains whose "modern air conditioning" assures stifling rides in summer and frigid

rides in winter, more and more working stiffs are putting their derrieres in hock to buy overpriced, gas-guzzling trash heaps that will clog the streets and expressways even worse and add even further to the neuroses.

Considering the wealth labor can produce today, it borders on the obscene that workers must pay through the nose to go to the factories where they produce this wealth or to the stores where they hope to buy some of it back. This cost should be met by the employers and merchants for having their slaves and suckers brought to them to be fleeced. Large merchants and employers should foot the bill and let people ride for free. Do you put coins in a fare box to go up to the sixth floor of a department store?

In Chicago many companies are making emergency plans for a transportation breakdown: car pools, share-the-ride arrangements, and so on. For workers the logical action if transportation breaks down is to stay home and take a couple of days off. If enough of us do that, public mass transportation will have a miraculous resurgence.

Carlos Cortez

BLACK WOMEN OPPRESSED

Crimes against black women are disproportionately frequent: 60% of all rape victims are black. Black women continue to be at the bottom of the economic ladder. Fifty-three percent of all black women are in the paid labor force, yet their median income is only \$6,611, which is 94% of that of white females, 73% of black males, and 54% of white males. Black women also have the highest mortality rates from abortion and childbirth in the US.

Although black women make up only 12% of the general US population, they comprise slightly over 50% of the female prison population. Statistics show that less than 10% of these women are in jail for violent crimes; most of them were convicted of forgery, drug dealing and larceny—or other crimes of an economic nature.

Prison Censorship

Fortune News reports that the Federal Bureau of Prisons has agreed to permit inmates of federal institutions to receive gay publications. The out-of-court agreement followed three years of haggling by the Bureau, which was sued by a prisoner in El Reno. According to the settlement gay publications per se will not be excluded from prisons, but the warden may ban sexually explicit material unless it has "scholarly, general, social or literary value." There is always a loophole.

In prison censorship, occasional victories don't mean much. In 1973 the US Supreme Court (Procurier vs. Martinez) declared certain mail censorship regulations of the California Department of Corrections unconstitutional. But the same decision stated "... we hold that censorship of prison mail is justified if the following conditions are met..." namely, when the censorship could be said to "further an important substantial government interest" or where it was in the "substantial governmental interest of security, order, and rehabilitation."

A man in Walpole Prison in Massachusetts wrote:

Every program that we get is used as a weapon against us. The right to go to school, to go to church, to have visitors, to write, to go to the movies. They all end up being weapons of punishment. None of the programs are *ours*. Everything is treated as a privilege that can be taken away from us.

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WHY JOIN THE IWW?

Because there are things we can do together that we cannot do alone. Some of these things will benefit your job and some will merely benefit the human race. Whether we are in a position to get you a pay raise or not, your conscience will repay you and your self-respect will increase if you join with us to get things done.

Since we are a union, this offer is open only to those who work for wages or salary; but since we are building One Big Union, it is open to wage and salary workers whether they happen to bargain through other unions or not. Look at the directory on Page 7. If you can readily reach someone there, do so. If not, write to the General Secretary, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago 60657, with a line about your job. The initiation fee is \$5 in the US, and dues are \$5 a month.

It seems enough politicians on Capitol Hill were concerned about the Government's world image to turn thumbs down on Cowboy Ronnie's choice for chief of human rights. Lefever was willing to keep on killing millions of children by bringing them up on formula where the only water was polluted, so that Nestle could profit. This is a classic example of humanist considerations taking a poor second seat to monetary considerations.

The World Health Organization has raised quite a stink over the passionate concern of the United States for Nestle's profits. It has voted to encourage women around the world to breast-feed their babies. Where were all of the right-to-life folks while this was going on? They were maintaining the same resolute silence they maintained when it was disclosed that a fourth of American Indian women have been sterilized without their knowledge or consent.

So, fellow workers, when you see the chunk that is taken out of your paycheck, give a little thought to where this hard-earned money that you never see goes. Give yourselves a second thought before you buy a Nestle bar with what's left of your take-home pay.

Your cynical scribe cannot help but see a parallel between this latest US caper and the last-century practice of donating blankets used by those who had died of communicable diseases to the Indians out west. That was gold in them thar hills, and it would be easier to get at once those pesky Indians were out of the way. There are a lot of resources in those Third World countries, and with the advancement of automation there is no need for so many Third Worlders to help exploit them.

In your scribe's book, distributing baby formula where it will be used with contaminated water is in the same league with distributing contaminated blankets and building mass crematoriums.

This is the month in which we get an extra day off and get paid for it. It is expected that we will solemnly observe that day by going down to the local park and listening to the patriotic speeches about the founding of the greatest and freest nation on earth, the "melting pot" where everyone is equal. We will be expected to honor and revere the founders and builders of this great nation: the slave owners who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the men of God who said the land must be rid of the pernicious heathen, the general who said "the only good Indian is a dead Indian", the freebooter with a price on his head in his native land who became a naval hero.

With a little research, yours truly could fill the pages of this paper with a rogues' gallery that could be put to shame only by today's conglomerate buccaneers. In this great "melting pot" upward mobility is still determined by skin pigmentation. As one capitalist is said to have said: "If the Good Lord had intended for the Indians to stay on their own land, He would not have placed uranium under it."

Some of those reading this paper for the first time are no doubt calling me an "unpatriotic bastard". If you are, you are forgetting that the true meaning of "patriot" is "lover of the land". Yours truly loves this land and the people who live on it, including those whose ancestors may have been stupid soldiers killing off some of my ancestors. It's only the profiteers who bleed this land and the rest of the world that I am against.

Put that in your smoke and pipe it!

C. C. Redcloud

SOME ORGANIZING TIPS

Here are some suggestions made by JR, a woman who has worked as an organizer for OPEU and SEIU.

The best place to organize an IWW shop is where some working there want a union like the IWW.

Working has a lot to do with your chances. In a small shop, turnover can lose your supporters and erode the bargaining unit. In larger shops management has disproportionate resources with which to fight off a union drive. The optimal number seems to be about 25.

The benefits the workers already have are not overwhelmingly important in determining the outcome, but if wages are very low, a sudden pay hike can undermine your drive. It helps if the employees are familiar with unions. Clerical workers, for example, are most readily organized when their office is in a factory where the production workers already have a union.

Much depends on how big a fight management will put up. If the company hires professional union busters, any drive is in trouble, but those workers who are veterans of several attempts to unionize are not very likely to be taken in by promises or scare tactics. It is usually easier to organize if management personnel has been brought in from the outside rather than promoted from the floor. Where bosses are promoted from the floor, and socialize extensively with workers through company bowling teams, etc. it does make it hard to organize, no matter how bad conditions are.

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

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

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

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Mary Frohman, Business Manager



SEXISM AND THE CLASS WAR

SEXUAL HARASSMENT CASE WINS

In January 1981, a New York judge awarded Margaret Hasselman \$33,142 because she was discharged from her job as a lobby attendant in a Manhattan office building for not wearing a revealing uniform.

The disputed uniform was issued to the female lobby attendants (there were no male lobby attendants) in April 1978. It consisted of a red, white and blue poncho open on both sides except for the snaps at the waist. The outfit was to be worn with blue dancer underpants, sheer stockings, and white, low-heeled shoes. The lobby attendants were not permitted to wear any kind of shirt, leotard, skirt or pants under the outfit.

Hasselman was the tallest of the lobby attendants, and on her the one-size garment was especially short. It exposed her to repeated sexual propositions, gestures and comments. After repeated complaints to the building manager brought no response, Hasselman decided to wear the previously issued uniform. She wrote a letter to the president of the company explaining the problems with the new uniform; his only response was that she was to wear it or leave the lobby.

On June 4, Hasselman lost her job when she appeared in the lobby wearing the old uniform.

The judge pointed out that no employer would have tried to force such an outfit on a male employee, and that Hasselman's employer had no right to force her to wear such a uniform that would cause her to be subjected to sexual harassment on the job.

DISCRIMINATION SUITS

Some three hundred women in Bogalusa, Louisiana recently shared \$275,000 awarded them as part of a job-discrimination settlement reached with Crown Zellerbach Corporation. The Justice Department had charged that the company policy of restricting women to lower-paying and lower-opportunity jobs violated a federal order prohibiting federal contractors from practicing such discrimination.

Sears, Roebuck and Company reached a settlement with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) early in June disposing of the entire series of complaints charging it with racial discrimination. The company says a fifth of its three hundred thousand workers are "minority employees", compared to the 8.7% back in 1968, when its affirmative-action program began.

One peculiarity of the settlement is the agreement to drop a policy of advising administrators against permitting minorities to hold all the jobs in any one unit of a store—a policy the company says it adopted ten years ago on the advice of EEOC officials who feared minorities would be shunted into low-paying low-skill jobs.

WOMEN IN MINE STRIKE

Women had something to do with making the coal operators come up with better terms the second time around. The ten-week strike has ended with a 40-month contract that restores and slightly increases the royalty operators have to put into the welfare fund when they process or handle non-union coal, and permits mine work to be contracted to non-union workers only if no union workers are available. From *Mountain Life and Work* come these bits about women's involvement, as miners or as mine family:

Five women pickets stopped an L&N coal train near Cumberland, Kentucky. The train crew refused to cross their picket line, so supervisors had to be called to move the train. At the Pyramid mine site, also in Kentucky, women went picketing because drivers of coal trucks were carrying guns, while the court said miners couldn't. They figured their men would be safer if they went pick-

Lies, Damn Lies, and Statistics

In the ongoing debate on whether race or economics is at the heart of black status in the US, beware of "facts" that are outdated, false, or both.

In his book *Affirmative Discrimination*, Nathan Glazer argues that affirmative-action programs are both wrong and unnecessary. To support this he states that black families with a head of household under 35 in North and West had achieved 91% of the income earned by white families in 1971. But research established that only 10%, not 91%, of black families fared that well, and did so only because they had two or more wage earners. Since then the economic condition of black families has deteriorated further and the race gap in incomes has widened.

Dr. Zena Blau of the University of Houston, checking Jensen's contention that low IQ scores are racial and hereditary, found that these scores varied even more with environment. There was a closer correlation, for example, with the religion of the mother than with the color of the mother, folks with a non-religious background having an advantage whatever their color was, especially if family income was higher.

eting too.

In the same area, one non-union operator also ran a grocery store. When women put up a picket line at the store, they stopped both customers and deliveries.

During the strike the UMW kept trying to organize the unorganized half of US coal mining. Organizing Director Estep figures at least 10,000 non-union miners were contacted about getting into the union, and the C&W's strip mine at Lisbon, Ohio was added to UMW territory. They ended the strike with enough zip left to refuse to cross any picket lines that construction workers, who still lacked a contract, put up.

HOMEWORK

In Rhode Island towns poor women are carrying large shopping bags filled with jewelry. It is costume jewelry that they are taking home to assemble—a long day's work for them and their children in one large shopping bag. Some of them will make \$1.50 an hour, some fast ones as much as \$2. And they can get their kids to help.

That is the "cottage industry" that Secretary of Labor Donovan wants to revive by removing all the laws restricting it. He says lifting those laws will create "new job opportunities".

Along the Mexican border, and in the big cities of Los Angeles and New York and many smaller cities, women's clothing is being made in home sweatshops. The employer saves on rent, electricity, and machinery costs, and no "fringe" costs will bother him or benefit the workers. And again, the kids can be put to work early in life. It is a menace to the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Forty years ago a federal ban was put on such homework in seven apparel industries producing jewelry, women's dresses, embroidery, knitted outerwear, buckles, mittens, and the like. Restoring the appalling conditions of the '30s in these industries will not add to total job opportunities—it will take jobs from their previous workers at or above the minimum wage, and give them to people with almost no capacity to fight back at piece rates that will not pay a minimum scale.

BREAD AND ROSES

"Bread and Roses" is a song that grew out of James Oppenheim's poem on the 1912 Lawrence strike. It is also a \$1.3 million project "funded by federal and state agencies, the union, churches, and foundations", according to an article by Patti Simpson in the May issue of *Democratic Left*. The union involved is District 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees. For two years the project has brought culture in the form of songs, plays, and an art exhibit of paintings on labor themes to District 1199's 70,000 members, their families, and many more outside. For example: "A union-sponsored concert at a geriatric center was influential in convincing the registered nurses to vote union in a certification election."

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have a smaller program titled *Threads* to serve both active and retired members.

TEACHERS TAKE TO THE AIR

The Chicago Teachers Union, an AFT affiliate, is paying \$50,000 to broadcast four 60-second commercials on four Chicago radio stations over a two-month period.

The first opens up: "The next time someone tells you that the public schools are not what they should be, stop and think. We were the first country in the world to decide that everyone should have a free education. And we're doing a pretty good job at it."

The teachers want pay increases, and realize that the Board of Education is worrying very publicly about a projected \$45 million deficit. That will make pay boosts hard to negotiate, so the public needs to be given the teachers' view.

One commercial emphasizes that if we are to increase productivity in the factories, it will require a better educated working class to get the work out. Two commercials focus on the teacher's job: "We know how you feel about your children, and we thought you'd like to know we feel the same way."



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LABOR IN JAPAN

(At the end of January, two American auto workers visited Japan at the invitation of workers involved in Rodo Joho, a journal whose name means "Workers' Information." They toured auto plants, talked with dissident rank and filers and academics, slept in a Buddhist temple, and spoke at a Rodo Joho conference in Osaka attended by 1,500 Japanese workers. Now they are sharing their experiences with groups in the U.S. who want to know more about life and work in Japan.

Marty Glaberman was an autoworker for many years before he became a teacher at Wayne State University's Weekend College in Detroit. He spoke about his experiences in Japan to the Detroit-Ann Arbor General Membership Branch in April. This article is based on his remarks.)

IS DOCILE WORKER REAL?

Is the myth of the docile Japanese worker based on reality? Marty Glaberman answers no. The structure of work in Japanese auto plants makes dissent very difficult. Historical circumstances have created undemocratic, often company-dominated unions that do not effectively represent workers' interests. The extreme reaction of company and unions when faced with rank and file opposition shows that they are afraid of the hidden dissatisfaction of their "robots."

Marty toured three auto plants during his stay in Japan. Unlike American plants, it is hard to tell who is management and who is a worker. Supervisors are allowed to work on the line. Junior foremen work about 50% of the time. Everyone dresses alike, though the management personnel may wear an identifying stripe.

There is no talking or smoking permitted, at least in final assembly. Tasks are completed by small groups of eight or less workers, headed by a group leader. In contrast to the United States, the plants are very clean—but not necessarily safe. There is no general use of safety glasses for instance. While safety records are good, auto workers report that Japanese managers try to cover up accidents—a common practice in the United States as well.

THE WORK GROUP

The small work group is also an important social group. Workers are encouraged, even pressured, to socialize with their work group, including the group leader. While the group leader is not technically part of management, he helps determine each worker's merit raises. These merit raises are largely based on loyalty to the company and "reliability."

Since auto companies provide housing for many of

their employees, a worker may have his group leader living two doors down in the company apartment complex. The company can pick up any sign of dissent.

Surveillance is only one way of controlling dissent. The pay structure is another. A basic UAW premise is equal pay for equal work. In Japan, two auto workers performing the same job may get very different paychecks. Everyone receives the same small base rate. In addition, they receive allowances for longevity, marriage, children, and merit. Twice-yearly bonuses provide up to 30% of a worker's annual wage. Many of these benefits are not a worker's right, but a privilege the company can take away.

Differing pay rates undermine shop floor solidarity. Glaberman pointed out that equal pay for equal work means raises must be fought for in common. This encourages collective action. The Japanese pay structure has the opposite effect.

Auto workers are divided into temporary and permanent. About 90% of the workforce is permanent. Typically, permanent employees join the company after high school graduation, receive significant longevity increases for their first ten years, then experience a levelling off of income until retirement at 55. The companies pay retirees a lump sum meant to last until age 65, when they become eligible for a government pension. In return for a lifetime of service, permanent employees traditionally have been free of the threat of layoffs. Permanent employees are almost all male.

Temporary employees are almost all female. They make up 10% of the workforce. Though their base pay is the same or higher than the permanent employees, they are not given allowances, pensions, benefits or bonuses. They can be laid off; While more and more women are working full time, Japanese industry assumes that women work only before marriage and have no families to support. Family allowances are for men only.

UNION STRUCTURE

The Japanese auto unions are organized by company rather than industry, and they differ quite a bit from one another. The union at Nissan, for example, is company dominated. The present union was created in 1953 after the defeat of a bitter 100-day long strike. The Nissan union has very little shopfloor presence.

The Toyota union is much stronger and cannot be called company dominated. However, it is very undemocratic. The Japanese auto unions permit only one slate of candidates to run for union office. Not only are workers given no choices between candidates, they also are not allowed to abstain. Union election results show a monoto-

nous pattern of 98 to 100% in favor of the official slate.

Elections are supposed to be secret. One worker told Marty about his polling place—a supervisor's desk. Several workers at a time were asked to come up to the desk and write their ballots out under the gaze of a union official and a supervisor. The union official even helped some of the new workers to fill out their ballots.

A worker has to have a lot of courage to openly disagree with the union leadership. Glaberman read an excerpt from a letter describing the torture and abduction of a worker who spoke out against his union's contract offer. Often, the union leadership does not even come from the rank and file. According to an unpublished study, eleven men whose careers were tracked after graduation from top-ranking Tokyo University each spent several years as union leaders after a couple of years in management. They went on to high ranking positions with the company's industrial relations department.

DISSIDENCE DIFFICULT

With such powerful factors ranged against them by company and union, dissidents try to avoid being identified. Leaflets criticizing union or management are passed out by workers from another factory. Even though leafletting occurs on public property, management may try to stop it. Marty witnessed managers surrounding a leafletter at a public subway station to prevent him from passing out material.

Coming out against union policy is a lot like a gay coming out of the closet. The dissident is socially isolated at work. Since Japanese labor law allows more than one union in a workplace, some dissidents form small alternative unions in their shops. These unions have no bargaining rights, but they do provide them with some protection and support.

The Rodo Joho conference indicates that dissident workers are a visible force in Japan. Other progressive forces include the embryonic women's movement now gathering steam, and the coalition of workers, students and farmers against the construction of the mammoth Tokyo Airport. Planes are now using the airport, which is much smaller than originally planned, but interference with air traffic still continues.

Japan's rising military expenses are another source of potential conflict. Since World War II, Japan has been free of responsibility for its own defense. Wars in Korea and Vietnam provided demand for Japanese goods without burdening the country with the costs of the wars. Now the United States government is encouraging Japan to rearm. The Japanese people have a very strong antimilitarist streak due to the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The stereotypes about cheerful, orderly Japanese workers don't reflect the reality of Japan today. However, that stereotype serves the purposes of the auto companies. The myth says that the productive, docile, robot-like workers have made the Japanese auto industry a success. Thus the problems of the American auto industry must be the fault of rebellious, lazy American workers. This is ideological justification for cutting the pay of workers here and speeding them up.

Japan's technological edge and commitment to quality are enough to explain their strong position in the world market. Glaberman emphasizes that these are due to management decisions, not to mystical differences in workers' attitudes. The Japanese companies consistently have put capital back into the plants. Over the last twenty years, they also have managed to change the Made in Japan label from a synonym for shoddy goods to a mark of quality.

Japanese management styles differ from American. The American ideal is a management hierarchy based on merit. In Japan, decisions are made by consensus, and managers are recruited by social position and a powerful old boy's network. Promotions are not based on merit or job performance; junior managers must cultivate a relationship with a mentor higher up in the company in order to advance.

Consensus decision making doesn't necessarily result in better decisions. If agreement can't be reached immediately, decisions are put off until the managers can figure out what their supervisors want to hear—which can waste a lot of time.

PASSING THE PEAK

Japanese workers and management aren't inherently superior. The auto industry has prospered because of decisions concerning technology and quality, and because Japan has reaped the benefits of total rebuilding after World War II and the demand created by the wars in Southeast Asia. Like the American auto industry of the 1960s, Japanese auto has reached a peak of internal expansion and is moving into international production.

Dissidents in Japan told Marty that the massive layoffs and falling production of the U.S. auto industry is waiting for them in five or six years. Already the industry is eroding their job security; permanent employees face layoffs. Many of the things happening in Japan repeat similar experiences in the U.S., though they reflect differences in culture and historical circumstances. Many Japanese workers expressed a great deal of interest in America. It is hoped that several will come to the U.S. Feminists in Japan are also interested in such an exchange. We have a lot to find out about each other.

World Labor Shorts

Australian unions won a 35-hour week from some companies simply by unilaterally working a nine-day fortnight: five plus four. That comes out to a 35-hour week.

Turkey has been charged by the ICFTU with "suppression of human and trade-union rights". The one trade-union federation that was not suspended by the military is headed by a cabinet minister "under drastic restraints", and the president of a genuine trade union was "blindfolded and tied to a chair for five days". Many unionists are in jail under this regime blessed by Reagan.

Throughout Europe unemployment is growing dramatically—reaching 11% of the work force in Ireland and exceeding 14% in Liverpool. In Britain this has given the Labour Party an edge in the large metropolitan counties, generating conflict between the Tory and local labor administrations. In Belgium the Government has "thanked" the unions for "wage moderation" through 1982 by proposing to end the automatic full-index linking of wage rates to the cost of living. In Italy, where a landlord "strike" is keeping 60,000 apartments vacant to fight rent control, and it is hard to find shelter, the Government is also insisting on ending automatic cost-of-living raises.

In France the Socialist victory is being followed by industrial peace, in sharp contrast to the militant efforts that accompanied the Popular Front victory in the 1930s. Unions there hope a friendly government will facilitate necessary wage adjustments without strikes.

Tieble Drame and eleven other teachers in Bamako, Mali were sentenced in September 1980 to three months' imprisonment for "opposition to legitimate authority" and for organizing a demonstration. Their offense: After the Government dissolved their union, they formed an independent one and boycotted examinations in support of a claim for overtime pay.

When their three months were up they were not released, but instead were put at the disposal of the Minister of the Interior and sent to do clerical work in a remote desert area.

THE IWW IN AUSTRALIA

The Australian General Organising Committee (IWW) for 1981 consists of Mike Goodman, Sid Parisi, and Jim Couch. They expect soon to publish a periodical called *The Rebel Worker*. Discussions in their monthly bulletin deal most often with what they can do given the substantial degree to which Australian wage workers are organized. They see much that can be done, educationally and in practical on-the-job activity, either as rank-and-file members or as shop stewards. There is also the prospect of Bruce "Utah" Phillips making a tour of Australia, and that will spark the progress already made.

The Torture Business

With 50 nations in the world ruled by military juntas, the manufacture and sale of weapons and torturing devices have become a substantial—if secretive—business, according to the Amsterdam newspaper *De Volksrant*. Wares include devices to track down and eliminate political opponents, torture tools, special prisons, and training in repression techniques.

Pye, a British telecommunications company, reportedly supplied Uganda's secret police with \$100,000 worth of radio transmitters. "The British devices were used on river boats to track down opponents of Idi Amin's regime," reports *De Volksrant*. "Shortly after these boats commenced operations, many bodies were found floating in Lake Victoria."

A company on the Isle of Man ships telephone-bugging devices, and other Western nations supply detection systems, lie detectors, and psychological training of police.

Central American Struggle

EL SALVADOR

Some 35 US corporations continue to operate in El Salvador, including Signetics, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Pillsbury, Proctor and Gamble, Exxon, Chevron, Texaco, Sherwin-Williams, International Harvester, Citibank, Bank of America, and Westinghouse. Operating in El Salvador is profitable: a Salvadoran employee of Texas Instruments earns \$4.00 a day. Businesses do not pay taxes on bringing material into the country or taking finished products out. Thus a whole transformation industry has been built up in El Salvador. Manufactured components are sent to the country, assembled, and completed products shipped back to the United States. No taxes are paid on imports or exports.

In El Salvador, the Catholic Church's Legal Aid Society reported 7,780 people were killed in the first four months of 1981. The total number of persons killed in the last sixteen months is estimated at 22,000.

In order to stay in power the military Christian Democratic junta is carrying out a policy of terrorism against all sectors of the Salvadoran people. According to the Permanent Tribunal of the Peoples (successor to the Bertrand Russell Tribunal), the government is characterized by its extraordinary brutality and its open and systematic violence. Most of the slain persons were tortured before they were killed. The most frequent types of torture include castration, rape, cutting out tongues and gouging out eyes, and the use of chemicals to burn the bodies alive.

Both torture and assassination are carried out openly, leaving the bodies in public places to intimidate and terrorize the population. The assassinated and the disappeared people come from all walks of life, though peasants, unskilled workers and students predominate, and are all ages: children are tortured in front of their parents and other relatives.

The overwhelming majority of the atrocities are perpetrated by the combined forces of the El Salvadoran National Guard, the National Police and the Army; the rest are perpetrated by paramilitary organizations like ORDEN and Death Squad, which receive government support. ORDEN meetings take place in police stations and National Guard posts.

The junta could not survive without economic and military aid from the USA. There are reported to be 800 military and other US advisors in the country, the largest contingent that the US government has sent to any Latin American country since the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic. Every day, ten D-103 planes arrive in El Salvador, bringing in their deadly cargoes of military supplies. These supplies included at least ten helicopters of the kind used in Vietnam, one of which has already been shot down by the guerillas.

All this is an attempt to prolong the status quo in El Salvador, a condition that the Salvadoran people are determined to change. In El Salvador, 2% of the landowners hold 60% of the land, while 3 million people subsist on less than \$10 a month. Unemployment is 47%. In the country, many can only find work four months of the year, cutting sugar cane or harvesting coffee beans. The average per capita income in the rural areas is only \$133 a year.

The Unions

In March 1981, a delegation of El Salvadoran union

leaders from the Committee of United Trade Unions came to the US asking US workers to support their demands for the US government to withdraw its military advisors and to stop all economic aid and arms sales to the junta. This committee is a federation of eight unions that represent about 85% of the organized labor in the country. There is another smaller federation of unions with which the Committee of the United Workers was involved in unity negotiations until their leader, Felipe Sandillo, was murdered by the junta. All collective bargaining and strikes have been outlawed under Decree 107; normal union activities are impossible and the unions are actively opposing the junta.

Major American unions have quit supporting AFL-CIO co-operation with the junta, and there is no support for that co-operation among unions anywhere else. The 35 American corporations that operate in El Salvador operate in other countries too, and could be effectively pressed to urge a democratic settlement in El Salvador by the unions that do their work for them. Remember Coca-Cola and Guatemala? Unions everywhere have bread-and-butter reasons as well as humanitarian reasons to back the El Salvador working class.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala is rapidly joining El Salvador in the death race, with the corpses of political victims piling up in abandoned cemeteries and roadside ditches at nearly 1,000 a month. Amnesty International received a report from a man in San Juan Comalapa, Guatemala of finding more than 30 garrotted bodies in a ravine. He also reported that in 1980 Guatemalan army units near Comalapa seized and murdered the leaders of the local earthquake reconstruction committee. This is part of a deliberate and long-standing government program of repression directed from the secret offices in the annex of the country's National Palace—under the control of the President of the country, Romeo Garcia. Guatemala has close ties to the government of El Salvador; Guatemala has supplied arms to ORDEN and allowed its territory to be used for training Salvadoran paramilitary groups under Israeli instructors.

US aid to Guatemala was cut off in 1977 because of the human rights violations in the country, but the Reagan administration is considering renewing it.

In Guatemala the members of the Organization of the People in Arms and other underground organizations are fighting a bloody war against the government. Increasingly, Indian peasants (55% of the country's 7.2 million people) are joining the guerillas. If hard pressed by government troops, guerillas flee over the Sierra de Los Cuchumatanes into the coffee fields and jungles of Chiapas, Mexico's southernmost state. Once in Mexico, guerillas can buy weapons and supplies, and get any needed medical treatment. This has drawn accusations from Guatemala that Mexico is giving the guerillas sanctuary, a charge the Mexican government vehemently denies.

MEXICO

The ruling party of Mexico, the Revolutionary Party that has reigned supreme in Mexico for the last 50 years, supports the government of Nicaragua, the guerilla movement in El Salvador and seeks to further cement its rela-

tionship with Cuba. Government supporters claim that support of left-wing governments abroad and Mexico's revolution in 1910 have inoculated the country against further revolutionary upheavals. At home the Mexican government has been able to absorb or co-opt most of its opposition, although it has not hesitated about using force.

But the sudden oil boom has exacerbated every contradiction in the country. In the last five years, Mexico's income from oil has exploded from barely \$3 billion to \$14 billion. In 1976 Mexico ranked fifteenth in world oil production; today it ranks fifth, after the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, the US, and Iraq.

Class Gap Widens

The side effects of the oil boom are 40% inflation, 50% unemployment and underemployment, and an ever widening gap between rich and poor. The country must struggle to pay off a foreign debt of \$40 billion; yearly interest alone is between \$4 billion and \$5 billion.

Petroleum exports were responsible for 67% of Mexico's foreign revenue in 1980, compared with 44% in 1979 and a projected 74% for 1981. The monetary value of exported manufactured items, such as shoes and textiles, grew by only 1.3% in 1980—a decline, given Mexico's inflation rate. Government officials four years ago promised to use oil revenues to finance broad-based economic growth and to avoid the mistake of other petroleum countries of using oil exports to import consumer goods while all non-oil sectors of the economy wither. But Mexican manufacturers have not been able to produce consumer goods fast enough to supply the new rich, much less to create a surplus for export. Consumers increasingly turn to imported items, mostly from the US, to fill the gap. Imports of consumer goods grew from \$6 billion in 1977 to \$12 billion in 1980.

Meanwhile the poor, who cannot afford to pay inflationary prices for local goods, much less imported ones, do without. In the last three years, the average Mexican worker's buying power has declined 25%. The neglect of agriculture for oil production forced the country to import an unprecedented \$2 billion in grain from the US. Much of the best farm land has been bought up by agribusiness, to produce crops for export to the US.

Landless peasants flock to Mexico City, now the biggest city in the Western Hemisphere, with 16 million people in it and another 5-6 million people in the "lost towns" ringing the outskirts. These "lost towns" lack drinkable water, sewage facilities and electricity. The children suffer from chronic malnutrition and adults are able to work no more than four months a year. The per capita income in the "lost towns" is barely \$400 a year.

Air pollution in Mexico City is held to contribute to the deaths of 150,000 children a year besides impairing the health of at least 175,000 adults. The city sits in a hollow surrounded by mountains.

The US-Mexican border is increasingly the site of two-way smuggling—impoverished Mexican workers trying to cross into the US to look for work, and luxury goods being shipped into Mexico to avoid import taxes.

SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

Within these small islands, it has now been accepted that unemployment will reach a figure of 3,000,000. This social misery is not peculiar to the British people, but there is a difference in that this avoidable social evil has been deliberately perpetrated as official Tory policy, as it was perpetrated against the Irish people during the Great Hunger. Flowering out of the unmarked graves of all those innocent men, women, and children who died of starvation during the Great Hunger came the deaths by bullet and by bomb of the innocent men, women, and children whose bloodied corpses decorate the world's television screens in this Year of Our Lord 1981. And do not blame Ma Thatcher, for this woman, like Reagan, was elected to political office as the mouthpiece of a middle class willing to sanction any social treachery against their fellow men to protect their transient wealth. For after every great social upheaval—be it war, revolution, famine, or plague—there is a period of inflation.

In 1936 unemployed men and women began a hunger march to London from the drear and dead northern town of Jarrow. And that march became part of working-class history as those hungry, ill-clad men and women marched south to the country's capital demanding only the right to work. On May 1st, 1981, 500 men and women began a month-long march to London once again in a country of 3,000,000 unemployed to demand the right to work, and at the end of that march tens of thousands of men and women assembled in London's Trafalgar Square. But this time the observable misery and destruction of human dignity which was the hallmark of working-class poverty in the 1930s was missing, as the 1981 men and women

marched with cheerful confidence, and their dignity was plain to see.

The 1936 Jarrow march achieved little beyond highlighting the social evil of the day, though it did help wipe out the stench of betrayal that hung over the students of Oxford and Cambridge Universities as a result of the part that a previous generation of students had played in helping to break the 1926 General Strike; for the 1936 generation of university students bent their liberal backs in feeding and bedding the 1936 Jarrow marchers.

In 1981 it is doubtful once more that the march will create one extra job or move Ma Thatcher or the weirdo Industrial Secretary Sir Keith Joseph one inch to the left of Barry Goldwater. But the march has succeeded to the extent that it has provided a needed rallying call for the dispirited British working class, and has put the needed fear of God into the mighty Trade Union Council embalmed within London's Congress House. This general council, which displayed little interest in the idea of the march when it was first bruited by the TUC regional councils, is now rushing to climb onto the bandwagon by offering bigger and better marches and bigger and louder speeches; for the People's March of May 1981 from Liverpool to London has won the support of the British working class.

Industrial battles are being fought behind closed doors day after day before the State's Industrial Tribunals, and Maureen, the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin, has been hauled before a Kent tribunal by her butler and her cook for what they claim to be wrongful dismissal. And the case makes good reading, for the Marchioness, who as

an ex "Guinness girl" goes back to the 16th Century, has claimed that her servants dipped into the cash registers, Guinness tray cloths disappeared, 40 jars of crab-apple jam were unearthed, the car registered a thousand miles merely to run to the village, and the Marchioness had it all recorded on secret tapes. Apart from the D. H. Lawrence overtones, let me state, on bended knee, that the Marchioness is no Lady Chat and the butler ain't no game keeper. One must keep a solid working-class front, though one may feel a little displaced sympathy for the Marchioness when she cries that "I have had so many thieves working for me that I get confused."

Old values die, old worlds crumble, butlers are taped, and Ward's Irish pub in Piccadilly is no more, for the developers have closed it down. No more condensation from low roofs, no more American tourists retreating in horror from the gloom, and no more being ordered to leave 30 minutes after official closing time.

Arthur Moyses, London

In 1979 the FBI reported that 78% of handgun deaths in the US took place in a non-felony situation (in which the availability of a handgun made the difference between a heated argument and murder). In Chicago, you are ten times more likely to survive a stabbing than a shooting. In 53.5% of Chicago's handgun shootings in 1979, the victim knew the offender. For every home intruder stopped by a handgun, six fatal handgun accidents occur in the home.

Book Review: US History

STRIKERS AND CO-OPERATION

History of Work Co-operation in America, by John Curl, Homeward Press, PO Box 2307, Berkeley, California 94702, 1980, 58 pages

When the union workers at Madison Newspapers Incorporated were locked out a few years ago, they began publishing their own newspaper. *The Madison Press Connection* soon became a celebrated cause among the American left, and many felt it was a sign of a new phase in the American labor movement. But in fact the establishment of co-operatives by strikers is a 200-year-old tradition. This development from strike to co-operative is one of

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Fairbanks IWW, Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.
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Industrial Union 450 Branch, Laura Rosenfeld, Secretary, Synthex 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 20767.

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 if arranged in advance with the Secretary. Phone 522-7090 or 876-0807.

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

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

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NEW YORK: Buffalo IWW, Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Ekhert, Buffalo, New York 14207, Phone (716) 877-6073.

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

the major themes in John Curl's *History of Work Co-operation in America*.

Curl traces the earliest such incident back to New York City in 1768, when 20 journeymen tailors struck over wage cuts. They had no strike fund, nor even a union to back them up. So to support themselves during the strike, they set up their own co-operative tailor shop. As Curl documents: "The action of these tailors would be repeated time and again in the following century. Striking workers forming co-operatives was a common pattern in the early labor movement. It was repeated over and over in many places because it was a natural and logical reaction to conditions." (Page 5)

The author concludes that much of the idealism of the early labor movement was due to the connections between co-operatives and labor struggles. Workers who had turned to co-operation as a means of helping to win a strike began to anticipate the co-operative system that would result from a shattered wage system. For them the notion of a general strike for social revolution was no ivory-tower theory, but the logical conclusion from their experiences. The eventual outgrowth of this trend was the Industrial Workers of the World. Curl writes that "... the strike-to-co-operative transition of early American workers became a microcosm of the national strike to bring about the co-operative commonwealth which was threatened by the very structure of the IWW." (Page 37)

This observation may have more important implications than the author realizes. Neither the modern American labor movement nor the modern co-operative movement is very radical. Both are business-as-usual institutions. The labor movement (except for small holdouts like the IWW) no longer sees the abolition of wage labor as a "practical" goal. Most of today's co-operatives are middle-class institutions with no goal beyond cheaper prices, even if this means selling scab products. By going their separate ways, both movements have lost their sense of direction.

Curl does not investigate why this regrettable separation occurred. The closest he comes to an answer is the observation that as industry has become more capital-intensive, the cost of starting co-operatives has gone beyond what most workers, not to mention strikers, could handle. Therefore they must turn to the Government for credit. Yet since the Government is dominated by big business, politicians are reluctant to lend capital that will make workers independent of their former employers. Under the circumstances, Curl might argue, the disillusionment of rebel workers with producer co-operatives was understandable.

Curl is right up to a point, but I feel that the issue is more complex than that. He ignores the impact of the growth of bureaucratic welfarism both within the labor movement and within the state. Nowadays, when workers go on strike they are more likely to rely on strike benefits from international headquarters or Government food stamps. Local mutual aid and co-operative efforts are relied on only by wildcatters or by union workers abandoned by their top officials. Worker-run efforts at strike support don't compete well with highly-financed bureaucratic support, especially since workers must pay for bureaucratic welfare anyway, whether or not they want it or ever receive its benefits. Is it any wonder that today's worker scoffs at the "co-operative commonwealth" and sees dependence on labor fakers and political bosses as the natural order of things?

Due to these circumstances, I am unable to share Curl's optimism for the Government's new co-operative bank or the UAW's presence on the Chrysler Board. This will not renew the ties between labor militancy and the ideal of the co-operative commonwealth. Both the Government and Chrysler have too much at stake to let that happen. On the other hand, there are signs that workers are beginning to question bureaucratic welfarism. Three years ago the coal miners struck for four months and eventually gave up the UMW Health Fund rather than let the mine owners use it to discipline wildcat strikers. And in Youngstown, Ohio attempts were made to stop the shutdown of the major steel plants by reopening them under community ownership. Nor should we neglect the example of the *Madison Press Connection*. All three examples may have ended in defeats on the immediate level, but they are also a sign of workers coming to realize that they can't always rely on the faker element.

I heartily recommend *History of Work Co-operation in America*. Although I disagree with some of the analysis, I found the historical information highly illuminating. It should be useful reading for both the co-operative member and the labor activist.

Jeff Stein

A THESIS ON "WOBBLY HYMNODY"

For his doctorate thesis at the University of Minnesota, Donald Winters has produced a 208-page study titled *The Soul of Solidarity: The Relationship Between the IWW and American Religion in the Progressive Era*. Its perspective is that of the sociology of religion; its main focus (amid chapters on IWW in Minnesota, IWW poets and comments on religion in the IWW press) is the little red songbook.

Winters' declared purpose is "not only to examine the IWW's impact on American society and culture, but also to assess the reciprocal impact of American culture—particularly American religion at the beginning of the twentieth century—upon the IWW." He rejects sundry efforts

to equate the IWW with a church, and writes: "If the IWW is to be viewed in any sense as religious, the central tenet of its faith must be seen as solidarity; a solidarity that lies between Bellamy's 'religion of solidarity' with its passion for losing oneself in others, and Georges Sorel's syndicalist ideology of solidarity."

For comparison, the IWW matches poorly with established churches, and more readily with the justice-seeking, anti-establishment sects that have followed in the tradition of the ancient prophets. Winters quotes Benton Johnson writing in the *American Sociological Review*: "A church is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists." We will confess to putting great faith in solidarity and to rejecting our social environment, but we don't feel "sectarian," and, reading Alan Riding's summary of the literature on the church in Latin-America (*NY Review of Books*, May 28) wonder how one would list the pro-worker priests down that way.

The IWW Preamble was first drafted by Father Thomas J. Haggerty, a Roman Catholic priest, a couple of years after he had answered the folks in Cleburn, Texas, who told him to quit agitating and get out of town: "Tell the people who sent you here that I have a brace of Colts and can hit a dime at twenty paces." Father Haggerty viewed both unionism and religion enthusiastically, but quite separately. "No one," he wrote, "would dream of going into a meat market asking for a Catholic beefsteak, a Methodist muttonchop, or a Presbyterian ham. . . . It is wholly beyond the scope of the Church's mission to deal with the questions of social economy, just as it is beyond the purpose of the Republican party to advance a new exegesis on the Davidic Psalm."

Others active in the IWW did not maintain that partition, sharing rather the Social Gospel view that a Christian's duty here on earth was to fight for social justice, whether bishops approved or not. It may shock some Wobs (and surprise Winters) that A. S. Embree, IWW organizer among miners in Bisbee and Colorado, and Ray Becker, who served years for defending the Centralia IWW hall against a lynch mob, were both theological school graduates, who took their gospel that way. One can perhaps get the feel of that social gospel movement, circa 1913, by hunting up *Survey* of Jan. 3, 1914 for a marvelous array of old labor songs and social gospel hymns.

What has all this to do with the little red songbook? Winters makes an interesting case, noting some widely overlooked facts. The songbook and its traditions came from the west at a time (1908-1909) when the IWW was still a predominantly eastern phenomenon. It followed a time when "frontier churches relied heavily on circuit riders and fervently evangelical camp meetings, the music consisting of folk and camp-meeting hymns." He quotes musicologists on "the revival hymns' infectious pattern of verse followed by a catchy, usually thunderous refrain . . . a kind of religious pop art almost visceral in its appeal." Back in 1879, the Salvation Army itself had decided to abandon tunes it deemed "too churchy" for popular melody, and long before there was an IWW it complained that "roughs" tried to "sing it down" and "would sometimes roar out parodies." The circumstances of the developing west put the IWW and the Salvation Army in competition for the same audience, hence the early IWW songs to be sung to the music of the Army's brass band.

From the songs and poems of Joe Hill, Covington Hall, Giovannitti, Ashleigh and Chaplin, taken literally, one can base a charge of "primitive millenarianism," for example Chaplin's words to "Hold the Fort": "Now the final battle rages, tyrants quake with fear." Winters repeatedly compares Covington Hall and William Blake. Grounds for this view fade away when one considers the circumstances when the verses were written and the typical IWW perspective of keeping in mind where we want to go when we choose among options what intermediate steps we take in the here and now. This does not wipe out the transfer by either poet or singer of religious fervor and images to the practical task of fighting the employing class and its evil works. An unwarranted comparison is made of IWW and sect in their concern for "martyrs." We haven't fought the parasites without having victims, and our poets have sung their praises, but then again Joe Hill wrote a friend: "I don't want to be made into a 'tin Jesus.'"

The exploratory part of this thesis is the study of the reciprocal role of the IWW songbook in American culture, especially its linkage to the hymnody that prevailed west of the Mississippi. In that connection shouldn't one consider the fact that the song book has had much wider acceptance, east and west, than any other IWW pamphlet, and that Ralph Chaplin's "Solidarity Forever" has become the anthem of American labor generally? There must be something within the beliefs and hopes and experience of American workers outside of IWW circles, that make these songs an expression of something workers want to say.

—Fred Thompson



Children under the age of fifteen accounted for 25% (1,150) of the deaths caused by fire in US houses in 1979. Fire is the third leading cause of accidental death (after motor-vehicle accidents and drowning) among children aged one to fourteen. Burns from fires and scalding liquids kill more children under the age of four than cancer or infectious diseases. About 75% of burns occurring in the home could have been prevented.

LABOR NEWS IN BRIEF

LABOR BRIEFS—USA

Correction: In our May issue we said 8% of US postal workers were represented by unions. This should have read 98%.

The Texas Farm Workers Union has put a stop to the spraying of Malathion. Growers wanted to use a sweetened solution of this dangerous pesticide to combat the Mediterranean fruit fly. California forbade its use, but the State of Texas said okay. The farm workers definitely said no, and raised so much furor that its use was stopped.

Work is being shared in private industry in California as the result of a stopgap proposal adopted in 1978 when government employees feared that Proposition 13 would cut out their jobs. The law provides that the State will pay one fifth of weekly unemployment benefits to workers who, by agreement with their employers, take a four-day week to avoid a reduction in the work force. The most frequent application of the law now is in private industry by negotiation; the unions don't want to see their members laid off, and the employers see an advantage in keeping their trained hands on tap. Those who would get laid off by seniority, usually women and minority workers, favor it. Back in the '30s "share the work" was often derided as a scheme to "share the poverty". Today it is reckoned that workers who still have ties to jobs have a less depressing effect on wages, and on life in general, than workers without such ties.

Union elections: At the Teamster convention in Las Vegas, Roy Williams got the presidency, but Pete Camarata of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union got the publicity—not only for himself, but also for the democratic thrust that is cropping up in many unions. At the Steel Workers convention, with no contest for the top jobs, the hot spot was the election for district director for the 110,000-member Chicago-Indiana district. Parton, with the backing of the International, defeated Balanoff by a mere 24,261 to 21,662. In the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers election, Anthony Mazzocchi is running for president again on a platform calling for greater militancy. Last year he lost by 3,000 ballots, less than 1% of the vote.

Communication Workers won the right to represent the 32,000 white-collar workers employed by the State of New Jersey—the biggest collective-bargaining plum since 1977. The CWA beat both the AFSCME and a

EDITOR'S NOTE: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IW SUSTAINING FUND WILL BE REPORTED IN THE AUGUST ISSUE.

NEW IWW SONG DISC

Utah Phillips has done it again. Last winter, when he was in Vancouver, there were some mighty big strikes on: the communication workers, the garbage men, and other public employees. They got Utah to sing at a strike benefit and got the singing taped, including some fine audience participation. From the tape a record has been pressed that sounds remarkably live. In the US it will be released by Philo, probably around mid-July. The anticipated title is "We Have Fed You All for a Thousand Years: Songs and Stories of the IWW."

BOOK REVIEW: IN YOUR FACE

In Your Face! Sports for Love and Money, by Lee Ballinger, published by Vanguard Books Incorporated, PO Box 3566, Chicago, Illinois 60654, \$2.95, 151 pages

In this book Lee Ballinger, a shop steward for United Steel Workers of America Local 1375, explains how the drive for profit ruins people's enjoyment of sports, from the Olympics to the local playground. Everything from power-lifting championships to the US Olympic teams to Puerto Rican youth baseball is owned by some corporation. Player contracts are known as "capital assets of the enterprise", and can therefore be subtracted from the profits of the corporation before taxes are figured. When a team comes to the end of its usefulness as a tax shelter for one set of owners, it is sold to another set who place a new value on the player contracts and begin another game of "depreciation".

Ballinger explains how the media can shape and direct population perceptions, and thus cause many fans to denounce the players as selfish good-for-nothings. Baseball owners moan in the press about their high costs, even as the sport is enjoying its widest popularity ever. Franchises in the industry, which is exempt from anti-trust laws, are going for millions, while owners claim imminent insolvency and blame rising ticket prices on high player salaries.

College sports are really professional sports with lower wages. High schools produce illiterate graduates who, if they have a good jump shot, are used and then discarded by colleges. In college sports the athletes do all the work while the schools, networks, and advertisers get all the money.

plp

Teacher bid to cut out a unit of 11,500 clerical workers. In a Florida election, the AFSCME added 23,000 state clerical and administrative employees to the 90,000 such workers it already represented there.

OSHA says it will no longer require employers to pay for "walk-around time" showing inspectors what they need to see. To get that now, you have to bargain for it.

ALASKA DISSIDENTS

One dissident Alaskan group, the Concerned Carpenters of Local 1243, has won a court decision that the union's attorneys cannot represent the union officers whom the group charges with "violating their fiduciary duty". In another Alaskan case, Kay Rollison was elected by her indignant fellow workers as business manager of Hotel, Restaurant, and Construction Employees Local 879 back in 1977; but the union, which had suspended her, would not let her take office. Courts have awarded her both legal fees and damages, but this is being appealed.

Charman Haley, a research worker for the Legislative Affairs Council in Juneau, has won the right for government employees to speak their minds off the job. She had been fired for speaking at a Juneau rally to protest the takeover of Alaskan resources by multinationals. A Juneau judge upheld her right of free speech and her right to claim damages in January, but the State may appeal. She also demands her job back.

DEMOCRATIC GAIN

In Alaska dissident members of the Laborers, Teamsters, Carpenters, Electricians, and Culinary Workers created the rank-and-file group ROOR (Ruled Out of Order) to campaign for union democracy, aggressive organizing of non-union workers, and responsible management of pension and welfare funds. One of them, Chris White of the Laborers, had charges filed against him last fall for his activity in this group, and especially because he allegedly "did conspire and take part in an article in the magazine *Mother Jones* which brought into disrepute, suspicion, and public shame numerous officers of the Laborers International Union and our fraternal brothers, the Teamsters". Steve Early reports in an East Coast TDU publication *Teamsters for Teamsters* that "hours before a hearing was to take place, the charges were dropped".

UNIONS MERGE

The Service Employees International Union is preparing a merger with the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union. The SEIU's 700,000 members are observing the 60th anniversary of their union. The merger with the 235,000 members of the RWDSU will give them a total of 300,000 workers in the health-care field, where both unions have been active.

The history of the SEIU and the RWDSU illustrates the happenstance manner in which various unions have

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.

grown in the US, on the basis of what could be organized rather than on any planned correspondence to the facts of economic life. The SEIU used to be Building Service Workers AFL when it started in Chicago in the 1920s, but as it extended its area it dropped the B. The RWDSU is another conglomerate. Since one of the unions it has absorbed is Samuel Gompers' old Cigar Makers, one could say it goes back farther than the AFL, which is observing its centenary this year.

The RWDSU was early in the CIO, and acquired its Distributive Processing and Office Workers in 1954, and its Playthings, Jewelry, and Novelty Workers (the latter not to be confused with the AFL Novelty Workers, which still has 40,000 members). One local of the RWDSU, 1199, originally for Drug Employees in New York City, expanded into the health-care field, putting branches in many cities.

Years ago the One Big Union idea was ridiculed as an impractical "mulligan stew", even though the proposal was for industrial organization parallel to the actual way industry was organized. Today conglomerates negotiate with conglomerates, both grown by happenstance.

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
- () Unions and Racism \$1.00

MUSICAL

- () IWW Songbook \$1.00
- () The Rebel Girl (sheet music) 50¢
- () Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music) 50¢
- () Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter \$1.00

HISTORICAL

- () The IWW's First 70 Years (hardbound) \$15.00
- () The IWW's First 70 Years (paperback) \$4.95
- () History of the IWW in Canada 50¢
- () Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary \$4.50
- () Pullman Strike \$2.95
- () Autobiography of Mother Jones \$4.95
- () The Right To Be Lazy \$1.25
- () Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism \$5.95

POSTERS

Printed

- () Organize! 50¢
- () One Big Union 50¢
- () Two Anti-War Posters \$1.00

Lino-graphics

- () Joe Hill \$5.00
- () General Strike \$5.00
- () Huelga General \$5.00
- () Draftees of the World Unite! \$5.00

MISCELLANEOUS

- () General Defense Button 35¢

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Available from the Chicago Branch, 3435 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60657: *Fat Cat Poster*, \$5; *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.

DID YOU NOTICE?

Although Medicare was set up in the mid-1960s to take care of the bulk of medical expenses for people over 65, more than two thirds of the out-of-hospital cost of an average elderly person's illness in a given year must be paid by the individual. Altogether, Medicare beneficiaries pay more than \$1.1 billion a year in doctor bills in excess of their Medicare allowances.

Large families are going out of style in the US. A recent survey showed only 11% of Americans favoring families with four or more children, the lowest percentage recorded in 44 years. Since 1968, the decline in the number favoring large families has been far more pronounced among Catholics than among Protestants.

According to the Commission on Civil Rights a college-educated Asian/Pacific woman earns \$6,000 to \$9,000 less than a white man with a similar education.

Did you notice the fancy salaries for labor leaders that came out in press accounts of the Teamsters convention, stimulated by TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union) publicity? Among Teamster officials Fitzsimmons drew \$296,853, Presser of Cleveland got \$274,278, Peters of Chicago got \$265,590. Ten more Chicago officers all drew more than \$100,000, and a total of 38 Teamster officials topped the hundred-grand mark. In contrast,

outside the Teamsters only 19 labor leaders topped the \$100,000 figure, with Kirkland of the AFL-CIO getting \$112,292, Fraser of the UAW getting only \$83,208, and Finley of the huge Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers drawing a mere \$52,500.

Hexachlorobenzene (HCB), which causes cancer in laboratory animals, has been discovered in the air on Eniwetok Atoll. Since the Atoll is about 2,200 miles southwest of Hawaii, researchers at Texas A&M University conclude that there is probably no place left on earth free of such pollution.

As America's economic empire grows older, the costs of maintaining it increase. Already Americans have accepted that the repression American institutions inflict on other countries is a two-way street. Foreign governments meddle in US elections by helping opponents of their critics (as with South Africa and the low Congressional elections), bribe US Representatives once they are in office (Korea), spy on US officials (Israel and the conference between Young and the PLO), send assassins into this country to kill their critics (Chile), and kill US citizens abroad with guns furnished by US aid (El Salvador).

Rising prices accompanied by rising unemployment are hitting Europe too. In April consumer prices rose 1.6% for the month in the ten countries of the European Economic Community, even though in one of them (Belgium) prices were frozen by government order. The biggest increase, 2.9%, was in Britain. The unemployment rate in the ten countries rose to 7.5% of the civilian work force.

By 1976 the number of people in the USA with health-related disabilities had reached 30.2 million, an increase of 37% in ten years. Why that increase? Some say the advent of Medicaid and Medicare led more people to report their disabilities; some say better health care enables more people to survive heart attacks and become disability statistics; and some point to explanations like more pollution and more stress.

Using whips, dogs, and tear gas, South African police battled thousands of student demonstrators in early June as the students marched through mixed-race townships outside Johannesburg to protest the arrest of a student leader.

There are different penalties for the crimes of the rich and the crimes of the poor. Back in 1969, a total of 502 persons were convicted of tax fraud. The average amount they were caught cheating on was about \$190,000 per case, but only a hundred of them landed in jail, with an average sentence of only seven months. Yet in that same year, 60% of those convicted for auto theft and burglary ended up in prison. The value of autos stolen averaged only \$992, yet the sentences for stealing them averaged 38 months. The value of burglary loot averaged \$321, and the sentences 33 months.

Kenosha, Wisconsin edged out Flint, Michigan in the race for the highest unemployment figure among American cities, with a rate of 16.6% to Flint's 16.5%. (Austin, Texas came in last with a mere 3% unemployed.)

A West German court ruled that German youths who apply for conscientious-objector status must give up their driver's licenses. According to the court in Bremen, a car can be considered a "lethal weapon". This ruling reportedly affects several thousand COs currently performing alternative service, for which a driver's license is necessary. The court warned them that they must be prepared to voluntarily turn in their licenses, or their CO status will be reviewed. The COs are reportedly investigating the use of mopeds.

In 1978 American kids under 10 killed more people with pistols and revolvers than British people of all ages managed to shoot dead. Last year in the US, handguns killed 10,000. In Britain, with a quarter of the US population, they killed only 40.

Fight for Your Life on the Job

"There is a tendency for people to think OSHA stands for 'Our Saviour Has Arrived,'" says industrial-health expert Youngstrom. They should think instead of OSHA as "the minimum wage of health and safety", and use organized pressure on the job and a bit of whistle blowing to do for themselves what OSHA cannot do for them.

BLUE SHIELD WORKERS STRIKE, BEAT BLACKOUT

After striking for 18 weeks, Blue Shield office workers in San Francisco voted 275-22 to accept a settlement that their union described as avoiding "a total rout". The company lawyer threatened that unless they accepted it, the work for 500 of them would be permanently transferred to non-union centers in the state such as Woodland and Colton, where it was already being done after a fashion.

One striker who had occasion to file three Blue Cross claims during the strike said that "two of the returned claims were filled with errors; the scab clericals were skipping steps in the paperwork and probably overpaying claims."

San Francisco's women's labor paper *Union WAGE* remarked: "It became one of the best-known strikes ever blacked out by the news media." Through that paper and in other ways, the strikers did rally enough support to keep the strike up for four and a half months and win a significant concession.

The health issue in this strike provided an incentive for that news blackout. The work done by these strikers involved chiefly processing Blue Cross claims through cathode-ray tubes (CRTs). They found that glare, rays, and unchanging posture made the work miserable and hurt their health. This issue got settled outside their contract by a "letter of agreement" promising adjustable chairs, screens to reduce the harmful rays and glare, and a ten-minute break every hour.

Despite its professed concern for workers' health, Blue Cross wanted to avoid publicity on this grievance out of concern for other employers who are adopting the CRTs to replace old-fashioned paperwork. As one striker put it: "I struck for my self-respect, and I won. It cost me a lot of money, but I won."

The periodical *Union WAGE* is looking for "biographies of women who organized in the 1930s and 1940s" to make into a companion pamphlet to its *Labor Heroines of the 19th Century*.



VDT HAZARDS

Some five million Video Display Terminals (VDTs), sometimes called Cathode Ray Terminals (CRTs), are now in use for word and data processing in the US.

The Newspaper Guild is alarmed that prolonged use of video display terminals (VDTs) is followed by cataracts and abnormal births. In newspaper offices these VDTs replace the old typewriter with something that looks a bit like it and a screen that looks like a TV screen through which the modern reporter processes his immortal words. He can even change his mind about what he is writing, make verbs agree with subjects, and make the facts agree with the paper's policy. He can make the lines all come out even and put the story to bed with no typographer. But in one month four women working for the *Toronto Star* on these machines had children born with birth defects, and cataracts are the most common complaint.

Perhaps the most horrendous prospect for VDTs and other word-processing equipment is that they will lead to a new type of "cottage industry"—home sweatshops for college graduates using our most modern technology under the most abysmal and unorganized working conditions.

THE DEATH DUST

At one point in my life I decided to learn a trade. At a trade school I found that the shortest course was marine pipe-fitting. The school cheated me, but working here and there I did learn the trade.

With four years into pipe-fitting, I found myself at a West Coast shipyard. On the first Monday of each month we had what were called safety meetings. One month a man from the union gave us a two-minute rap on asbestos but did not say what we should do about it. That was the first I heard about the possibility that it might be a hazard. Three years later, on TV, I get the advice that those who had worked with asbestos on ships for ten years should see a doctor. Since then I've done a lot of reading about the possible cause of my death.

It is not only we pipe-fitters who are affected. The HEW estimates that between four and eight million persons may die of asbestos-related diseases. From 10% to 16% of all cancer deaths can be traced to asbestos.

WHAT IS ASBESTOS?

Asbestos is a heat-resistant, corrosion-resistant mineral, nearly indestructible, its fibers making it easy to shape. It is used in the manufacture of a large range of products, starting alphabetically with bonded pipe and brake linings, and ending up with wallboard, wicking, wire, and wool yarns. It is also used to filter orange juice, vegetable oils, and wines, and for many other purposes. Modern technology has put it everywhere in our environment. Asbestos has been found falling on school desks from ceilings and in the air provided by air conditioning in skyscrapers. The list of occupations especially subject to asbestos hazards is a long one, starting alphabetically with air filtration and ending with welding, with some 50 occupations in between.

Wherever there is a fibrous material around your job,

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you should suspect that it may be asbestos and get it identified. Your employer is concerned that his machines be kept in good condition, but he leaves it up to you and your fellow workers to look out for yourselves.

Arthur Miller, IU 340

HEALTH ON THE JOB

Though OSHA offers literature and occasional inspections, and even unorganized workers can report to their local health department, and union workers can get their stewards to file grievances on hazardous situations, the individual worker is still most responsible for safety on the job.

Levina Payne has learned that the hard way. She and her fellow workers at the Gould Corporation in St. Paul, Minnesota made storage batteries, handling cadmium in the process. When these workers began suffering from cracked ribs, and their bones began snapping under the mildest pressure, doctors found excessive levels of cadmium in their blood and urine. The workers believed that the cadmium made their bones brittle, but the doctors were reluctant to say so and the Gould Corporation has been given a clean bill of health by OSHA, since its cadmium contamination has been inside the legal limits.

Each year 14,000 workers are killed in work accidents, and over two million are disabled. Many workers fail to act appropriately regarding their own health and safety. One can organize periodic health tests on the job, and have the data to back up later claims and to require remedial action. The company can be expected to want to save money. You can be expected to want to save your and your fellow workers' lives.

Greg McDaniels