



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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WHY JOBS MOVE

American trade unionists are fighting the de-industrialization of these United States. Some of their ancestors back in the 1760s fought British regulations that forbade the exportation of hats, or the erection of furnaces or rolling mills for making steel. Unionists today fight international corporations to hold onto their material-processing jobs, and they can do this with a better conscience knowing that when that work gets shifted to Third World areas, food gets scarcer there as export industries replace crops for local consumption.

It used to be thought that colonial areas exported raw materials to imperial powers that processed them. In recent years the US economy has come to depend on the export of wheat, coal, and sundry unfinished products. American unions are asking that more of the processing work be done here. Examples:

Grain: The Grain Millers union says only 3.2% of US wheat was exported as processed flour in 1980, compared to 11.8% in 1970. It figures this cost 122,400 jobs. With other unions it has formed an Export Processing Industry Coalition which is as much concerned over soybeans and corn as over wheat.

Clothing: The Labor-Industry Coalition for International Trade told the Ways and Means subcommittee that imports of textiles and clothing were 17% higher in 1981 than in 1980. The Ladies' Garment Workers protest a law that permits American employers to export parts to be assembled, then re-imported with duty only on the foreign labor added. Cut garments are sent to Mexico, sewn there, and brought back for sale here. This business ran to only \$1.7 million in 1975, but to \$524 million in 1980.

Lumber: This is the only industry with a higher unemployment rate (19%) than autos. The International Woodworkers want to export more timber as processed lumber and plywood. Turning two billion board feet of logs into lumber would add six or eight thousand more sawmill jobs. Last fall IWA president Keith Johnson met with delegates from Korea, Sweden, the USSR, and many Third World countries at the Third Tripartite Technical Meeting of the Timber Industry, and said he got "a whole new perspective on multinational corporations: Those countries are where they are investing the profits they make off the work of IWA members."

Printing: Current copyright law requires that a book written by a US author living here must be printed in the US or Canada if it is to have US copyright protection. That law expires July 1st. The Typographical Union estimates that if it is not renewed, 367,000 printing jobs will be shifted to low-wage countries.

Steel: The UAW's *Washington Report* summarizes: "The de-industrialization of America continues.... In 1950 the US produced 48% of all the world's steel. By

IF YOU'RE POOR DON'T HAVE AN EMERGENCY

The poor—particularly in big cities—have historically used hospital emergency rooms as their "family doctor", and hospitals have accepted this money-losing arrangement as an inevitable part of their role in the community. In order to cope with the recession, however, hospitals are curtailing activities.

Nurse Linda Burns, director of the ambulatory-care division of the American Hospital Association's Chicago headquarters, has pointed to the following steps that hospitals might take to "demarket" services to indigent patients:

- Allow lengthy waiting times to develop in the emergency department.
- Require cash payment or proof of insurance before rendering care to non-urgent patients.
- Provide little or no parking.
- Screen all non-urgent patients and send poor ones elsewhere.
- Get an unlisted telephone number for the emergency room.
- Segregate waiting areas for paying and non-paying patients, and make the non-paying area as unattractive and inhospitable as possible.

People who have been in hospital emergency rooms recently might wonder if hospitals are already acting on Nurse Burns's suggestions.

1970 the US was turning out only 20% of the world's steel, and by 1980 the percentage was down to 14%. The conservatives of this country wave the flag, but often make money shipping jobs to low-income countries."

The US Steel Corporation pleads poverty to its workers, but comes up with \$6.5 billion to buy Marathon Oil. In Local 1010's *Steelworker*, Linc Cohen asks: "Why should we care what US Steel does with its money? For one thing, much of the money is ours. Accelerated depreciation and other tax breaks demanded by Big Steel were central to the Reagan tax package. So US Steel is playing the stock market with dollars that should be in the Federal Treasury. For another, some of the money being used to buy Marathon was at one time earmarked for environmental, health, and safety protection."

US Steel is prone to forget that now, it isn't in business to make steel, it's in business to make money. It has let its plants deteriorate, its competitive position deteriorate, and its directors figure they can prosper better by polluting the shrimp waters in the Gulf of Mexico.

Autos: The UAW has been urging restraints on the import of Japanese cars either by law or by agreement. It points out that other countries follow such policies, and that Japan insists on parts made in Japan going into planes they buy here. Members of other unions have been buying foreign cars, and wonder if restrictions on importing them won't raise all car prices. Over the objections of many UAW members, the union is opening up a contract that does not expire until fall, for the companies have been contending that auto wages are too high, and that American workers getting \$4 an hour can't buy cars made by workers getting two to three times as much.

H.W. Tanaka, world trade expert, told the Joint Economic Committee: "Contrary to popular myth, the US auto industry's failure to compete with imports has little to do with the hourly wages paid to American workers", for GM asks three times as much profit per vehicle as its foreign competitors, and American auto companies are the victims of their own "planned obsolescence" and of their promotion of big cars for a variety of interlocking capitalist motives.

BACKGROUND VIEW

The shift of jobs to other countries results from the conjuncture of several independent drives, among them these:

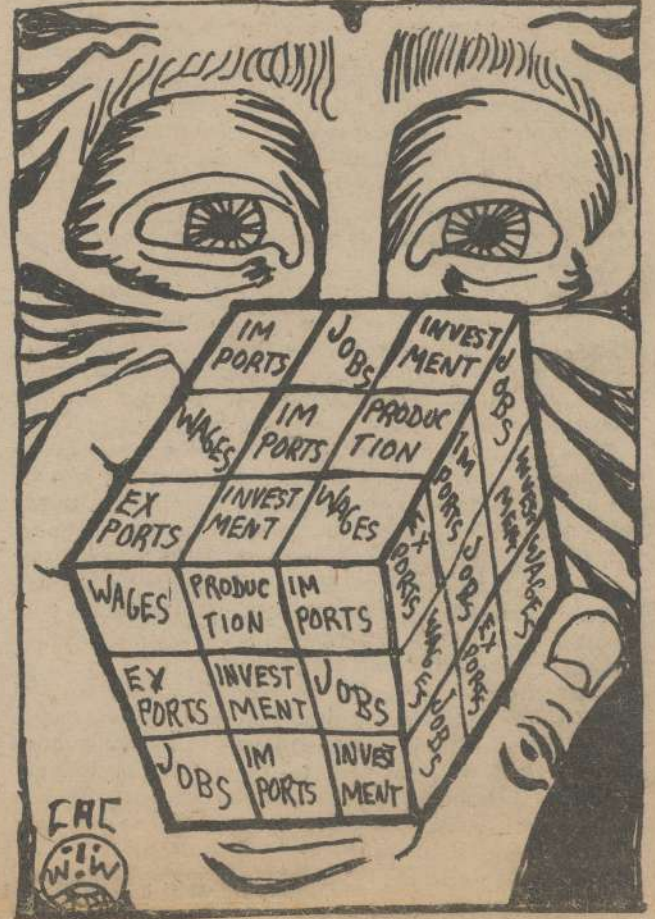
(1) With industrial progress, the investment grows much faster than the investment in equipment. Those with mammoth investments in equipment that has become out-of-date do not want to scrap the new investments so long as they can milk the old cow. Thus there is a general tendency for industries to shift from where they generated the old equipment to areas where they developed later.

(2) During the Second World War industrial plants were bombed extensively in Germany and Japan, much less so in Britain and France, and not at all here. When they were rebuilt they were more modern than the plants of the "victors".

(3) Industrial modernization of Germany and Japan was assisted by American policy—the corporations looking for places to put their war profits, and the Government they controlled aiming to contain Russian and Chinese "communism" by strengthening the German and Japanese economies.

(4) In the earlier days of imperial capitalism, investments in the less-developed world tended to be in labor-intensive industries; women-carried baskets of iron ore on their heads up long spiral paths from open-pit mines so cheaply it did not pay to replace them with machines. But today's manufactures require standardization, and so no matter how cheaply labor can be hired, there is a strong tendency to launch ventures in the Third World with even more sophisticated technology than is available to the workers here who created the wealth that is being invested there.

(5) As a new industry develops—TV, for instance—it starts with much hand labor and the flexibility that accompanies hand labor. Later, as it gets standardized, machinery replaces hand labor, and thus tends to freeze that state of the art and to resist major changes in design of products. Later developments thus tend to create work in areas where heavy investment has not been made in freezing the design. For this reason, Japanese electronics work-



You cannot change one thing alone; you have to change a lot of things together.

ers have been complaining that the jobs they took over from the US have now gone to Malaysia, Singapore, and Sumatra.

LOOK AHEAD

We live in a world which changes faster and faster—a world whose technology and corporate structures no more fit the old pattern of nationalism than a growing 14-year-old fits into last year's pants. We need to look at the whole picture, not just at the details. As with our current toy, the Rubik cube, this is a world where you cannot change one thing alone, but must change many things together.

For example, how many plants got shut down as an indirect result of oil companies' getting a larger cut of the "surplus value" pie the worldwide working class produces, thus leaving other capitalists with less? Or, to what extent have world trade patterns been altered by the circumstance that some countries, such as the US and the USSR, have turned much of their productive capacity to war purposes, while others, such as Japan and West Germany, have not?

This has become a world in which it is necessary to engage in long-range, large-scale planning, or we may as well not plan at all. Our misuse of this earth is making many go hungry, and threatening the water and air for all of its inhabitants here and to come. Drifting along with the tide will not remedy this. It will take deliberate reasoning together to keep this planet livable. *Should that planning be by the incorporated greed that got us into this mess, or by the labor movement that can get us out of it?*

The nose-grinding circumstances of life make the union members in each plant concerned with keeping their jobs secure. But if we look no further than that, we will be like the herds of cattle one can see a couple of men managing and loading into cattle cars headed for slaughter. Those two men can handle that herd because each beast is looking out for itself.

The larger the picture we keep in mind on these "practical" issues of 1982, the better we can bargain. If unions the world over were to get their research departments co-operating on the development of unified labor proposals for the good of this planet, they would acquire a moral prestige that would come in mighty handy at the bargaining table. The cultivation of labor's alternatives to the present arrangements can build a new world labor movement that can preserve the Earth as a good place to work and live.

ft



LEFT SIDE

Well, your friendly scribe has once again, after many years, re-entered the army of the unemployed; and believe me, those of you who haven't as yet enlisted, it is quite an army, with new recruits coming in every day. The local unemployment office where I registered was so crowded that the line to the information desk went around the large room three times, and it took me three hours to get to that information desk and another two to get my slip of paper telling me to report the next day to the job-placement service downtown.

The job-placement-service office is where you get the customary interview about what you can and cannot do, and requires more standing in line and waiting. This time we were herded in groups into a large room where we were merely told how to fill out our applications for unemployment compensation; given our cards, and then shoed out to make room for more. With the white hairs and eccentric appearance of yours truly, it looks like there will be no hassle in collecting the full amount of rocking-chair money.

A news flash came over the radio telling how a freight train in California carrying dangerous materials was derailed, killing one Mexican who happened to be riding "blind baggage", and the report went on to say there were "no injuries to the public". It's nice to know that one doesn't belong to the common public.

The Mexican riding that freight happened to be an illegal alien—you know: a wetback who came up looking for work. It's no surprise, because in Mexico some three-fourths of the children in rural areas grow up undernourished, and at the same time livestock raised for export to the United States consume more basic green staples than the country's entire rural population. Well, after all, only last century in Merrie England more money was spent on the royal stables than was spent on schools.

Here in Freedom Land the Bible thumpers are still trying to push through "creationism" as a required course in the public schools. One pedagogue in the enlightened state of Arkansas says that teaching evolution without teaching creationism is the same as indoctrination. In fact in that very enlightened state the statutes require that creationism must be taught along with evolution.

And in other parts of creationism country, home owners are finding their houses slowly sinking into the Southern topsoil due to collapsing mine shafts underneath. Some of those collapsing mine shafts date from back in the last century, when there were no governmental regulations, and the home owners are left holding the bag because their insurance policies do not cover the collapse of these mine shafts, many of which there are no longer any records of.

However here in the enlightened northern part of Freedomland, our administrators are a little more foresighted. Here in the Windy City of Chicago, two hospitals have committed themselves wholeheartedly to the forthcoming war. These two institutions of mercy have committed over 200 beds for military casualties in the event of another war. Hospitals were not so dedicated in the war against poverty. Unless you had the immediate cash, you couldn't get past the front desk. You had the choice of croaking or a fate worse than death: going to County Hospital.

Does the pace and stress of your job get you down? Well your problems should be over by 1990, because that's when it's been predicted that all workplaces will be completely automated. Cold, impersonal machines will be doing the drudgery that gave you all the backaches and hassles trying to get to and from work. Just think, Fellow Workers, in a little less than ten years you can belong to the leisure class. Who knows, they may even be shipping blankets to White people.

The so-called unions have been caving in to the employers of late. See how many of them have signed long-term no-strike agreements and have even agreed to take a cut in pay in order to keep the workplace in home territory. And it is not necessary to say what year the year after next is.

In Massachusetts, a lady doctor has diagnosed the World as "terminally ill" from a disease that began with the atomic age 36 years ago when the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had the pleasure of being the first atomic guinea pigs. Part of this sickness is "psychic numbing"—a refusal to think about the consequences of an all-out nuclear war. The lady doctor goes on to say that it is the medical profession's responsibility to expose the people to this unpleasant reality, and that practitioners of that noble profession must take the lead in molding public opinion against war.

And there still are characters who don't want to be taken care of by a woman physician, which is no big surprise considering that only a little over a century ago, when Darwin submitted the manuscript of his controversial *Descent of Man* to the publishers, only one sentence was deleted. That was the one carrying the unheard-of implication that women were capable of experiencing sexual desire. Great minds like those are what's programming our computer age.

C. C. Redcloud

editorial:

SOLIDARITY AND SURVIVAL

The possibility that the human race will self-destruct hangs over our heads like the sword of Damocles, grown nuclear now. The needed social changes to avert this seem no nearer with reaction in power, trying to turn the clock back to a time of social meanness and Know-Nothing-ism. The cold logic of the corporate oligarchy now measures the best of the nation. What opposition exists is fragmented. The chances for human progress seem bleaker than our chances for survival. Yet it would be criminal to accept such a fate, a denial of our humanity.

Our survival depends on our human capacity for solidarity. This is the lesson of the Polish Solidarity movement. For humanity to endure and progress implies the processes of democracy, and self-liberation by those who create the wealth of society. This means self-thinking, self-knowing by each individual at the point of production, and self-rule, all within the broader context of a conscious solidarity.

Our hope, our need, is to create a world where workers

are free from domination, where they own and control the means by which they create and renew their daily life, a classless, warless, stateless society. Once this was the declared aim of those who called themselves socialists. These hopes have been subordinated in nationalized industries under bureaucratic control, and the dream of a cooperative democracy has been lost. The great changes we need cannot be legislated; they must grow out of our living, out of a solidarity systematically practiced.

The base of any society is the production and renewal of daily life. It is at the point of production that the transformation of the way we live begins. The workplace must be transformed to meet the needs alike of those who work there and their fellow workers who don't. Neither the corporate board of directors, nor the government, nor the Party will do this. But the workers can. Return of control over the process of production to the workers involved—this is our hope for solidarity, progress, survival.

—Daniel del Valle

LABOR CULTURE:

Stan Rosen, professor of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, is compiling a handbook on "labor and culture" of special value to people using the arts for labor-movement purposes. He explains:

"This guide will describe continuing or recently completed projects in the arts and humanities, conducted by or with organized labor. Also to be included are organizations that are involved in arts, humanities, or media projects, that can be used by or involve organized labor."

So labor singing groups, street-theater and drama folks, and the like, write to Stan Rosen, 6556 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois 60626, and get included.

Labor culture is a growing function that needs a new name, for culture carries a tinge of soprano acrobatics, afternoon teas, anthropology, and germs in a test tube. Saul Schneiderman has started up a bulletin keeping track of it—"Talkin' Union", in his phrasing (7925 Sligo Creek Parkway, Takoma Park, Maryland 20012).

"Talkin' Union" is also the title of a 60-minute oral-history film of working women in Texas—a reminder that oral history, with its tapes and documentaries, is a fast-growing section of labor culture.

Last September the Citizens Heritage Center had a five-day conference in Minneapolis, devoted largely to working-class efforts "to reclaim our culture and history". History has been told for the most part by those who wanted to use it to bolster their privileges, and its current refelling is part of the culture—in the anthropological sense—that a working class rising from subjugation manifests: The Boston Tea Party becomes precedent for the protest demonstrations of today.

Singing samples of what he was talking about, Si Kahn told the Minneapolis conference that "the civil-rights

movement had to be a singing movement because of the unity that comes from singing, even in the face of intimidation and fear".

Where union people get together on some issue bigger than their previous bargaining units to create pressure on a larger front, there is need for labor song, drama, art. When the Saint Louis labor movement puts on a benefit for Patco strikers, it brings in a drama on Mother Jones written by students at Circle Campus. In the writing and production of dramas based on the issues facing working individuals and the working class, there is room for countless local projects in the '80s. Young people with time on their hands and not much else could be aided in undertaking this in their communities, incidentally improving reading, writing, and whatnot, and when they got something good, arrange to take it to other groups' turf. Something with a better future than gang warfare is likely to result. Such theatrical groups can also bolster picket lines, as the New York Street Theater did last fall to cheer up a UAW picket line in Ithaca.

Murals and labor-paper cartoons are part of this "culture" too—and so are stickers, bumper slogans, and many a T-shirt.

Phonograph records with labor themes keep multiplying. The Coalition of Labor Women (CLW) has a record album titled *Bread and Roses: Songs for Working Women*, a step beyond the Bread and Roses theme that grew out of the 1912 Lawrence strike. (It's \$8 from CLW, 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003.) And the IWW *Little Red Songbook* and its battle hymn "Solidarity Forever" probably remain the most-widely-used "cultural" artifact the labor movement has yet produced, at least in the English-speaking world. Globally that niche is no doubt filled by the 1871 anthem "The International", with its assertion "We want no condescending saviors" to mark it off from any other sort of "culture". Can someone come up with a better term for all this creativity that comes from working-class hopes and working-class wrath than "labor culture"?

INDIAN STREET THEATER

Near a Bombay train station a street-theater group, without any special costumes or props, enact the recent history of India. They shout "Long live Indira Gandhi!" They drop from exhaustion and then ask "Where is our minimum wage?" "Do we get debt relief?" When some shout "Let's organize!" a female actor adopting an imperious stance turns to two standing male actors and orders "Fire!" These men aim their hands, for they have no props, and the demonstrators fall.

Here two real policemen intervene, but the two actors who have done the "shooting" intone "In this capitalist world we are forced to kill people. No matter how bad we feel, still we are forced to kill." Then the real policemen stand silent among the onlookers as the street-theater group continue their portrayal of recent India history, building a human pyramid to depict the bureaucratic hierarchy.

HAWAIIAN LABOR ART

In the Longshoremen's hall in Honolulu there is a three-story mural by Pablo O'Higgins depicting Hawaii workers in fields and on docks in the years before 1940. When the union planned to replace the building with a high-rise, an international committee of concern set out to save the mural. It is painted on a steel-reinforced concrete base, its estimated dollar value \$100,000. One proposal was to cover it with glass, and keep it as an auxiliary external staircase for fire escape.

Unions in Hawaii are preparing a play titled *Ti Mangyuna: Those Who Led the Way*, about the rise of the labor movement on those islands. Focusing on the life of Carl Damaso, now president of ILWU Local 142, and the strike of 1937, it is described as a commemoration of "the heroism of the ordinary man and woman".

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL
ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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

PATCO vs Strike Controllers

Striking air-traffic controllers continue to be victimized. Already fired from their jobs and "decertified" by the fiat of the feds, 70 members of PATCO (the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization) have been charged with committing a felony for striking. They face up to a year and a day in a federal prison if convicted. While President Reagan has "generously" lifted the official ban on future federal employment for the striking controllers, strikers still face an "unofficial" blacklist. PATCO members have been told by prospective employers, both private and public, that they have been advised against hiring strikers. Honorably-discharged veterans have even been denied re-enlistment by the military.

What has the labor movement done in response to this repression? Early in the strike several top AFL-CIO officials joined PATCO picket lines in a flurry of publicity. Massive Labor Day and Solidarity Day demonstrations vowed support for the strikers against Reagan's strike breaking.

urgency and union busting. But when it finally came down to doing something real, all the "leaders" of labor could do was urge Reagan to show compassion and re-hire the strikers; they could only offer the air-traffic controllers their heartfelt sympathy.

Not that there wasn't substantial rank-and-file sentiment in favor of taking direct action to help the strikers win their fight. Even Lane Kirkland admitted that there was widespread support for a general strike. In an interview in the October 5th, 1981 issue of *Federal Times*, a paper covering government employment, Kirkland said that "... 90% (of the mail he has received on the strike) has been pro-controllers, and about 50% of those denounce me for not calling a general strike." A number of local unions even passed resolutions urging that the AFL-CIO executive council issue a call for such a strike. Several local unions in the Bay Area went so far as to organize a

shutdown of the San Francisco airport for a few hours on September 5th.

However, the all-important support of the other air-industry unions, particularly the Airline Pilots Association and the International Association of Machinists, did not materialize. A number of excuses were offered to justify this union scabbing. One is that PATCO did not consult with the other unions before striking. Another is that the controllers had not shown solidarity in the past when other air-industry workers had struck. Still another is that PATCO itself has not asked the other unions to honor its picket lines; in fact, PATCO has restricted its pickets to control towers so as not to create any embarrassment for ground crews, pilots, or others. All pretty feeble, given the importance of this struggle for the entire labor movement. When Reagan decided to break PATCO he declared war on the entire labor movement. The utter failure of the labor movement to respond in any realistic way will return to haunt it in the future.

What lay behind labor's failure to adequately respond to Reagan's challenge? Fundamentally it is labor officialdom's desire to maintain its privileges at all costs. These privileges are greatly dependent on the stability of the capitalist system and the maintenance of passivity within the working class. Reagan's response to the PATCO strike and the anger it aroused among rank-and-file workers threatened that stability and passivity, and thus the bureaucracy's power and privilege. Solidarity Day was an attempt to harness that anger for the benefit of the Democratic Party and to show the employing class that they are still in control of the organized workers—and, by extension, that if they are to stay in control the capitalists better not push too hard.

However, rank-and-file unionists have not yet been able to break through the illusion that their leaders really mean business. While the leadership of PATCO and the rest of the air-industry unions have failed to do what was necessary to win that struggle, so have the rank and file. They have yet to see the necessity of cutting themselves off from the bureaucracy and forming their own self-managed workplace organizations. It is up to class-conscious workers who see this need to ceaselessly agitate and attempt to convince our co-workers of this necessity. Only in this way will debacles like the PATCO strike be prevented in the future.

Michael Hargis



"IF REAGAN HADN'T TRIED TO SMASH THE CONTROLLERS' UNION, SOME OF US OTHER AIRLINE WORKERS WOULDN'T BE OUT OF A JOB EITHER!"

—Union Advocate cartoon by JAMES ERICKSON

AMERICAN LABOR ROUNDUP



In 1981 union blue-collar workers in the US on the whole got paid at rates 26% higher than non-union blue-collar workers. For clerical workers, the union advantage was slightly less.

Under an experimental state law, California workers can arrange to take a day off each week, without pay, and collect a fifth of what they could collect as weekly unemployment compensation if they were laid off. A state study estimates that to replace one worker costs an average of \$2,485 for recruiting, screening, training, and temporary loss of productivity. The participating employers cut labor costs by a fifth without incurring these costs of replacing laid-off workers. Last July 55,127 California workers took time off on that basis, and last October 70,792 followed suit. Local unions generally approve.

Some 10,000 former coal miners have moved to Chicago, and so, though no coal is mined there, Cook County Hospital's Black Lung Clinic carries an average load of 500 cases.

In its 1981 drive among John Hancock insurance employees, "9 to 5", now a part of Working Women, got John Hancock to donate \$100,000 to Boston child-care agencies, grant a 10.5% pay increase, and raise starting salaries by \$15.

J.P. Stevens paid out \$398,497 in 47 back-pay cases filed against it by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers in 1979 for unilateral changes in working conditions at its West Boylston, Alabama plant. It has contracts at nine of the company's plants. ACTWU members do more than make clothes, for the union includes laundry workers in Portland, Maine and shoe workers in Los Angeles. In Macon, Georgia the ACTWU organized a Japanese-owned Tex-print plant, and last fall, after a year of legal wrangling, got it a contract. The foremen are members of the Japanese union Zenzen Domei, yet they opposed organizing.

The Illinois Supreme Court has ruled that the Cook County Board is not obliged to honor union contracts made by public bodies whose functions have been taken over by the Board. It bases its ruling on the circumstance

that Illinois law does not require public bodies to engage in collective bargaining. (Sanctity of contracts?)

A federal grand jury is investigating the claims of former secretaries of Chicago Sheet Metal Workers Local 73 that, on orders, they filled in the right answers for relatives of union officers when they took written apprenticeship examinations, and made local credit-union funds available to officials without interest.

On the basis that the strike of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) at Tennessee Nuclear Facilities in Jonesboro was a strike for health and safety, the union has filed suit with the NLRB to declare the hiring of scabs in this strike an unfair labor practice. For its current oil bargaining it has issued a special bargaining manual to oil

workers and installed a computer terminal with each local to co-ordinate strategy. It is asking oil companies to guarantee no layoffs during the contract period, contending that oil companies know production plans far enough ahead to avoid bargaining about jobs that won't exist.

Airline Employees settled with Frontier Airlines for increases amounting to 36% over 30 months, covering 2700 employees. Station agents with 10 years' seniority will get \$29,580 a year instead of the present \$21,300.

The three unions that represent American Airlines' 21,000 mechanics, flight attendants, and pilots have unanimously rejected a company proposal to freeze wages for 1982 and take a 5% cut for the first three months to save the company \$7 million a month. The non-union ticket agents and clerical employees were ready to go along with the proposal, but the company says it won't impose it on them unless the organized groups accept it. (That might be too strong an argument for organizing.)

Back in 1975 the Woodworkers (IWA) filed charges against Chesapeake Bay Plywood with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, charging the company with giving white males the best-paying jobs and hiring women and blacks at lower rates and keeping them in inferior jobs. The company claimed that the IWA was not a member of the class it claimed to represent, for an injury to union members was not an injury to the union. A Richmond court has now gotten over that hurdle, and says the union can act as a class representative. Eventually some court may get down to the situation on the job.

Chicago police captains, lieutenants, and sergeants were given a 23% raise for 1982-83. Patrolmen got only 20%. Each classification has its own "union". Chicago firemen have reached a new contract, but their president Muscare is still fighting an effort to jail him for not ordering his members back to work during the February 1980 strike. He says he couldn't do so, because they were locked out anyway. Some firemen tried in January of '82 for their actions in that strike of two years ago wonder if they were set up to commit arson by the guy who returned to work right afterward and is now the witness against them.

Union-Nonunion Wage Comparison by Occupational Category

Occupation and (Percent Union)*	reported Average Hourly Earnings	
	Union	Nonunion
Total (32%)	\$6.44	\$3.88
White Collar (19%)	6.16	4.09
Professional, Technical Kindred-Workers (19%)	7.56	5.64
Engineering and Science Technicians (26%)	7.19	5.63
Retail Sales (7%)	3.89	2.98
Clerical (22%)	5.68	3.71
Blue-Collar Workers (46%)	6.76	4.29
Craftsmen (49%)	7.96	5.18
Operatives (except Transport) (46%)	5.88	3.92
Transport Equipment Operatives (50%)	6.83	4.09
Laborers, Nonfarm (39%)	6.12	3.61
Service Workers (17)	4.66	2.87
Farm Workers (4%)	4.33	2.84

Rounded to nearest whole percent
SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Union Campaign Recalls IWW "Invasion"

On January 26 the ballots will be counted in a state-wide election for choice of unions by all of the 19,500 faculty members and 7,000 clerical workers in the California State College system. Contenders are:

- American Federation of State, County and Municipal employees (AFSCME), which wants all the clerical workers;
- California State Employees Association, in affiliation with the Congress of Faculty Association and the NEA, wants five of the seven bargaining units: faculty, physicians, health support workers, academic support, operations support staff, skilled workers and clericals;
- United Professors of California (with AFT of AFL-CIO) wants the profs.

When the ballots are counted for each of the occupational bargaining units statewide, the decision will be either no union, or one union for that bargaining unit on all campuses.

The *Chico News Review* of Dec. 10 comments that all this union campaigning is rather quiet, and for contrast recalls the IWW "invasion" of Chico in March 1911. To give that story, it reprints Joseph R. Conlin's account of that invasion from the Fall 1979 issue of *The University Journal*.

The Chico excitement was a side issue in the Fresno free speech fight that had begun the preceding fall when the Fresno town clowns arrested any group of four or more workers conspiring to hold out on farmers for higher wages. Soon there was a free speech fight and the jails were filled. The fellow workers in Portland decided to mass an army of 200 to hit Fresno all at once, each committed to take the stump and get arrested. To enter California without being stopped at the border, they walked through the snowed-in mountains, then rode box cars to the almond groves of Chico.

The *Chico Record* alarmed the citizens of Chico about what to expect from this army of "desperate characters," but the local Socialists rented the Argonaut Hall as a place for them to rest and wash up before advancing on Fresno. When the news of their arrival reached Fresno, the sheriff and local businessmen decided they might as well allow free speech. When confirmation of this reached the IWW "army" in Chico it disbanded, a few taking local job offers, most heading back home.

The *Chico News* of 1981 contrasts these 1911 events to the extensive disinterest shown in the current campaign to organize the college employees. Perhaps Educational Workers Industrial Union 620 of the IWW should have entered the fray to liven it up a bit with its program: One Big Union for everyone working at these knowledge factories, profs, cafeteria workers, TAs, gardeners, pipe-fitters and the students too, who are there as unpaid apprentices. Our objective: improved working and learning conditions, and a shifting of these research and educational

resources from assignments that worsen the human condition to the job of keeping this planet a good place for people. Offer is open to all.

Back East Campuses

Service Employees (SEIU) reports the recent affiliation of the 400-member Harvard University Employees Representative Association, and a similar body, 900-strong, at Columbia. Princeton hired a union-busting firm to get rid of SEIU, but union phone calls to university trustees got administration to bargain for a new contract. At University of Illinois Circle Campus and Medical Center, that union has won a new contract for its 1200 members there, including a provision for a joint wage study of clerical jobs to aim at pay equity and more rapid career growth.

SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COURSES

The San Francisco Community College District offers a Labor Studies Program, free of charge. Classes cover grievance handling, arbitration, collective bargaining, labor law, union organizing, labor economics, labor history, and politics. All instructors have had labor backgrounds, and the courses may be taken for three units of college credit.



ANNOUNCEMENTS

FW Peter Hugunin of Central New York GMB married Margaret Konieczna on December 28th, 1981.

FW Richard Martin and FW Kathy Radford of Central New York GMB were married on December 19th, 1981.

FWs Martin and Radford became the proud parents of a baby girl, Rhiannon Marie Martin (six pounds, five ounces), on November 20th, 1981.

SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

People died and many were crippled for life on the roads of Britain this holiday season for the economic policies of a right-wing government. In village after village and town after town, snow turning to frozen slush was left to lie by the village and city fathers because they claimed that there was no money, following central government policy, to pay for laborers to clear the roads and streets of frozen slush; and for that men, women, and children were killed or crippled. The brute realities of anti-social politics have found their logical conclusion in the death of innocents.

Midwinter is the time when the major unions make their baying noises. The leaders of the major mighty unions roar from the television screens that they are going to bring out all their members in strike actions and paralyze the country; and no one believes them, but every national group goes into its predestined format with all the baleful wordiness of a Greek chorus uplifting Junior High. The major British unions have learned by bloody noses that Ma Thatcher and her Tory Government are kamikaze politicians who view victory as the destruction of the organized working class, no matter what the cost. Like jackals, the leaders of Britain's major unions will bay at Ma Thatcher, their moon goddess; the middle class will hug their Christmas presents in simulated terror; the newspaper leader writers will see the bloody hand of Moscow; the newspaper harlots will seek out some unfortunate minor union official and crucify him or her as a gay Trotskyist or a six-dollar tax dodger; and the stage will be set.

Today sees the first of the major industrial actions by Britain's organized working class, and it is a ban on forced overtime by the national railway workers. There are two major unions involved, and the dispute concerns the "militant" train drivers' union, ASLEF, whose 25,000 members are demanding a nine-dollar-a-week pay raise to bring them into line with the placid white-collar union and the NUR union. But the Tory Government are refusing to pay the ASLEF men and women the nine dollars a week and reduce their working week to 39 hours unless the ASLEF men and women agree to the NUR acceptance of a seven-to-nine-hour day. So we have the classic bat-

tle of an industry divided by two unions—one, the NUR, accepting the employer's offer, and the other, the "militant" ASLEF, rejecting it.

The ASLEF men and women's industrial action, however, is foolish. They are banning overtime, and in doing so they have played into the dirty hands of the Tory Government. Trains will run, but various services will be curtailed, and apart from commuter anger the whole network of British railways will carry on as before.

The Tory Government and every employer love a ban on overtime as an industrial weapon, because the work force cuts its own dead wood and shows the employer what services can be dispensed with. Half a working lifetime in public transport taught me the simple fact that all a ban on overtime meant was that the white-collar workers in the scheduling departments had the facts and figures served up to them like a Christmas goose on a platter as to what work loads could be cut and where without reducing output.

Industrial action is industrial war, and should never be fought on the enemy's terms. One takes major strike action if one thinks one can win, but if not then one seeks to destroy the employer, be it private rat or mighty State, through guerrilla actions like lighting one-day strikes. In the factory it could mean a lockout, and one should take that into account when planning one's action. But in the area of public utility, be it transport, electricity or gas, water, or sewage, one has the employer—big or small, private or State—beaten.

Britain's Ford workers have made their deal with Detroit, and Britain's coal miners are sitting on the reserve benches deciding their industrial action. And comrades, I will gaze into the bottom of an empty Guinness glass, and I will prophesy that Ma Thatcher and her Tory hit men will make a deal with Britain's coal miners. For without the muscle of the miners the industrial battle is lost—whether it be Britain, France, Germany, or Poland—and Ma Thatcher knows her Machiavelli.

Arthur Moyse, London

Preserve the future.



GIVE to the sustaining fund!

British Labour Action

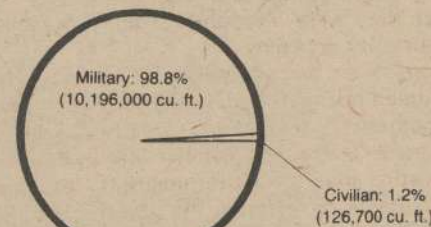
Strikes, plant occupations, and work-to-rule actions in Britain have led some MPs to threaten laws allowing employers to fire workers for striking or other industrial action. Employment Secretary Tebbit wants to ban sympathetic strikes.

At Evans Lifts in Leicester, 65 workers were sacked for "working to rule" and maintained a picket line for months afterward. Workers at Chamberlain Phipps wallpaper factory in Leeds found that they had to picket their own union headquarters as well as the plant.

Last year when the workers at Staffa Products (a Browne and Sharpe subsidiary that makes industrial motors) were told that the plant would close, they occupied it for three weeks, preventing shipment of the motors they had already built. In a pre-dawn surprise move in mid-October, 300 police ousted them. The strikers then went to Wales, where miners refused to accept the liberated motors, and dockers blocked shipment of Staffa motors at various ports. During a strike at Lawrence Scott Electro-Motor factory in Manchester, masked scabs came in by helicopter to seize motors for nuclear subs. Later the sit-in strikers were evicted by sheriffs swinging ax handles.

Lyn Hunt

99% of U.S. High-Level Radioactive Wastes Have Come From Military Activities



Source: Department of Energy

SUSTAINING FUND

(Received December 12th Through January 14th)

Anna and John Shuskie	10.00
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G. Mers	5.00
Otto Schaefer	5.00
Switchman	10.00
G. Mers	11.00
George LaForest	5.00

TOTAL 151.00

Many thanks, Fellow Workers, for your generous support.



On December 13th, 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland in a bid to crush the militant movement of the Polish working class. The facts of the imposition of military rule and the resistance of the workers are fairly well known, so perhaps it would be beneficial to see how this state of affairs came about. Coming some 16 months after the historic mass strikes of August 1980, which ushered in a veritable revolutionary situation, the General's move was in direct response to a growing mood on the part of Solidarnosc militants for a final showdown, and increasing pressure from the Soviet Union to put an end to the "Polish disease" once and for all.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

In July and August of 1980 Polish workers met Government-decreed price hikes on basic foodstuffs with a massive strike wave which culminated in the occupation of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. That strike electrified the entire country, and soon strikers were sending their delegates to sit on the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) and broadcasting negotiations over loudspeakers to the workers assembled in the Shipyards. It was an unprecedented exercise in workers' democracy that inspired workers throughout the world and shook the bureaucratic rulers of the Eastern Bloc to their shoetops.

But the signing of the Gdansk accords, which allowed for the formation of unions independent of government and party among other important reforms, did not end the struggle. During the next 16 months confrontations, strikes, and demonstrations were the order of the day as Polish workers sought a way out of the economic crisis brought on by a combination of bureaucratic mismanagement and the crisis of world capitalism. The Polish Government was in debt to Western banks and governments to the tune of 21 billion dollars (now around 30 billion), inflation was running at 16%, and production was down nearly 25%. In order to get out of the crisis the Government hoped to get the working class to shoulder the burden by paying higher prices for consumer goods, particularly food, and by increasing productivity. But the Government and the party that ran it, the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), had been so discredited by their association with Russia and their own past brutality in putting down strikes and demonstrations (1970-71, 1976) that they were incapable of enlisting the workers in their austerity schemes.

The Party then turned toward Solidarnosc, the independent union formed out of the strikes in August, to pull its cookies out of the fire. As early as October 1980 PUWP Central Committee member Mieczyslaw Rakowski was advocating that the Government try to isolate Solidarnosc militants by offering the union "co-responsibility in the exercise of power" if it accepted the leading role in the Party. (*Le Monde*, October 8th, 1980) In addition, Warsaw Party leader Henryk Szablak called on Party members to join the new unions and work to ensure their loyalty to the Government. (*The Economist*, November 1st, 1980)

Of course this strategy of integration was greatly dependent on the ability of the moderate wing of Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, to control the rank and file and keep the militants in check. Walesa and the Catholic Church were more than willing to go along. The October 23rd *London Times* reported on a meeting between Party chief Kania and Cardinal Wyszynski, then Primate of the Polish Catholic Church, at which the Cardinal pledged to cooperate with the Government in the interests of security and peace. Also, a group of Solidarity advisers from the Club of Catholic Intellectuals (KIK) advised the union to co-operate with the Government and plant managers in the formation of joint worker-management committees. (*Wall Street Journal*, September 22nd, 1980)

For his part, Walesa, who is hailed in the Western press as a great labor statesman, agreed with the Government that sacrifices would have to be made for the good of the Polish economy. As reported in the *AFL-CIO News* of July 11th, 1981: "We are conscious of the fact that to find a way out of the present difficulties will require sacrifices and self-denial on the part of every Pole, even though he bears no responsibility for our economic col-

lapse." Walesa could not see that there is no solution to this crisis within capitalism, and that only a revolutionary solution will work.

WHAT WENT WRONG?

What went wrong with the Government's strategy? As a mass movement of nearly 10 million members which remembered its origins in the great strikes of August, Solidarnosc proved to be less tractable than expected. A significant section of the union was extremely jealous of the self-managed nature of the union and the autonomy of its regional sections, and opposed the efforts on the part of the Walesa wing to increase centralization and discipline wildcat actions. Over the summer, strikes and demonstrations broke out in many areas over food shortages and Government decisions to increase prices on some items as much as 110%. Wildcat strikes erupted in Lodz, Warsaw, Kutko, Szczecin, Katowice, and Czestochowa under banners bearing legends like "The Hungry Will Eat the Authorities" and "Hungry of the World, Unite". At the first Solidarnosc Congress at the end of September, large numbers of delegates denounced Walesa for the undemocratic way in which he had reached a compromise with the Government over the self-management issue and his opposition to strikes. In the end Walesa barely retained the chairmanship of Solidarity, with 45% of the delegates voting for his more-militant rivals.

Following the Congress, another strike wave erupted in response to the deteriorating economic situation and reports that the Government was considering issuing a temporary ban on strikes and demonstrations. Twelve thousand women textile workers in Zyrardow occupied



PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Worker's Resistance In Poland

the works and declared that they felt that Solidarity leaders were not interested in solving the food crisis. (*New York Times*, October 21st, 1981) More than 150,000 workers in 400 factories in the province of Zielona Gora near the East German border struck to remove oppressive provincial-government officials, saying that the national leaders' call for an end to the strikes was "stupid" and that they would "carry on no matter what they order". (*New York Times*, October 25th, 1981) The wildcat movement forced the leadership of Solidarity to call for a one-hour general strike for October 28th, but this failed to defuse the movement. By the end of October more than 400,000 workers were on strike.

The Government's response to the latest crisis was to dismiss Kania and replace him with General Jaruzelski, who was also Prime Minister and Defense Minister. The appointment of Jaruzelski to the post of First Secretary of the PUWP was designed both to reassure the moderates in Solidarnosc that the Government was still committed to sharing responsibility, and to warn them that if they did not regain control of the situation, the use of force was also a possibility.

By December the point had been reached where the Party was prepared to adopt an anti-strike law. However they were unable to assure a majority in the Sejm, so they abandoned the idea and opted for a military take-over, fearing direct Russian intervention if they did not act.

Things were also coming to a head in Solidarity. A meeting of Solidarity's national commission in Gdansk December 12th called for mass demonstrations to be held the following Thursday in defiance of the Government's warnings against such actions. They also called for a referendum to decide what type of economic and political system Poland should adopt.

Early on Sunday morning, December 13th, the Army struck. In raids on Solidarity offices nationwide, thousands of union members were rounded up. By Wednesday the number reported interned varied from 5,000 to 45,000, depending on the source of information. Strikes and occupations greeted the declaration of martial law in eight provinces. The Lenin Shipyards were occupied, as were steel mills in Katowice; 16 mines in Silesia were closed by strikes, and six were occupied; factories in Zielona Gora, Poznan, Wroclaw, and Krakow, and the Ursus Tractor Factory near Warsaw, the scene of violent clashes in 1976, were struck or occupied. "We are workers, not slaves" declared the bulletin of strikers at Warsaw's Hutta steelworks.

By the 20th most of these acts of resistance had been smashed by troops, with some dead and many injured. Under the threat of imprisonment or death, the workers took the strike on to the job. Reports are that very little is being produced.

How long will martial law last? At this point it is hard to say. A number of restrictions have been lifted and concessions have been made, in the form of special privileges and pay hikes for workers in particularly dangerous or unhealthy occupations, in the hope of buying off a substantial number of workers. However it is quite possible that, if the passive resistance continues, the military ruler may have to restore trade-union rights and release some of those detained as part of the price of getting the factories back in production.

The restoration of Solidarity's freedom of action may be that unlikely, since from the imposition of martial law, Jaruzelski pledged that the process of "socialist renewal" and democratic reform that was begun in August 1980 would go on. If the Government has succeeded in destroying the militant wing of Solidarity, it is possible that the Government and the union could still do business.

WHAT WAS IT ALL ABOUT?

At base the struggle that emerged in the summer of 1980 was a fight over who was to decide what was to be produced, how it was to be produced, and how it was to be distributed—the bureaucratic state or the working class. The bureaucratic planning of the unpopular PUWP deprived the workers of any sense that what they were doing at work was in any way benefiting them. In fact there were plenty of proofs that their labor was merely benefiting the Party and Western bankers.

This alienation exacerbated the economic crisis as workers sought to do as little work as possible, contributing to the decline in productivity. They built Solidarity as a way of finding a solution to the crisis, but the nationalism of Solidarity's leadership and rank and file prevented them from seeing the solution in international terms. They wanted to save Poland, and did not believe that the Polish army would move against them. (This illusion still persists, particularly among Polish-Americans, who are certain that the coup was pulled off by Russian soldiers in Polish uniforms.)

The only hope for the success of the Polish workers' movement was, and remains, that a similar movement will emerge in other countries—not only in the Eastern Bloc, but in the West as well. This inability to break free of nationalism and internationalize their struggle lay at the bottom of this latest—let's hope temporary—defeat for the Polish workers.

Mike Hargis

From the Bookcase

EUROPEAN LEFT VIEWS

In a paper, "Italian and West-German Research on the IWW," presented to the European Association for American Studies Amsterdam Conference, April 1980, Bruno Cartosio probes the growth of European interest in the IWW in the '60s and '70s. It was a time when a number of books and essays on the IWW were being published in America, and also a time when fiction (Dos Passos, James Jones, Kerouac) was transmitting a somewhat romantic nostalgia about the IWW's earlier days, welcomed, Cartosio notes, by the extra-parliamentary left. But the European interest in the IWW rose far more from social development there than from this literature.

"In Italy the unions redesigned their structure of worker representation at the factory level after the hot autumn of 1969," explains Cartosio, evidence "How cogently the mass movements were pressuring the official institutions of the working class." It was a time when changing circumstances led Marxist radicals to look elsewhere than to Lenin for inspiration, and Sergio Bologna wrote, "the IWW is the direct link between Marx's First International and the post-communist era."

Patrick Renshaw's book *The Wobblies* was translated into Italian in 1970, sat on shelves undisturbed until a review in the magazine *Primo Maggio* in 1973 promptly exhausted bookstore supplies. Gisela Bock's *Die Andere Arbeiterbewegung*, on the IWW as the alternative sort of labor movement, appeared in Italian in 1976, a year before it was published in German. These and other studies with more limited circulation emphasized that the IWW grew in response to the industrial conditions of the USA among workers from various countries, merging various skills into an industrial process for which the craft unions had ceased to be appropriate. This was a condition to be found in European countries, along with circumstances where IWW ideas about shop floor democracy, and hopes for economic planning by organized workers were welcomed.

The flow of workers back and forth between Italy and the USA had laid a foundation for the numerous studies of this union that transcended nationalism, craftism and all other impediments to world working class solidarity. Such movements as "Socialism or Barbarism" in Europe had created a left interest in the relation between labor spontaneity and organization at factory level. Translations of sundry books relating to the IWW, Haywood's book, E. G. Flynn's reminiscences, Brecher's *Strike*, etc., have sold well. Joseph Conlin has published in Italian an extensive review essay of English literature on the IWW; an anthology of basic documents in IWW history has appeared in Italian.

The magazine *Primo Maggio* (First of May) has carried several articles, and the current winter 1981-82 issue has an extensive interview made back in 1921 with Haywood in Moscow, and Sandra Ghetti's study of IWW interest in technology and economic planning. Building the world labor movement we need today involves the crossfertilization of the thinking that goes on in all of them—sorry, language is such a handicap.

-FT

Ways of Seeing, by John Berger, Penguin Books, 625 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022, Pelican paperback, \$3.95

This modest little paperback of less than 200 pages goes beyond a mere treatise on art appreciation. The author, John Berger, and his collaborators are not content to delve into what is contained in the various works of art, but closely examine the makeup of the purchasers of these works. The emphasis is on Western European oil painting, the medium that enjoyed the heaviest patronage on the part of the wealthy class, at least until the advent of photography.

What the wealthy commissioned, apart from religious art for the churches of their day, were mainly works that reflected their own life style. If not portraits of themselves, they wanted something that would display their wealth. Thus came about the many still-lives that are

now to be seen in museums and galleries. It was a way in which the rich could constantly reassure themselves of their possessions, and show others what they had. In other words, the works they commissioned were in truth ledgers of their affluence.

The author's views are understandably not very popular with other art critics, who have the old ivory-tower approach to art.

A massive canvas by Gainsborough depicting a gentleman property owner and his wife seated with the landscape of their estate in the background presents on the surface an idyllic picture of two nature lovers. Indeed, other art critics have rhapsodized over the philosophic enjoyment of nature on the part of the couple depicted in the painting, and how their concern transcends that of mere property.

Berger expertly sticks a pin into that view by pointing out that the very stance and expressions of the couple are those of smug property owners, and that their enjoyment of "uncontaminated and unperturbed nature" did not include the nature of other human beings. If a serf took as much as one potato without the owner's consent, he would be sentenced to a public whipping administered by someone who was also a property owner.

The lot of the artist in the golden days of oil painting was one of scrounging for his daily bread and butter, which depended on painting what the rich bitches wanted. If the artist wanted to express his own artistic sensitivity, it had to be on his own time and at his own expense. There were those artists who did just that, and they invariably died in almshouses.

One chapter of the book is devoted to the nude, which has long been a favorite theme, if not of artists, of the patrons who commissioned them. The author makes a strong distinction between the depiction of nakedness in Western European art and in the art of other cultures. In other cultures, when nudity appears, it is usually an erotic scene between two people interrelating with each other. In classic European painting the nude is invariably frontal, even when depicted with a lover, and looking out at the spectator, who in essence becomes the main protagonist of the painting. Practically all "classic" nudes are staring out of the painting and are aware of being looked at. Here Berger makes an unflattering but accurate comparison with the photographs of today's girlie magazines.

This is but another example of property-oriented motivation on the part of art patrons. Most early nudes were masked in mythological or biblical themes, but the models for these paintings were often the patron's favorite mistress. Again, those artists who painted naked women for aesthetic pleasure alone did so on their own time and at their own expense.

Where in the earlier part of the book it is explained how the oil painting was utilized to satisfy the patron's property-oriented interests, the last pages of the book deal with the mass media. While the advent of color photography did not actually render the oil painting obsolete, it nevertheless became another class tool, using the same ownership identification, but this time for the masses.

Illustration is now used as a panacea for the masses. When you look at an attractive advertisement, you are meant to identify yourself with the people in the picture. If you own X brand of motor or use X brand of hair dressing, the women will be chasing after you; or if you use the right bath oil or perfume, a handsome hunk of man will come ringing your doorbell.

But the democratization of illustration does not extend to bestowing any smugness on the viewer, who is invited to identify himself with the smug property owner, but at the same time feel insecure unless the hidden message is implicitly adhered to.

This little book is lavishly illustrated with examples backing up the author's arguments, and is an excellent exposition of how even a beautiful phenomenon like art can be twisted to serve the ruling class's purposes and perpetuate their class interests.

Punapilvi

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
- () Union 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

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- () 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

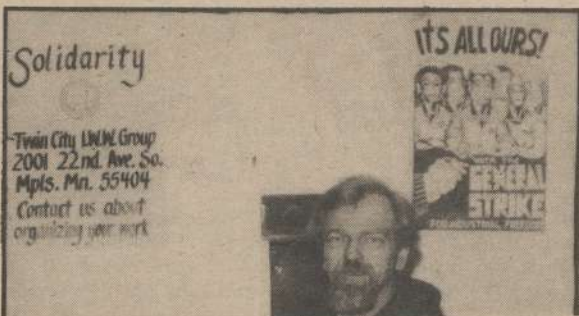
- () General Defense Button 35¢

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AVAILABLE FOR LOCAL GROUPS AND BRANCHES

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.



RECYCLING WASTE

With many canned, prepared, and frozen foods, the package costs more than the contents. An Agriculture Department analyst figures that with prepared foods the package cost averages 2.14 times the cost of the contents, with cake mixes about the same as the contents, and with bread about half the cost of the contents. Then, of course, there is the cost of selling the stuff to us. Is it nuts for us to think about doing our work for the fun of it and getting what we need for free?

SAFETY LAST!

YOUR HEALTH

An NLRB administrative judge has ruled that Rubber Workers Local 26 is entitled to a list of all the chemicals its members must handle, along with their generic names and data on precautions for handling them. The employer, Kelly-Springfield Tire Company of Cumberland, Maryland, wanted to give the union only a code name for the chemicals, to avoid disclosing trade secrets. Unions coping with Minnesota Mining, Colgate-Palmolive, Borden Chemical, and Goodyear Tire have similar cases pending.

Last year, against union protests, the Reagan Administration pulled back 63 health and safety regulations covering industry.

The Supreme Court leaves it that insurance liability to workers who inhaled asbestos goes back years before cancer symptoms were "manifest". Refusal to review lower-court decisions that took that view leaves that the law.

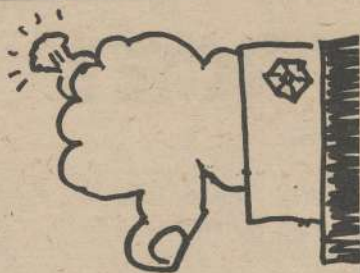
Over 200,000 lawsuits on asbestos damage are pending.

The *Washington Insurance Newsletter* has published the study that Dr. Selikoff made for the Labor Department on asbestos hazards. He concludes that about nine million workers who were exposed to asbestos in shipyards and in other industries are still alive, and expects that about 200,000 of them will die from that exposure. The American Cancer Society is urging on-the-job cancer detection and education. It figures that of the 62 million workers in private industry, about 120,000 develop cancer each year, and about 60,000 die from it. Costs as well as suffering could be markedly reduced by early detection.

More kids (150,000) get lead poisoning each year than get mumps or measles. Airborne dust containing matter from auto-exhaust fumes gets on things kids lick, and a teaspoon of city dust contains a dangerous dose of this matter. The symptoms are not clear, but blood tests do show lead and should be relied on.



AT THE FILMPOTS



★★★ IWW Directory

NORTH AMERICA

ALASKA: Anchorage IWW, Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99504.
 Juneau/Douglas IWW, Barry Roderick, Delegate, PO Box 748, Douglas, Alaska 99824.
 Fairbanks IWW, Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.
 ARKANSAS: Arkadelphia IWW, PO Box 371, Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923.
 CALIFORNIA: San Diego IWW Group, Sandra Dutke, Delegate, 4472 George, San Diego, California 92116, Phone (714) 296-9966.
 San Francisco General Membership Branch, Frank Devore, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140, Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, Phone (415) 658-0293.
 Industrial Union 450 Branch, Laura Rosenfeld, Secretary, Syn-thex Press, 2590 Folsom, San Francisco, California 94110.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago General Membership Branch, Leslie Fish, Branch Secretary, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, Phone (312) 549-5045. Meetings held on the first Friday of the month at 7:30 pm. Child care provided if notice given in advance to Branch Secretary.
 Champaign/Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820.

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit/Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, Eric Glatz, Delegate, 2305 West Jefferson, Trenton, Michigan 48183, Phone (313) 675-8959.
 University Cellar IU 660 Branch, PO Box 7933, Liberty Street Station, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.
 Upper Peninsula IWW, Robin Oye, Delegate, 1101 Cottage Drive, Hancock, Michigan 49930.

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

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

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

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

Greater New York City Organizing Committee, Rochelle Semei, Delegate, 788 Columbus Avenue, New York, New York 10025.
 Syracuse IWW, Georgene McKown, 117 Edgemere Road, Syracuse, New York 13208.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, Ottilie Markholt, Branch Secretary, 2115 South Sheridan Avenue, Tacoma, Washington 98405, Phone (206) 272-8119.

WISCONSIN: Madison General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 9, Richard Linster, Acting Secretary, 426 Cantwell Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver IWW Group, Al Grierson, Delegate, 4631 East Pender Street, Burnaby, British Columbia V5C, 2N2, Canada.

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GREAT BRITAIN: British Section IWW, Paul Shellard, Section Secretary, PO Box 48, Oldham, Lancashire OL1, 2JQ, England. Elaine Godina, Delegate, Phone 061-633-5405.

SWEDEN: Stockholm IWW Group, Goran Werin, Delegate, PO Box 19104 104 32 Stockholm 19, Sweden.

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

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

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.

THE REDS AND THE FACTS

Warren Beatty's film *Reds* has been telling movie audiences a few kind things about the IWW, and familiarizing them with that old Paterson strike pageant poster of a working stiff Superman jumping over factories. It has mixed the stories of John Reed and Louise Bryant and the parlor reds of 65 years ago, the Russian revolution, and some chronological inconsistencies with the required number of copulation scenes to pass the censorship of a Hollywood accounting office. It is too lively a movie to seem long, but is long enough to need an intermission. You are likely to see more old people than usual attending it, some rekindling memories of hopes of long ago. So go with some old *Industrial Workers* in your pocket to give them during intermission.

It has some of the trimmings of a docudrama, but is the unavoidably imaginative story of the bedroom life of John Reed (1887-1920) and Louise Bryant (1895-1936), both of well-off Oregon families. Reed went to Harvard, joined with Max Eastman in 1913 on the *Masses*, promoted the strike relief pageant for the IWW Paterson silk strike, and got arrested. He reported the wars in Mexico and Europe for the *Metropolitan*, married Louise in January of 1917, and in August the two sailed for Russia as reporters. He was thus there in November 1917 to record the Bolshevik Revolution in his best known book, *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

Reed was a good reporter, and good reporters avoid getting estranged from reality. Most of his associates lived in a heady dream world. This contrast has the makings of good drama, but the film flubs it. It depicts him telling the Russians that American workers were ready to revolt too. Bates, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, is factual: "In January, 1918, Reed spoke to the All-Russian Soviet Convention to correct the impression of the likelihood of an immediate revolution in America."

The film devotes many feet to the break-up of the Socialist Party at its Chicago convention, September 1919. The party administration had expelled the left wing. Reed wanted to use the convention to fight that expulsion. Fraina and those who dreamed that America needed only a second Lenin to go Bolshevik welcomed the expulsion of the Socialist foreign language federations as a basis for forming a Communist Party. Reed and those whose activity in labor struggles kept them more in touch with reality, founded the Communist Labor Party. For statements he issued on its behalf, Reed was indicted for sedition, and fled the country.

On a seaman's passport, working as a stoker, he worked his way to Abo, in Finland, hoping to reach Russia from there. Instead he was arrested there by the repressive Mannerheim white guard and held for months until he was exchanged, still under that assumed name, for Finnish prisoners held in Russia. As Bates writes: "He was making speeches in Moscow while the American government was still conducting a nationwide search for him." Somehow the film screws that all up, and has him in a Finland jail while trying to get away from Russia. He got into Russia in March 1920, contracted typhus, and died there Oct. 19. (In 1923 Louise married the American Ambassador to Russia, William Bullitt, and was divorced in 1930; she lived a poverty stricken life in France until her death there at Sevres in January 1936.)

The Russian government effectively suppressed Reed's account of the 1917 revolution during the Stalin era, presumably because Stalin scarcely figured in Reed's book. Currently the Russian government is producing a film about John Reed, reported to deal extensively with his days as a reporter in Mexico. It will be interesting to compare distortions.

-FT

Pixote: a Unifilm-Embrafilme release, in English with Portuguese subtitles, directed by Hector Babenco

This recent Brazilian film is making the art-show and prestige-house circuits, and at present it is not known whether it will be available in the standard movie palaces;

but judging from the amount of bloody violence and sexual brutality that is shown, it should go over big.

This is not meant to be a disparaging commentary on the part of this reviewer, who encourages readers of this paper not to miss it. It is by no means a film to entertain, as it is quite depressing, and though it has been compared by syndicated movie reviewers to Bunuel's *Los Olvidados* and Di Sica's *Shoeshine*, this is not a film that one will want to see a second or third time. While the two aforementioned classics have a common theme with *Pixote*, Di Sica's Italian orphans and Bunuel's homeless juveniles of Mexico City have not at that time suffered the total alienation from their cultural roots that is clearly evident with the youth in Babenco's film.

Brazil, though a country with a rich cultural heritage, is a typical case of an "underdeveloped" country that has developed almost overnight. Brazil has made some phenomenal industrial strides, but at a heavy price to its people, for whom rural poverty has been exchanged for urban industrial squalor.

An additional problem is that more than half of Brazil's populace are under 21 years of age, and three million of these are homeless children, many of whom wander around the teeming slums of major cities such as Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Brasilia, Brazil's spanking new capital and showplace, is also girded by a shantytown megalopolis of former farmers who have flocked there in the hope of finding some means of substance, a phenomenon that can be seen in many countries where uncontrolled industrialism and agribusiness have uprooted millions of people from the land. An additional facet to the situation of these uprooted children is the fact that Brazilian law does not prosecute anyone under 18 years of age for criminal acts, with the result that many older criminals exploit the young for their various nefarious purposes.

The film opens up in a Sao Paulo "orphanage" where groups of homeless juveniles are periodically rounded up. Among these children emerge the principal protagonists, including *Pixote*, a baby-faced youngster of about nine years, long ago abandoned by his parents. After various incidents exhibiting the brutality of the institution, *Pixote* and a few of his comrades manage an escape and make contact with a cocaine dealer, who has them deliver a cocaine shipment to Rio de Janeiro.

Because of their inexperience the youngsters mess up on the cocaine delivery in Rio, but manage to get by with petty stuff like purse snatching and picking pockets in the downtown section of the metropolis. They eventually tie in with an aging alcoholic prostitute who uses them to help fleece her "johns". In the course of these events *Pixote* acquires a gun of his own, and at the end of the film, although he is only ten years old, he has already killed three people, two of them intentionally.

The criminal activities of these youngsters take them through the seamy parts of this large city, into go-go bars and cheap nightclubs with a background of rock and disco music which personifies the breakdown of values that seems to be taking place in modern urban society. This is a phenomenon that manifests itself in crowded metropolitan centers around the world. If Bunuel and Di Sica were making films about wayward youth in the big cities in the 1980s, in order to be truthful they could no longer include any of the native cultural elements that gave their films the distinction which helped make them classic documents.

The depersonalization of modern urban industrial society has no place for local color, and while the viewer of this movie may take comfort in the fact that the urban slums of Chicago and New York may not be as wretched as the squalid urban shantytowns in other parts of the World, the fact remains that as long as the present system exists, it is only a matter of time before his own urban centers may be even worse.

In keeping with this last thought, it would be well to see this well-done but unsettling film, if only to realize what your withholding taxes are helping to bring about.

Alfredo Nuberoja

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DID YOU NOTICE?

Executive salaries increased 12.3% in 1981—the highest rate in 17 years—as a result of a more-demanding business environment and a growing shortage of proven executive help, according to Sibson and Company's Management Compensation Study.

In mid-December in Eugene, Oregon, John Kaiser and Nancy Whitley were convicted of first-degree arson for burning a yellow ribbon. The ribbon was burned as a protest at a public meeting presenting Victor Tomseth, ex-hostage and CIA agent. For this crime the two defendants, members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, were sentenced to ten days in the County Jail and two years' probation, with a twenty-year sentence pending if probation is deemed violated, and told to pay \$8,000 in court costs. The defense asked for a new trial, and will appeal if their request is denied.

Kuwait ranks as the world's wealthiest country per-capita for the fourth straight year, with an average 1980 income of \$17,000 per person. Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, West Germany, Belgium, Norway, and the US follow in that order. Bhutan, with a per-capita income of \$80, is the world's poorest country.

Organized labor won only 45.7% of the 8,198 NLRB elections held in Fiscal Year 1981, with over 458,000 workers participating in the elections. While it was the sixth consecutive year that unions had failed to win 50% of the contests, however, it was the first time in nine years that the union percentage of victories had increased. In Fiscal 1979, unions won only 45% of the elections. These statistics do not include the defeats suffered by the 1.3-million-member United Steel Workers union in December in its efforts to organize the 14 plants of the Du Pont Chemical Company.

Despite environmentalist concern for the preservation of scarce resources, American tax, transportation, and purchasing policies are still largely directed toward use of primary raw materials rather than recycled ones. For instance, transportation rates on recycled commodities exceed those on their virgin counterparts by as much as 100%. About 40 million tons of waste paper are dumped each year. Yet there is a 64% energy savings in using recycled paper to make new paper rather than virgin pulpwood.

For other recycled materials, the energy savings are equally—if not more—dramatic: aluminum 92%, copper 85%, iron and steel 65%, lead 65%, zinc 60%, rubber 71%.

MEXICAN GARMENT WORKERS

Acapulco Fashions

Left without jobs or pay, 400 women garment workers in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico have mounted a round-the-clock guard of the factory where they used to work. The vigil is to prevent the machinery, material, and inventory (their only security) from being moved out by the company. The women charge that their former employer—Acapulco Fashions—still owed them two weeks pay when it closed the factory to concentrate operations in Zacatecas, where female labor is cheaper and less organized.

Acapulco Fashions, one of 139 US-controlled businesses operating in Ciudad Juarez, is a subsidiary of Figure Flattery International, working on contract for US retailers and manufacturers. Special tax exemptions provided by the Mexican Government and cheap labor attract US business to the border. But the Mexican women employed in these factories lead a precarious existence, subject to fluctuating market demands and plans made thousands of miles away.

During the contract negotiations in July, the management of Acapulco Fashions increased production levels, doubling and tripling daily quotas. The workers who were demanding benefits and profit sharing had threatened to strike in July if negotiations failed. In mid-July the company stopped paying all workers, claiming that the inventory hadn't been sold and that they were going bankrupt.

In the midst of negotiations on July 24th, the workers arrived at the factory and found it locked. Management had skipped town, avoiding a strike and not incidentally escaping severance pay to the workers, some of whom had been with the company for as long as eight years.

The garment workers will file suit with the Government's labor board in their effort to get back their jobs and wages. But Mexican workers are at a disadvantage in grievances against foreign companies, lacking legal expertise and information to navigate the board's complex bureaucratic channels.

The management of Acapulco Fashions claims that the workers are unsympathetic to the company's problems, and that they were not meeting production demands. But the workers discovered that plans to phase out Acapulco Fashions had begun long ago. On December 26th, 1978, Acapulco Fashions filed for bankruptcy in New York City.

(reprinted from *MS*, Volume 10, Number 7)

The Workers Defense League says peonage persists in America, and cites these instances: In Louisiana, a chicken farmer kept two of his workers chained in a chicken coop. In Arkansas, farmers bought undocumented workers for \$400 each, worked them and withheld their pay to recoup the \$400, then passed them down the line to other farmers for another \$400. In Florida, Jose Carona worked seven days a week, thirteen hours a day picking oranges to repay the \$200 his employer had paid a smuggler for him. In Washington DC, a Uruguayan diplomat kept a woman servant incommunicado and captive in his home.

Increased US support for the regime of General Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan, culminating in a \$3.2 billion military-aid package, has encouraged it to step up its repressive tactics. Following a systematic crackdown on political parties, unions, journalists, lawyers' associations, and the nation's judiciary, General Zia has now gone after the universities. A faculty member at Quaid-e-Azam University was arrested for allegedly distributing anti-Government literature, and before the defendant had even been formally charged General Zia presented an award to the arresting officer in a nationally-televised ceremony.

The high point of James Miller's inaugural press conference as new chairperson of the Federal Trade Commission was his defense of "imperfect products". He said they should be available to all, because consumers have "different preferences for defect avoidance. Those who have a low aversion to risk—relative to money—will be more likely to purchase cheap, unreliable products." Just as surely as ketchup is a vegetable product, people who can't afford good-quality merchandise should be able to buy cheap, defective products instead.

On October 19th, members of the Waterside Workers Federation, the Seamen's Union, and the Transport Workers Union in Darwin, Australia scored a victory when the ship *Pacific Sky* left port carrying a cargo of hides instead of its intended cargo of 16 containers holding \$14 million worth of uranium from Australia's Northern Territory. On October 16th, representatives of the mine where the uranium was dug alerted the dockside workers and others, who struck and picketed the ship. Fearing a lengthy delay and loss of other contacts, the shipping line backed out of the deal. Deputy Prime Minister Anthony recently threatened to use soldiers to move uranium, but the Australian Council of Trade Unions is stepping up its campaign to prevent the export of it.

BALDWIN FILM BROADCAST

On February 24 PBS TV plans a nationwide broadcast of the documentary *Traveling Hopefully* about Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, and for years, in his rumpled suit, its \$2,500-a-year director. Before that the film will have a two-week run at New York's Film Forum. In it Baldwin is interviewed about his life and the civil liberties movement by Arthur Schlesinger, Norman Lear and Gail Sheehy.

Those who have seen the currently circulating documentary *The Wobblies* have heard Baldwin narrate that story.

Baldwin died at age 97 on August 26, 1981. In its obituary the *New York Times* mentions Baldwin's imprisonment for opposition to conscription in the First World War and adds:

"When Mr. Baldwin was released from prison in 1919 he spent a year as a wandering blue-collar laborer. It was then that he joined the IWW Cooks and Waiters Union. 'I liked the IWWs,' he recalled later. 'They had guts, hopes, a philosophy.' As a common laborer he roamed the Middle West, riding free in empty freight cars. He also took part in the 1919 Pittsburgh steel strike as a union spy. He returned to New York in 1920 to found the ACLU."

Under his influence the ACLU has championed free speech and the right to organize consistently for all, right and left, IWW or KKK, convinced the only way to have free speech is to have it for all.

Native Americans VS Union Carbide

The Lakota Indians want 800 acres on Lake Victoria near Rapid City, South Dakota. It is part of their old homeland. The Government has taken back from them four fifths of the land they were to retain under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. They have filed for a "special use" permit for this land, asking for "the same courtesy that Union Carbide, Homestake, and TVA get in these matters". These are companies that mine uranium. The Lakotas plan instead to build 83 earth-sheltered structures using solar energy and wind power to supply energy instead.



Railroad unions are battling more proposals to pipe coal as a slurry to meet the rising export demand for American coal. Meanwhile, more coal is being moved by railroad than ever before: 12.6 million tons per week in August, beating the previous 1929 record of 12.2 million tons per week. Coal is a third of all tonnage moved by rail. Maritime unions want to handle more of that coal at sea, pointing out that the US dry-bulk fleet carries less than 1% of the country's foreign bulk trade, and asking for bilateral agreements to move more US coal in US vessels.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics anticipates that through the '80s blue-collar employment will stabilize at 31% of all jobs, but service jobs will grow to about 16% of the total, with the growth mostly in the health industry. It expects employment to increase in communication, coal mining, and the manufacture of computers, but no growth in oil refining, or copper, or other non-ferrous mining. The BLS reckons the average union wage at \$6.44, and the average non-union wage at \$3.88.

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UTAH PHILLIPS TOUR

From February 12th through February 27th, Bruce "Utah" Phillips will be touring the Northwest: Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. As of mid-January the incomplete schedule ran:

- February 12th: Sandpoint, Idaho: Community Hall
- February 13th: Spokane, Washington: Women's Center, 9th and Jefferson
- February 14th: Moscow, Idaho: Moscow Community Center, 3rd and Washington
- February 17th: Eugene, Oregon: Woodmen of the World Hall
- February 18th: Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University
- February 19th: Salem, Oregon
- February 20th: Portland, Oregon
- February 21st: Bellingham, Washington: Whatcom County Museum
- February 24th: La Conner, Washington
- February 25th: Port Townsend, Washington: Fort Worden Theater
- February 26th: Olympia, Washington: Evergreen State College
- February 27th: Seattle, Washington: Monroe Center, 1810 Northwest 65th Street

On all the dates complete above, the concert time is 8 pm and the ante, arranged by the local sponsors (usually between three and four bucks), is well worth it. Wherever Utah goes he gives local working-class efforts a spirited boost. If you need further information, look at the directory on Page 7 or call Utah Phillips's home in Spokane, (509) 747-6454.

In March Utah will visit the Midwest, planning to be in Chicago (at Holstein's) March 11th through 14th, and in Ann Arbor March 19th and 20th, with other dates to be confirmed.