



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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ALTERNATIVES TO SHUTDOWNS

Have you and your fellow workers come up with any plans for what use could be made of the plant where you work if the boss decides to shut it down? Or what can be done with war-production facilities if peace breaks out?

Pursuit of alternatives to shutdown is becoming more commonplace. It has a natural tie-in with who owns what, as was found when steel workers in Youngstown tried to arrange for use of the plants where they used to work. The Illinois Employee Ownership Assistance Act passed last year limits the Illinois Industrial Development Commission to paying half the purchase price for plants for workers to own. One East Saint Louis plant, formerly Hunter Packing Company, is now owned on those terms by Circle Co-op, set up by a hundred laid-off Hunter employees. A bill now in the Illinois legislature aims to remove that 50% cap.

The Railway Labor Executives Committee, consisting of chief officers of the railway labor unions, wants to arrange for Conrail employees to buy the system when it is returned to the private sector. It is a system made up of the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Reading, and other lines. Employees on it voted by a 92% margin to either buy it outright or buy enough so that employees, including non-union managerial employees, would have control. They have pointed out that "Other possible buyers, including other interested railroads, would probably take advantage of tax breaks which would cost the Federal Government millions in tax revenues."

These Conrail employees figure too that they have a 15% equity anyway through the Employee Stock Owner-

ship Program, and that their deferral of a 12% wage increase due them in May 1981 gives them additional equity. If you have to make wage concessions, how about tying them to a claim that will facilitate alternative use?

Half the copper miners have been laid off, and the 21 unions that met in Phoenix, Arizona in February to set up co-ordinated bargaining for the mines and processing plants of the non-ferrous metal industry agreed among other things to ask for "advance notice of shutdowns with development of alternatives".

There is widespread anticipation that much of the existing idle plant in the auto and steel industries will never be returned to its former use. Can workers use it to make a living in some other way? They wanted to in Youngstown, but were told no.

A major study of alternative plant uses has been made in Britain regarding the 15 plants of Lucas Industries—much of whose facilities was used for aerospace and military purposes. Union members there, faced with layoffs, developed the Lucas Aerospace Shop Steward Combine to seek alternatives. Hilary Wainwright and David Elliot have written a book on this search and its impact on the role of the unions: *The Lucas Plan—A New Trade Unionism in the Making?*

As the London anarchist journal *Freedom* summarized, the Shop Steward Combine "set out co-operatively to use their skills to design and produce a series of socially useful products—kidney machines, life-support systems for use in ambulances, applications of radar technology to sight-substitute systems for the blind, heat pumps... road ve-

hicles to ride either on roads or rails...."

Their suggestions were not welcomed. They got told to process their proposals through regular trade-union channels, specifically the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The Shop Steward Combine sent a 14-man delegation to visit the other Lucas plants, to suggest parallel search for alternative plant uses there, and got cold-shouldered.

The stewards then set up CAITS, the Center for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems (which is now housed at North East London Polytechnic, Hollyway Road, London N7 8DB). This serves also as an information center for similar movements in Australia, Germany, and Sweden. It grew out of efforts by the Shop Stewards to get the use of university facilities to make prototypes and to expand the idea of conversion to socially-needed products.

Plans for production alternatives are not always high-tech. There is also the "small is beautiful" approach to intermediate technologies. In India, for example, for years social-minded engineers have been promoting simple ways to serve local needs, aiming to avoid displacing people or burdening them with loans for heavy expenditures, when perhaps local oxen could haul local mud to impound the surplus water of rainy seasons for the dry months ahead.

The present arrangement for deciding what to do with our backs and brains and resources is an arrangement that menaces our lives alike in war and peace. To survive, we will have to change it. How does the place where you work fit in?

ft

ANOTHER JOB BRANCH JOINS UP

Workers at an Ann Arbor food-distribution warehouse have applied for a shop charter from the IWW. "The People's Warehouse", which distributes to food co-operatives throughout the region, is managed by a board of directors consisting of reps from the various businesses served. Until recently, the workers at the warehouse managed the actual day-to-day operations of the place collectively; but then—for "economic reasons"—the Board rearranged operations and hired a manager from the outside. The collective was fired, then the people were hired on as wage workers. Having experienced a measure of self-management, nearly 30 of them got together to discuss ways to get it back. Now they've decided that organizing into the IWW is the best bet.

The rebellious workers have been receiving assistance from the Ann Arbor General Membership Branch and guidance from the other IU 660 branch in town, at the U-Cellar bookstore.



REVIVE MAY FIRST AND BUILD GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

The market in which we make our living has grown from a local market to a regional market, then to a national market, and now to a global one. That is the central and most significant fact in our lives today. Union structures, policies, and linkages have had to grow with these expansions of the market to keep us from being used against each other. Today world labor solidarity is more than a fine sentiment. It is what we need to make a living, and what we need to stay alive!

The history of unionism has been largely one of its belated adaptation to changes in production and changes in the market. If we could wait a century or so, slow evolution might develop union structures and practices by 2083 more or less suited to 1983. But....

If we don't assert the worldwide solidarity of labor long before then, the chances are that neither we nor any of our descendants will still be around. Since we didn't develop a unionism strong enough to absorb our increased productivity into better living and greater leisure, we have siphoned the gains of modern technology into a market for mass destruction.

The technology of mass murder co-exists with the technology that enables us to see what happens in Australia as fast as it happens, and enables people to travel

round the world in little more than two hours. It is the technology appropriate to some federation of mankind, not to the inherited pattern of a system of national states born of the days when we traveled on horseback and couldn't shoot more than 300 yards. This misfit of technology and institutions, coupled with the lack of global labor solidarity, can be the death of us.

May First is World Labor Day—the day for workers everywhere to assert their concern for one another, their hope for the future that we can build together, their resistance to being used to beat down each other's wage demands, and their refusal to kill each other.

Up in Wisconsin the Government is building ELF to make the granite bedrock transmit orders to Trident submarines (orders the Russians can't hear) to launch a surprise attack. Probably in Russia they're doing something similar. When we march for peace here, we are told that the Russians like what we're doing—and they probably do. Wouldn't you like to hear of a big peace march in Moscow? But what would the Kremlin do if labor in the rest of the world so strongly insisted on peace that the Government in Russia could no longer count on the fear its underlying population has of attack by the US. Would

those workers still want to build submarines instead of housing?

There are risks in building peace, but they are less than the risks in going along with the arms corporations. Those plans for increasing our capacity to kill "paint us into a corner" and provide no viable future for the human race. The mass movement for peace, however, does lay a foundation for a future—a good future. To neglect that long-range consideration is as short-sighted as to ask for bigger armaments programs to give us more jobs.

World Labor Day, May First, was first celebrated in 1890 on the request of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, for demonstrations for the eight-hour day in other countries to back up the demand for it here. It was to be an answer to the argument that the countries that cut the work day would be sending their jobs to countries that didn't. May Day has persisted as World Labor Day in all countries except, very strangely, this land whose hard winters and building-trade practices originally gave May First its labor significance.

Let's re-establish May First as the day dedicated to the worldwide solidarity of labor. To do so is more than just a sentimental gesture; it is a step that may enable the human race to outlive its generals.



American folklore images have a hard time fading away. It had naively been thought by this scribe that the bounty hunter was something that only came with cowboy movies and TV horse operas. But far from it: Bounty hunting is still a lucrative profession pursued by a few individuals with the same relentless dedication exhibited by their frontier counterparts, namely for the money.

The quarries of today's bounty hunters are not gun-slitting desperados, but mostly those hapless dudes who skipped out on their bail bonds. One thing the bounty hunters don't have to worry about. They don't have the restrictions (such as search and seizure) that the regular police have, which have often resulted in cases being thrown out of court. The bounty hunters work not for the law but for the bondsmen, and the bondsmen have *property rights* over the bondees. *Die gelt macht die Welt!*

Here in the Windy City the populace are all excited over whether Chicago will have its first black non-Irish Catholic mayor or its first Republican Jewish mayor. Before the primary elections there were cries of vote fraud, a thing not uncommon in a city where the denizens of cemeteries have been voting the straight ticket ever since the Pottawattomies were driven out. The latest vote-fraud accusation is aimed at the registering of undocumented aliens by vote collectors.

Despite the well-known secret that white Polish aliens have been exercising their franchise in this fair city for quite some time, the registering of Mexican aliens in this election has been played up as a new discovery, as if it had never happened before. And as the average Chicagoan was watching these revelations on the boob tube, lo and behold, what was the next item of news but that large numbers of black voters were being told they couldn't vote in the primaries because of some technicality. Divide and conquer has been a handy tool of our manipulators for a long time.

Not quite confident that the boob tube and the sports pages are bread and circuses enough, every gin mill, corner greasy spoon, and pop shop has at least one of those squawking, bleeping machines that gobble up the quarters of the gullible, making sure the gullible don't by some accident raise their cultural horizons any higher.

Such machines provide an escape from humdrum existence and give players a compensating sense of power while they are being divested of their quarters. Most of these video games give players the pleasure of zapping creatures from outer space, but one of the latest manifestations of "Yankee ingenuity" was a game known as "Custer's Revenge". The video screen depicted a naked Custer and a naked Indian woman tied to a post, and the object of the game was to see how many times the dude at the control buttons could manipulate Custer into raping the bound Indian woman.

Fortunately, this game was recently removed from the market by its producers—not from any change of heart, but because of an intense protest campaign spearheaded by Indian organizations all over the country. Despite the fact that the Indians are a numerically-small ethnic group, these manufacturers were compelled to pull in their horns. They obviously had no desire to join Custer.

But one has to face the sober realization that with all the motivational-research procedures that these manufacturers have at their disposal, they wouldn't have invested in such a device if there wasn't a potential market for it. The unpleasant fact is that this society has been nurtured in an atmosphere of racism. What other rationale would allow for the robbing and murder of the original inhabitants of this continent, the kidnapping of millions of Africans to provide free labor for colonizers, and the displacement during World War II of thousands of fellow Americans whose only offense was being of Japanese ancestry. All this had occurred with the acceptance of the people who were members of the "freest society on Earth".

One can only imagine the outpouring of indignant protest if all the inhabitants of German or Italian ancestry were dispossessed of their homes and herded into concentration camps solely on the basis that the land of their heritage was at war with Freedom Land. Yet somehow people of a different color were incapable of anything but treachery.

There has been talk of individually compensating every Japanese person who had been so mistreated during World War II. But considering the rapidity with which such decisions are carried out, it appears that the process of human mortality will eventually save the Government a lot of money. Frankie the Rose may be gone, but his deeds, like those of General Custer, still live with us.

Draftees of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your generals!

C. C. Redcloud

Multinational Corporations: Know Your Enemy

Over the last 20 years, multinational corporations have become the dominant force in the world economy. But they no longer take the same form they did back in 1960. Five basic changes have occurred in the structure of multinational enterprise.

Rise of Conglomerates and Oligopolies

For all the talk of a "free market" and "free competition", the world economy over the last two decades has increasingly been run by giant companies that exercise control by virtue of their oligopolistic or conglomerate strength.

An oligopoly is a handful of firms that dominates the market through various collusive practices, such as predatory pricing or erecting barriers to entry. International oligopolies have become paramount during the last decade in automobiles, microprocessors, seeds, and numerous primary commodities such as coffee and cotton.

Equally striking has been the rise of the conglomerates, companies whose subsidiaries engage in unrelated economic activities. Conglomerates have expanded through mergers and takeovers in a series of waves cresting in the '60s and '70s and into the '80s. Certain conglomerates even straddle agriculture, industry, and service. A typical example is the maker of Winston cigarettes, R. J. Reynolds, which has the following subsidiaries: Del Monte (fruit), Heublein (alcohol), Seal and Services (shipping), Kentucky Fried Chicken (food retailing), and Aminoil (petroleum). By their nature, conglomerates have the ability to undermine their competitors. As different markets expand and contract, the conglomerates can shift resources into whatever sector is most profitable at any given time.

Moreover, conglomerates often engage in a practice called cross-subsidization, whereby they shift profits from one product line to subsidize another. This is an ideal marketing device which enhances the company's market share by underpricing competitors. For instance, Marlboro cigarettes creator Philip Morris convulsed the US beer market in the 1970s by buying up a small regional brewer, Miller, and transforming it into the second-largest beer producer in the world. Philip Morris pulled this off largely through low pricing and massive advertising, subsidized by Marlboro's tobacco profits. Coca-Cola, through its acquisition of Taylor Wines, is in the process of doing the same thing to the US wine sector.

Relative Decline of US Multinationals

The size of multinationals has increased dramatically over the last 20 years. Revenues of the top 200 firms have jumped 10-fold. Amid this overall growth, the position of US firms has fallen. In 1960, of the top 200 multinational companies, 127 were US-based, accounting for 72.7% of the group's revenue. By 1980, however, US firms numbered only 91, accounting for 50.1% of the total revenue. As US firms have lost some of their overwhelming lead, other companies, particularly those based in France and Japan, have gained ground. The number of France's multinationals in the top 200 has risen from 7 to 15 in two de-

acades, and Japan's multinationals have risen from 5 to 20.

The Shift Away From Direct Ownership

Over the last 20 years, multinationals have altered their approach to the control of production. In general, the giant firms have given up direct ownership of primary-commodity output, while greatly increasing their control over processing, marketing, and distribution.

In response to internal political shifts in many developing countries, multinationals have sought to preserve friendly relations with segments of local oligarchies by formally transferring mine and plantation ownership to them. Crucial, however, to this entire process has been the retention by the multinationals of effective control over output. They achieve this result by various means, including contract farming in agricultural production.

Firms like Del Monte, Castle & Cooke (Dole), and even Gallo are often the sole buyers of agricultural production in a region. With total control over product size, quality, and prices, they are able to squeeze local farmers to work for them on their terms. Peasants and farmers who don't like the arrangement have no other place to sell their crops.

In the realm of marketing and distribution, multinationals have come to dominate world trade. Japan's nine Sogo Shoshas, for example, handle over half that nation's international trade, as well as a good deal of its domestic trade.

Fragmentation of Production

The production line is now global, as companies manufacture parts in one country, assemble them in another, and put on the finishing touches somewhere else. Multinationals have achieved this globalization of production by means of joint ventures, licensing and subcontracting agreements, and the burgeoning free-trade and export-processing zones.

Engineered by companies seeking out the cheapest labor and most profitable concessions, this change in production has pitted Third World governments against one another. Developing nations now compete among themselves for the distinction of granting the greatest incentives to multinationals.

And the global production line has enabled multinationals not only to cheapen labor power, but also to neutralize the strike weapon. When workers try to demand higher wages, multinationals can either pull out and move to another country, pathetically boasting cheaper labor, or simply threaten to pull out. Either tactic yields the same result: diminishing the force of the labor movement.

The Rise of the Big Banks

International financing is no longer performed primarily by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. During the last decade commercial banks have taken over this function, providing more than 50% of the loans to developing countries.

During this period, the assets of the major banks have escalated frighteningly. The top 100 banks have combined assets of \$4.4 trillion, equivalent to half the global gross domestic product. Big Japanese and US banks together control two fifths of the top 100's total assets, with 24 Japanese banks holding over a quarter of the total assets.

Although the relationship between the banks and corporations is harmonious in times of growth, tensions have risen during the current global recession. Multinational banks are increasingly concerned about the ability of their clients to repay loans. Hence in the last three years the banks have decelerated their lending to developing countries. This is an unpopular move with multinational corporations which, in their desire to increase world trade, depend on bank loans to provide developing countries with the foreign exchange to buy Western goods.

By and large, the combined impact of these five structural changes has been to increase the power and influence of multinationals. In particular, the flexibility of multinationals to shift resources across economic sectors and national boundaries has been greatly enhanced over the last 20 years. This maneuverability expands the companies' economic power, as they can move readily to the most profitable areas. It also allows them to dodge political accountability, for whenever an entity—be it a government, labor union, or consumer group—tries to regulate the companies, they can simply pull up their stakes and find a more hospitable host.

While becoming better organized in many countries, workers and peasants are only beginning to develop strategies, networks, and ability to counter such power and flexibility.

(The foregoing is lifted from *Multinational Monitor*, published by the Corporate Accountability Research Group, 1346 Connecticut Avenue Northwest, Room 411, Washington DC 20036—\$1.50 per copy, \$15 per year. Someday spend some time in the business section of your local library nosing through *Moody's Industrials*, which tells you which corporations own what. You will find, for example, that Coca-Cola not only is into wines, but also owns Minute Maid and other brands of orange juice, as well as companies that make the plastic straws and knives and forks used at lunch counters, sandwich wraps, and a lot more.)

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

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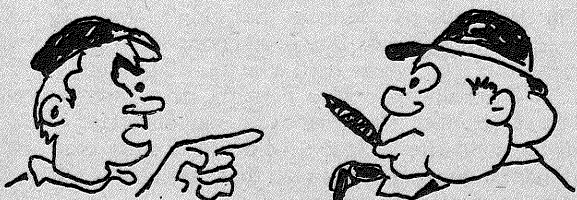
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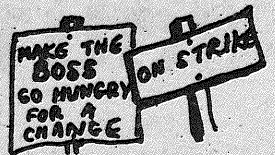
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LABOR IN NORTH AMERICA



Unions representing federal employees have formed a coalition to resist Reagan proposals to bring them under Social Security or cut their pay and benefits. Postal Workers oppose the proposal for Social Security to absorb their own pension system, and set up a teleconference in 47 cities so a TV presentation on the issue could be followed by a question-and-answer session via telephone.

The Non-Ferrous Co-ordinated Bargaining Conference has been set up by 21 unions in the US and Canada to negotiate new contracts for their 50,000 members working in copper, lead, and zinc mining and processing. The 174 contracts covering them all expire this summer. The coalition started out with a four-day session in Tucson, Arizona whose objectives included COLA, advance notice of shutdowns, development of alternatives, and a union voice in pension-fund investments.

About half of the 50,000 workers involved are unemployed, perhaps to soften them up for bargaining. The metals they work with are shipped from one country to another, so the multinationals that own the mines, mills, and smelters can turn them off or on to make workers in



different countries undermine each other. Consequently, American workers in this industry have a strike about every three years that has to last long enough to make a serious dent in world metal supplies—a clear argument for worldwide unionism.

Communication workers have asked the judge in charge of the reorganization of AT&T to require further negotiations on pension plans. Before the breakup and reorganization of AT&T, these workers could carry their pension credits with them if they moved between AT&T and Bell operating companies, and they don't want the breakup of AT&T to break that up too.

In Longview, Washington, Ecuadorian sailors won a four-month strike with the support of local unions. The transfer of the vessel to Colombian owners threatened them with replacement by a Colombian crew. They won severance pay plus additional pay for the four months they were tied up on strike at Longview.

Douglas Fraser is retiring as president of the United Auto Workers, but not from the Chrysler board of directors. He had asked to be replaced there by his successor in his union post, but Chrysler insists that Fraser is on the board as an individual and not as a representative of the union. The United Mine Workers have asked Fraser to serve also on the board of the National Bank of Washington, controlled by the UMWA.

UMWA contracts with the Cape Breton Development Corporation were to expire December 31st, but without the union's consent these contracts were extended for two years under a new Canadian law that rescinds these miners' right to strike and limits them to prescribed raise caps of 6% this year and 5% next year. The contracts cover most of the mines in Nova Scotia. The UMWA views this as an aid to the efforts of a new organization, the Canadian Mine Workers Union, to raid it—efforts attributed by the recently-elected top UMWA officers to the failure of their predecessors to provide good union service to the Cape Breton miners.

Facing fines of up to \$200 a day, Quebec teachers returned to work February 21st, but said they would strike again March 14th if no settlement was reached by then. Last November there was a one-day strike of a variety of public employees in the province to protest what the government they had elected with union support was doing to them. For joining in that one-day strike, five leaders of the bus drivers were sent to jail, and one of them is still there.

Late in January public employees struck again, their numbers growing to 180,000, almost half of them teachers, until those two-hundred-dollar-a-day fines sent them back to the schools—perhaps to contemplate job actions such as teaching kids what they really need to learn about making this earth a good place for working people.

In March the UAW struck Fiat-Allis in Springfield, Illinois—a combo of Italian and Milwaukee corporations. The company had cut pay 10% when the previous contract expired. The UAW strike at ten Caterpillar Tractor plants, mostly in Illinois, took five months to bring the company to terms the members would consider.

Machinist members ratified nine-to-one a three-year agreement with Transworld Airlines that provided a 10% boost retroactive to November, plus 3.7% in September and 4.5% next July. Negotiations with other airlines are continuing.

With a 25-day strike, six Painters locals in the Saint Louis area defeated the efforts of a 200-member contractors' association to rescind a previously-negotiated increase due this year. The settlement did give in on shift-work provisions to bring them in line with those accepted by other construction trades.

The AFL-CIO has asked for a boycott of Equitable Insurance because it refuses to recognize its organized employees in Syracuse. The Teamster Central States Pension Fund has \$4 billion invested in Equitable.

Major steel-company contracts with the USWA did not expire until August. But, threatened by a General Motors warning that if they didn't agree to givebacks by March 1st GM would order its steel from Japan and elsewhere, the union—through a vote of its (then) local presidents—gave in to concession demands it had previously turned down. (Does anyone suspect that those corporation heads are in the pay of the IWW to prove the need for classwide unionism on a global scale—the sort that wouldn't let steel be loaded or unloaded where the purpose of the shipment was to break a strike?)

LABOR AND THE LAW

Because of federal grants the bus system in New Castle, Pennsylvania must follow federal law in reckoning overtime pay, and not pay less. The Supreme Court decided that this must be the way on local public jobs if the work is that normally done in the private sector and federal funds are involved.

Cornell University has been ordered to inventory all potentially-dangerous chemicals on its campus, inform its 900 unionized maintenance and service workers about them, and set up a health and safety training program.

You can't be fired now just for being 69, even if you're a firefighter or a cop, where the safety of others depends

on your agility. Back in 1967 the Age Discrimination in Employment Act established its protection for all workers between 40 and 70. In 1974 it was extended to apply to state and local governments, yet 30 states have laws that require their employees to retire before age 70. Now the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, has upheld the 1974 rule of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. This does not require that the 69-year-old fireman must climb down the ladder holding the damsel in his arms; it just requires that he be given a job.

The top court has also ruled that cities may require construction contractors working on municipal projects to hire a quota of city residents. Building-trade unions and contractors opposed this. It is expected to give more jobs to minorities.

STRIKE AT BURLINGTON AIR FREIGHT

The freight handlers and truckers at Pittston-BN Air Freight in Chicago surprised management February 3rd by going out on strike. Affiliated with SEIU Local 372, they are protesting the company's refusal to discuss contract renewal. Pittston-BN wants the workers to accept a 30% reduction in seniority, and wants to categorize anyone who has worked 35 hours or less as temporary, and therefore ineligible for a pension, insurance, or the like. This resulted in the 30-1 strike vote.

As they stand around their barrel fires, the pickets watch the scabs working in the plant and driving cargo out to the air terminals and into the city, while the Chicago police labor squad watches them. Workers at other facilities in the area support the pickets with firewood, coffee, burgers, and shouts of encouragement. Morale is high, despite the two-month stint so far. "It's tough to see those truckers (Chicago Truck Drivers' Union) drive right on through," said one picket. "But they're a different union, different contract. A bum situation." Another picket, muffled against the cold wind, said there's talk about everybody in the country going out "to show the bastards who really run the country they're messin' with." Wouldn't that be fun!

New Faces In Peace Parade

"Why are you quitting your new job?" demanded the commanding general of Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland. The year was 1944.

I'd been led to believe I was being hired as a librarian, and objected to what proved to be a very hush-hush project working on confidential and top-secret files relating to guns. No, I didn't belong to any church. But I objected to war on economic and humanitarian grounds.

"Oh, that's all! Then you're *not* a conscientious objector," barked the commanding general.

The commanding general was simply enunciating the restricted interpretation placed on conscientious objection at the time. Unions were quickly forgetting their experience of the '30s that underscored the relation between a healthy economy and peace. For over a generation they have accepted the sophistry of the "defense" spenders in Congress because it seemed to guarantee steady jobs.

Pacifists, on their part, have shrugged off unions (and the working class in general) as superfluous to the peace movement. Bread and butter economics? Too vulgar! Ideals provide sufficient nourishment.

Recently I was most pleasantly surprised to walk into a meeting of Southern California Unions for the Freeze (of nuclear weapons). These people, representing rank-and-file unionists, were angry! There was enough adrenaline in their blood to whet their wits. They could tell you that our 40-billion-dollar MX missile and delivery system was taking priority over 100,000 new low-cost houses for \$5 billion, and that our Trident subs and missiles, costing \$34 billion, were much more than taking the place of 50,000 new teaching jobs yearly and a new transit system for Los Angeles at \$8 billion. And they were nailing down their statistical analysis with the punch line: The average number of jobs per billion dollars of defense spending was

20,000, whereas the average number of jobs per billion dollars of peace spending and social services would be 45,000.

These union activists were flying new peace banners at rallies. They were carrying their message to civil-disobedience projects at Vandenberg Air Force Base. They were answering those old militaristic clichés with up-to-the-minute facts. And they were demanding that the economy be turned around.

Somebody at that meeting the other night must have heard about Joe Hill, because the popular buttons being sold at the literature table boldly enjoined people "DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE!" Yet when it came my turn to state my name and union affiliation as an IWW, I heard muffled responses: "What's that?"

I know movements too well to expect the revolution to bloom full-blown next week. Another Roosevelt could lull these unionists to sleep by playing a Pied Piper tune. The economy is too sick to cure it by changing the tempo from a funeral dirge to a jig.

They've put their fingers on the patient's pulse and correctly diagnosed the malady. But will it take another 40 years for them to find a cure?

Dorice McDaniels

RX FOR UNEMPLOYMENT: DIRECT ACTION

On January 3rd several unemployed workers, members of the CNT (National Confederation of Labor—Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union movement) showed up at the Mayor's office in Alcalá de los Gazules to demand work. After much discussion and threats from the authorities, the companeros were put on the city payroll cleaning the streets. Later that same week the comrades were informed that there was more work to be done in the mountains clearing brush—work which was accepted immediately.

At a time when many unemployed workers are disheartened and are becoming resigned to their fate awaiting better times, the example of the unemployed of Alcalá de los Gazules shows that with a little courage, determination, and imagination, direct action can pay off. As the old saying goes: "The wheel that squeaks gets the grease."

MONEY VERSUS DEMOCRACY

When the director of the Berlin Philharmonic wanted to hire a protege for the orchestra's clarinet section, the 120-member orchestra exercised their right to vote no. The director, balked, then canceled tours with the orchestra and said he would end film and video recording, a lucrative side activity. The orchestra manager stepped in and gave the protege clarinetist a one-year contract. The musicians are now asking the city government to fire the manager.



SOUTH KOREAN LABOR PAINS

(first installment of an article by Penny Pixler)

During a recent visit to South Korea, Vice-President George Bush said that the "US was proud to have as its friend and ally a country where economic miracles occur". He complimented Koreans on their "culture of discipline" that enables them "to work longer hours than any other people on earth... postponing immediate satisfaction for the future—even for posterity". But what Bush failed to mention is the price the Korean people have had to pay for this "miracle".

Since the 1960s the Republic of Korea (ROK), with the carrot-and-stick prodding of the US and Japan, has built an economy based on manufacturing for the world market by borrowing money from foreign banks and encouraging investments by multinational corporations. The

The Expendables

A Fourth World has been added to the old categories of First, Second, and Third. It is the Expendable World—the peoples and cultures "civilization" has written off.

The point was driven home at the December meeting of the International Peoples Tribunal on War Crimes in Paris. This is the same organization that made headlines and had some influence on public opinion when it tried the US for crimes against the Vietnamese people and found the US guilty. The recent trial in Paris was an investigation of charges that the Soviet Union was committing crimes against the people of Afghanistan. The Tribunal concluded that the USSR was indeed guilty of crimes against the Afghan tribes that have resisted it.

According to American participants at the Tribunal, the findings were offered to American Embassy officials, who dismissed them because they had originated from a socialist-sponsored source that had once condemned the US. To applaud the verdict would have been to show tacit recognition of the credibility of the Tribunal.

Likewise, the entire exercise was largely ignored by both the American and the Western European anti-war forces. For them to condemn the Soviets would be for them to enhance the position of the Reagan Administration, which appears to care little about the Afghan people, but cares much about proving Soviet cruelty.

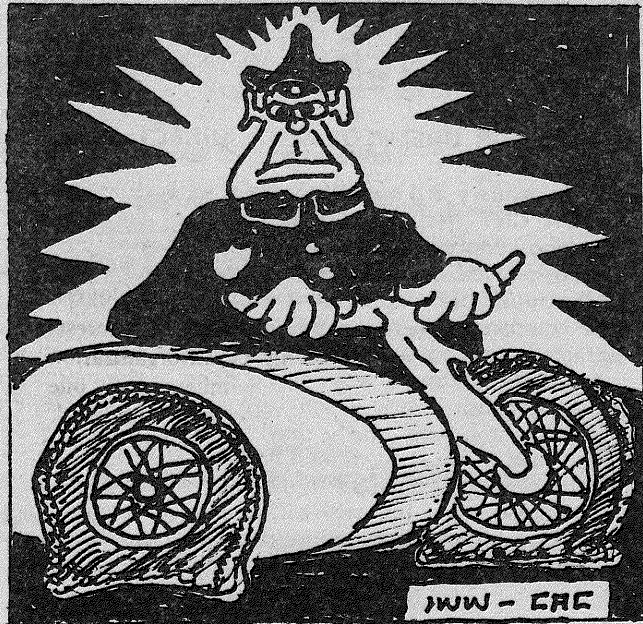
Lost amid all this political obfuscation are the facts of the case: that the traditional peoples of Afghanistan are faced with slaughter and mass exodus to foreign refugee camps. The Afghans are Expendables, as their suffering serves the political interests of the rest of the world. And the Afghans are not the only expendables.

In the violent wars and strife that have been racking

Jungle Rip-Off

No one is sure how fast the world's jungle forests are being destroyed; estimates vary widely because of different criteria. To biologists, loss means either conversion of primary forest—say to agriculture, pasture, or tree plantations—or modification, by selective logging or slash-and-burn farming. To foresters, loss means deforestation—the removal of all trees. Huge tracts remain in Central Africa and along the Amazon River, but rain forests have been virtually eliminated from most parts of West Africa, Southern Asia, and the Caribbean.

At least a third of all the Earth's plant and animal species are believed to live in the rain forests, only a fraction



UNION WORKERS are more pleased with their paychecks than are their non-union counterparts, and are also less satisfied with their supervisors, according to a Purdue University study. The study found that union workers are more apt to rate their work as uninteresting and are less content with promotions. Union members are more apt to have medical/life insurance and retirement benefits, but non-union workers are more apt to have profit-sharing plans.

major attraction for foreign investors and lenders was a strong-arm, stable government that insured low wages, tax breaks, and weak environmental and worker-safety laws.

The Financing of Neo-Colonialism

By 1970 Japan had outstripped the US to become the top foreign investor in South Korea, providing the capital for the first phase of South Korea's export-oriented industrialization. At first its investments were concentrated in the low-wage electronics and textile industries. But in response to growing Japanese dissatisfaction with the environmental impact of heavy industry, Japanese capitalists began to promote Korean automobile, chemical, shipbuilding, and steel plants. Most Japanese investments have been concentrated in manufacturing and tourism, while the US companies have concentrated their investments in electric

Latin America in recent years, those who have perished in the greatest numbers have been Indians whose only politics, until recently, were those of survival.

"One definition of Indian is to be the victim of violence," says the Mexican scholar Bonfil. Indeed, in Argentina and Paraguay the name for the indigenous people is *chancha*, meaning pig. In Brazil, where Indians have the legal status of minor children, at least 83 entire tribes have been exterminated in this century alone, leaving only about 270,000 Indians in the country, compared to an estimated 7,000,000 at the beginning of the colonial era. In the US the native population today totals less than a third of what it did at the turn of the century, and the survivors occupy the bottom rung of society.

In some ways, the Palestinians are the Expendables of the Middle East. Most of this region appears to have concluded that the future would be simpler if they didn't exist. There are others, too: the fiercely-independent Kurds, caught in the hateful web of regional rivalries, manipulated by Washington, Moscow, Baghdad, and Tehran; the Hmong of Laos, tools of the CIA; the aborigines of Australia.

What do these Expendables have in common? The cultures they represent are among the world's oldest, their traditions among the most stubborn. They live in lands and tribes which do not fit into the neat geopolitical molds of modern states. They are obstacles to uniformity, monoculturalism, monolingualism, homogeneity of all sorts. And most of them, if not all, sit on lands bearing treasures the rest of the world wants: minerals, oil, gas. Others merely occupy space that somebody else wants.

of these species yet known to science. On a single acre may be found roughly 10 times as many tree species as in most temperate forests. Yet the price of diversity for the rain forests is their relative vulnerability. Since no two areas are the same—not even parts of the same forest—the destruction of even a small area can result in the extinction of uncounted species.

This diversity sets the stage for remarkable biological interactions, in the drama of attack and defense. Plants develop poisonous alkaloids that protect them against insects; insects develop digestive chemistry to overcome these poisons. Scientists call the rain forests the world's largest reservoirs of genetic traits, still largely unexploited. Farmers may someday plant food crops hybridized with wild strains better able to resist disease and insects. Industries may find use for jungle marvels like the copaiba tree, which produces a liquid with qualities like diesel fuel.

There is some money to be made out of jungles, hit-and-run logging being the fastest. Selective cutting is difficult in the jungle, since many big trees turn out to be rotten. With entangling vines and interlocking branches, the falling of one tree inevitably pulls down others. Japanese companies working in the tropics have pioneered clear-cutting jungle patches for wood chips to make cardboard; over 200 tree species can be utilized 100%. The clear-cut areas are supposed to be reforested. In replanted areas, however, insects and diseases are serious problems, unlike the primary forest, where there may be half a mile between two trees of the same kind. When new trees are planted in blocks, pests can concentrate to attack in epidemic proportions.

Often settlers follow the loggers, hoping to carve farms out of the semi-cleared land. But from Indonesia to Brazil such schemes founder on the generally poor quality of jungle soil. For despite the lush appearance of the rain forest's vegetation, the swift decay of organic material prevents the buildup of nutrients in the soil.

Nevertheless, the rain forests are a political asset where the few have a lot and the many have hardly anything. The wealthy and the powerful abhor land reform; so why not shunt the land-hungry poor from the overcrowded slums off into the jungle with a few machetes and a few packets of seeds. Sound ecology will involve nothing less than revolution.

(adapted from the 1983 issue of *National Geographic*)

power, electronics, fertilizers, oil refineries, and petrochemicals—by far the most profitable sectors of the Korean economy. With less than a third of the investments, US multinational corporations have made three fourths of the profits accruing to foreign investors in South Korea, with over \$130 million remitted to the US between 1965 and 1978, according to *Business International*.

By the mid-1970s the ROK was exporting \$5.4 billion a year in goods—a figure 168 times that of 1960. But the figures are misleading. Korea now imports more than it exports, with fuel and oil accounting for a third of the import bill. Korea's foreign debt now stands at \$35 billion (putting it fourth on the list of debt-strapped countries after Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina)—a huge sum for a country of 30 million people the size of Indiana. Korea's debt-service payments in 1983 will eat up close to 50% of the estimated value of its exports.

Concerned with its dependence on expensive foreign oil, the Korean Government succumbed to US pressure to buy US nuclear power plants in the 1970s, when nuclear-power-plant sales plummeted in the US. Nearly all the costs of the six American reactors in South Korea have been subsidized by the US Export-Import Bank. As of 1982, the Bank had lent South Korea a total of \$1.9 billion for the purchase of Westinghouse reactors, US-supplied fuel, and Bechtel engineering services. In the country's next five-year plan, over \$6 billion has been budgeted for the nuclear program. One nuclear-industry analyst has calculated that the total costs for the program will equal an entire year of the country's gross national product.

The first consequence for the South Korean workers is speedup, as the country's heavy debt forces contractors to push construction schedules to maximize the use of borrowed capital. But the result is often tragic. According to the International Labor Organization, the country has the highest accident rate in the industrialized world. Last year, over 30 workers were killed in a single accident in downtown Seoul when a subway construction site collapsed. The problems are compounded in the nuclear-power industry, where the consequences of accidents can be more far-reaching. In a speech to economic ministers in 1981, President Chun "called for shortening the period of various Government-sponsored construction works, including atomic power plants, with a view toward maximum economic profits", according to the *Korea Herald*.

The Decline of Agriculture

In 1980 Korea suffered one of the worst crop failures in its history. Once a rice exporter, the ROK was forced to import massive amounts of grain from the US. The Korean Government blamed the failure on cold weather, but farmers blamed the "Green Revolution" strains of rice the Government has forced them to grow.

In a move to increase rice production in the early '70s, the Government imported "miracle grains" used in the Philippines. These strains were initially more productive than domestic grains, but after several years farmers found that their crops were overly sensitive to South Korea's cold and rainy winters and susceptible to local pests.

Within several years farmers in the ROK were using an average of 60 pounds of pesticides per acre, which made the ROK the largest user (per area cultivated) of agricultural chemicals in the world. The high cost of pesticides forced many farmers into bankruptcy.

In 1978 the Government admitted that the failure of more than 12% of the total area devoted to rice cultivation was due to the miracle grains' low pest-resistance. Government critics, however, charged that officials underestimated the full extent of the damage. An independent survey of the damage by the Korean Catholic Farmers Association found out that each affected household lost 50% of its income for that year. Many villagers suffered from diseases caused primarily by overwork and exposure to chemicals.

The worst pollution problems in the ROK occur where industrial and farming areas come together in the Ulsan region of the south.

The Samsson plains were once a major rice-producing area for the southern part of the country, but a couple of years ago they produced no harvest at all. A complex of fertilizer, petrochemical, and power plants; copper and zinc smelters; and oil refineries had affected the plains so badly the local farmers lost everything. Unable to sell their land, many farmers and their families moved to the town near the industrial complex, which has grown from 30,000 to 300,000 in just a few years.

Fishing fared no better than farming. Industrial wastewater has wiped out shellfish nurseries along the coast and severely affected the Han River estuary. Until three years ago this estuary was the main fishing ground in southern Korea, but the fisherfolk started contracting skin diseases from the water and were forced to give up their livelihood.

Leaving behind their exhausted and polluted farmlands and fisheries, nearly 800,000 people a year migrate to the cities. Once there the migrants often settle in shantytowns skirting the urban centers. These areas usually lack adequate sewage and sanitation facilities. The air pollution in Seoul is *ten times higher* than that of comparable cities in Japan and the US, and Seoul's water pollution is just as bad. The source of the city's water has become so foul recently that the intake has had to be moved more than 37 miles upstream.

(more next issue)

Some Things Our Members Are Doing

SOLIDARNOSC EXILE MEETS WITH WOBS

The Bellingham, Washington Branch reports a very good turnout at its monthly social, where folks gathered to meet an organizer from Poland's Solidarnosc (Solidarity) who spoke through an interpreter as he highlighted the informal educational on the Polish situation. Upon learning the basics of the One Big Union concept of the IWW, the speaker's eyes lit up. He saw many similarities between the IWW and Solidarity.

The Branch also had a good reception from the audience at the February 27th Utah Phillips concert, where Bellingham Wobs distributed literature and refreshments. Plans are also under way for the traditional May Day festivities, as well as for a dance concert with local bands.

BRITISH COLUMBIA WOBS REORGANIZE

IWW members in Vancouver, British Columbia are beginning to put together a group. In addition to signing up quite a few new members recently, they have revived a newsletter called *Solidarity Bulletin* which lists the books available in the group's library as well as providing updates on IWW happenings for those who have lost touch. Its February edition also included a reprint of an article by Ray Corder from the July 1937 *One Big Union Monthly* titled "Industrial Unionism in the IWW—The Job Branch", which discusses some of the differences between IWW and CIO-style industrial organization. Though it is necessarily dated, it makes for good background reading.

CHICAGO BRANCH POTLUCK WITH UTAH

In an effort to "get the show on the road", Chicago IWW members have planned a potluck social featuring that hard-travelin' Wobbly Utah Phillips. Invitations have gone out to IW subscribers, members, and friends. Chicago Wobs are also planning a film showing in April; participation in the May Day march and party in Pilsen, the Windy City's Chicano barrio; and a speak-out.

CANADA :

VANCOUVER UNEMPLOYMENT ACTION CENTER

With unemployment in British Columbia currently at 13%, help for those without jobs has taken the form of unemployment-action centers and food banks.

To date 25 unemployment-action centers have been established around the province, with help from the BC Federation of Labour (AFL-CIO-Canadian Labour Congress). These centers were set up to act as information outlets for people seeking unemployment and welfare benefits, and to train and provide advocates to battle the bureaucracy to ensure that people receive what they are entitled to.

Canadian unemployment insurance is a federal program, offering generally larger and better benefits than similar US schemes. But claimants are not informed as to what they are legally entitled to receive and for how long, leaving the door open for many people to be shortchanged or refused benefits by human or computer error or by vindictive unemployment-insurance staffers.

The Vancouver unemployment-action center is one of the most recently established, opening in December 1982. In its first two months the center trained 50 advocates, some of whom received minimal pay as part of a federal job-creation scheme. About 200 people have been helped so far, ranging from individuals contacting the center in severe emotional distress to simpler cases of missing forms or misplaced files.

The Vancouver center operates out of the auditorium in the fishermen's union hall (the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union), with financial and material donations also coming from seamen's, telecommunication workers', carpenters', postal workers', and public employees' unions.

The center is organized into four committees, whose meetings are open to all. An action committee handles leaflets, public meetings, demonstrations, and publicity. Another committee is responsible for the center's day-to-day functioning. An education committee deals with training seminars for advocates and organizing sessions on topical questions. A research committee gathers statistics for use in briefs and leaflets.

Co-ordination is provided by the Vancouver and District Labor Council's unemployment committee, whose sessions are also open to all.

Besides phone lines, a drop-in area is available at the center, which also plans social events (including a hard-times dance March 12th) and publishes a newsletter.

"Welfare and unemployment insurance (UI) are really becoming twisted, sick versions of what the working people in Canada had in mind when they fought for guaranteed income," the February issue of the newsletter said.

"On two occasions we have taken the various problems we are finding with UI to the people working in the Commission, district and regional officers, and liaison people.

"Their responses were as expected. They believe that there are very few problems and that we are making an issue out of nothing.

"We presented them with concrete evidence of mis-

STAN DOES SELL PAPERS

In Tucson, Arizona Stan Jaroszinski has been selling 500 *Industrial Workers* each issue and believes he can double that. We asked him how he does it. He answered:

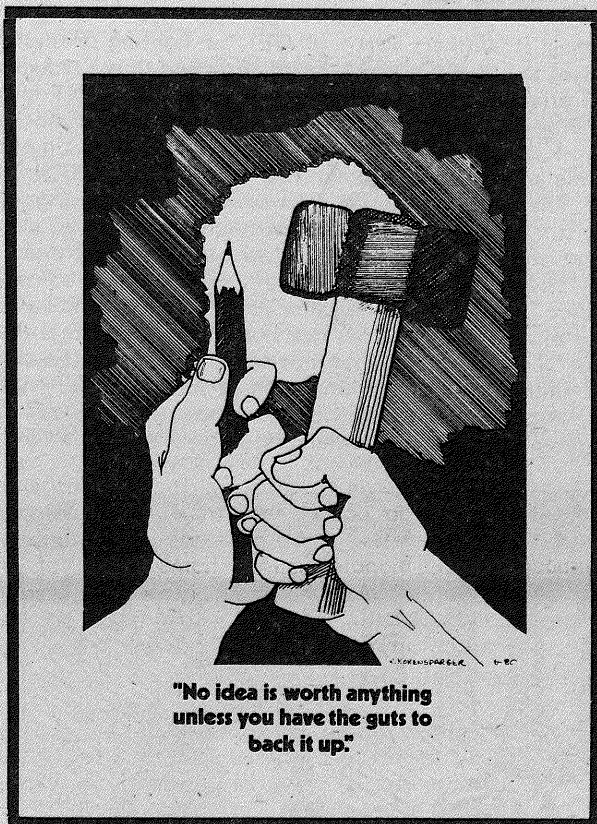
"I could write an article about how to sell newspapers, but Lesson 1 is 'Get your ass on the street and do it!' And that is also pretty much Lessons 2 through 1,475.

"This is the right time for educating, agitating, and organizing to set up a real One Big Union. The first step is to sell the *Industrial Worker* to educate other workers and especially students, who are really apprentice workers. Give up your Saturday-afternoon meditation class or football game or whatever, and go to a campus and sell that paper. If you are unemployed go every day anywhere and sell. Carry a sign, be visible, be aggressive, and sell."

Stan has rigged up an overgrown tricycle to carry his signs, and does indeed make himself visible. And it works.

IW PEDDLER TICKETED IN ARIZONA

On March 1st, Stan Jaroszinski got a ticket for "peddling without a license". A complaint was filed by the owner of a shop which occupies the corner of U and Park where Stan was going about his business. Stan feels that this is an infringement of the rights of free speech and press, and will tell it to the judge in court on March 14th.



"No idea is worth anything unless you have the guts to back it up."

information being given out to claimants, delays of anywhere from two to six months in claims, small processing details holding up valid claims, employers not dealing with records of employment the way they should be—creating delays and disentanglements. We also expressed our concern over layoffs at the UI offices, to which they replied that more workers would not help the situation.

"Meanwhile, what happens to those waiting for their money? We don't have huge reserves like banks and companies. People are going without the basics of life. More and more people are having to go to welfare while waiting for UI, and if welfare knows you have a claim at UI you then get thrown around like a bean bag from office to office."

A demonstration organized by the center February 7th brought out a couple of hundred people to the regional administrative offices of UI in downtown Vancouver. In January about 40 unemployed protesters on Vancouver Island converged on the regional welfare offices in Duncan, BC in a similar action organized by Vancouver Island unemployment-action centers.

"When the vast majority of the population was working," said Vancouver Island unemployed spokesperson Bill Massey, "the voices of those on welfare protesting against the system were drowned out. But this recession has changed all that."

Besides the unemployment-action centers in Vancouver, city churches have organized a food bank. Citizens and organizations donate money and food. Volunteers then place donated and purchased groceries in bags for a once-weekly distribution.

Recipients of the food bags begin lining up about four or five hours before the set time for distribution. About 300 people per week receive donated food, with another 50 or so latecomers having to do without.

So far IWW involvement in Vancouver unemployment activities has consisted of individual members working out of the action center. The Vancouver IWW members plan to work particularly on a project to stop the local branch of a multinational job-selling firm. The company, Job Mart, sells access to its job listings for \$50. These listings simply repeat the few jobs posted in city newspapers. Or purchasers of the service are told no work is available "at present" in their job category.

Tom Wayman

DOWN IN TEXAS

Clippings and leaflets from Austin show that our fellow workers there have been making themselves quite visible. They had a "Smash the Klan" valentine party and a subsequent tussle with the Klan's parade. The Klan said it wanted to get all those illegal Mexican aliens deported from their ancestral lands, and started its demonstrations at the Texas Unemployment Commission, hoping to entice hungry recruits. There was a counter-demonstration by the All-Peoples Congress, Black Citizens' Task Force, IWW, and the like that brought 400 law-enforcement people to the scene, with the result that seven people and four police had to get emergency treatment at the hospital. The IWW leaflet for the valentine party had the loving message: "Stop Fascism—No Pasaran!"



Another Austin leaflet announced an evening on repression and resistance sponsored by the IWW in conjunction with the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, the Guatemala Solidarity Committee, and the Leonard Peltier Support Group. (By the way, concern for Peltier has led the Governor of New York to offer him sanctuary in a New York prison instead of returning him to South Dakota for his presence at the second battle of Wounded Knee.)

The packet included a three-page interview with Wob Fred Hansen in the Houston edition of *Parade* magazine on IWW aims, and a pamphlet "In Memory of Joe Hill" issued by Iranian students in Austin and Dallas, supporters of the freedom struggles in Iran, with some of Hill's songs and other selections from that little red songbook.

(That reminds us: A refugee from Marcos's dictatorship in the Philippines tells us they adapted Stavis's play on Hill, *The Man Who Never Died*, but its presentation resulted in a major police skirmish, new evidence to support that play title.)

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.

International Solidarity: FENASTRAS

The Machinists Labor Temple in Saint Paul, Minnesota recently hosted a talk by Alejandro Molina Lara, organizational secretary for the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS).

Molina gave his speech in Spanish, and it was translated into English. A fellow worker commented: "Here's a man, tortured four times in Salvadoran prisons, telling us what's going on in his country and how we can help. Although he's quite safe, at least in this union hall, this is the very country whose multinationals impoverish his people and put ours out of work."

The list is long of multinationals that have interests directly related to cheap labor in Central America. These corporations are attracted by "free-trade zones" (no taxes) and huge profits. (The minimum wage is \$2.50 per day.) Most unions in El Salvador have been dissolved by the dictatorship.

The roots of the Salvadoran workers' struggle go back to a 1932 insurrection against the coffee oligarchy. In 1943 the insurrectionists were able to defeat the dictator Martinez by means of a general strike that involved broad sec-

tors of the society.

Molina announced that a general strike is planned to occur sometime this year in El Salvador, and called on North Americans to express their solidarity. We can show our solidarity by sending letters of protest to Congress, the President, the State Department, and the Salvadoran Government. Also, FENASTRAS invites North American people to form a solidarity front in favor of the Salvadoran workers.

Molina ended his talk by stressing two things that El Salvador needs now: a democratic opening and a dialogue.

GLM, X330675



"In pain shalt thou labour!"

CHICAGO-AREA FOUNDATIONS and corporate donors in 1981 gave the Young Men's Christian Association \$767,000, or more than five times the \$152,000 they gave the Young Women's Christian Association. The disparities in the funding of male and female service programs are typical. Male-oriented service programs have traditionally attracted more support than female-oriented programs, and these times when private charity is supposed to make up for Government cutbacks have not changed society's opinion of whose problems are more important. But poverty is overwhelmingly a female issue, even more in Chicago than in other parts of the US. In Chicago, over 60% of families in poverty are female-headed households, as compared to 48% nationally. And not only are women socio-economically poorer than men, but they are more often victimized by the most personal forms of violence: domestic abuse and rape.

CNT Congress

The Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), Spain's anarcho-syndicalist labor union, held its Sixth Congress in January in Barcelona, three years after its disastrous Fifth Congress in Madrid. The Congress dealt with three broad areas of concern: the structure of the CNT, the national and international situation, and the evolution of the labor movement since the Madrid Congress.

The Congress decided to create for the first time in the history of the CNT a social-economic advisory council composed of economists, lawyers, sociologists, and others whose functions would be technical and consultative only. The Congress also authorized the re-establishment of the National Industrial Federations that played a prominent role in the collectivizations of 1936-37, and hopes these federations can co-ordinate local industrial-union branches on a national level.

The report pointed out that the plans of the governing

Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) for fighting unemployment are likely to result in inflation and thus a reduction in private investments and employment. The CNT favors fighting for full employment through a reduced working week, a lowering of the retirement age, and a ban on over-time and on holding down two jobs.

The Congress expressed its concern over growing militarism, national self-determination, the right to abortion, and amnesty for those jailed because they exercised it.

The CNT recognizes that though it is the third major force in the Spanish labor movement, it has been so hurt by dissension that it has been unable to offer a real alternative to the major labor movement except in a few areas. It aims to continue union action on the job and to initiate a national campaign to end the enterprise committees that prevent unions from defending their members' interests.

SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

We made our way into the Senate-House of the University of London, seeking the beer bar used exclusively for dons, lecturers, and students with high foreheads. We got our beers, and Polish George, German Fred, and I drifted beer in hand into the main corridor of the University and sat down on the floor. The corridor was lightly decorated with a sprinkling of student types. Leaflets lay all around them, and here and there a hand-held poster raised its shy message. We asked the seated silent minority why we were sitting, and were told it was a student sit-in—a protest against Ma Thatcher's cuts in the education budget by lads and lasses on the losing end.

We went out for refills and sat with fresh beers in our hands gossiping of concentration camps, betrayals, and hideous deaths while the dons, the lecturers, the non-striking students, the staff, and the barman went about their ordained business completely oblivious to our squat. We drained our glasses, wished the sitting students well, and went on our way fearing that it was a lost cause, like the drawn-out picketing of hospital workers over pay cuts.

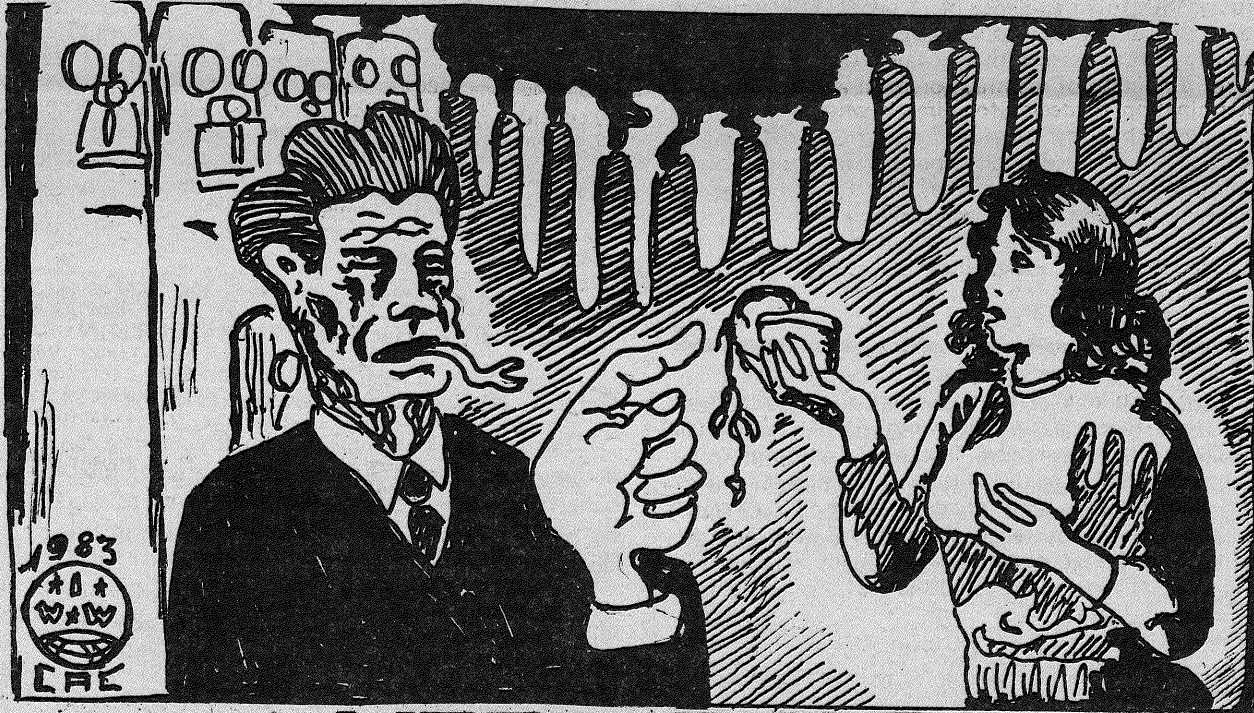
Here in Britain is a right-wing Tory government openly boasting of its strikebreaking record. Here is a working class that has lost faith in its political and union leadership and become resigned to the opinion-poll verdict that Ma Thatcher and her Tory Wild Men will be returned to govern for another five years. Here is a union leadership like that of 1926, afraid to take major industrial action for fear of victory and of the consequences of that type of victory.

Yet in Britain working-class men and women are prepared to stand their ground in the industrial war. Week after week the water workers came out in full-scale strike action. The Tory Party and the State employers screamed their rage while the waterless middle class, buckets in well-groomed hands, queued at the emergency water points in their residential streets amid gushing water from broken mains and erupting roads, screaming for law and order and bathwater.

The water workers asked only that the State honor its promise to keep their pay on a par with that of workers in similar occupations. The State said 4%. Here was one industrial battle in which the State could not use troops. The water workers stood firm week after week as the taps ran dry, the roads broke open, and the water rushed along the gutters. Union leaders announced: "Brothers and Sisters, we've won; we've beaten them." A national business paper wrote: "The settlement of the water workers' strike was not—contrary to widespread belief—a surrender to the trade unions." The settlement does not give the water workers the 14% raise they believed they were getting, but only 7.8% spread over a year, and no back-dating of the pay claim.

Tomorrow the 23,000 Welsh miners are ready to come out to protest the closing of the 120-year-old Lewis Merthyr Tynawr colliery, and the 180,000 miners in other parts of Britain are being called to come out in support.

Arthur Moyse, London



LITERATURE

- theoretical:**
- Workers Guide to Direct Action50
 - IWW Preamble and Constitution25
 - Inflation: Causes and Cures50
 - General Strike for Industrial Freedom1.00
 - One Big Union1.00
 - Unions and Racism1.00
 - Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job50
- musical:**
- IWW Songbook \$1.00
 - The Rebel Girl (sheet music)50
 - Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music)50
- historical:**
- The IWW's First 70 years (hardbound) \$15.00
 - The IWW's First 70 years (paperback) 4.95
 - History of the IWW in Canada50
 - Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary 4.90
 - Pullman Strikers 2.95
 - Autobiography of Mother Jones 4.95
 - The Right To Be Lazy 1.25
 - Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter 1.00
 - Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism 6.95
- posters (lino-graphics):**
- Organized! \$.80
 - One Big Union80
 - One Anti-War Poster80

- posters (lino-graphics):**
- Huelga General 5.00
 - Drafts of the World United 5.00
- Note: It costs about 80¢ to mail a poster or a sheet of music in a tube, so please do not send orders for music or posters of less than \$2.*
- miscellaneous:**
- General Defense Button \$.35
- Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the literature list may be ordered at a 40% discount unless otherwise noted. Postage costs will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks plus for delivery.
- Name _____
- Address _____
- City & State/Province _____
- Zip/Postal Code _____ Country _____
- Available from the Tacoma-Olympia Branch, 2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, WA 98406. Follow Union Member, 10¢ each; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢ each; 16 to 499, 2¢ each; 500 or more, 1¢ each.

Readers' Soapbox

When I read in February's *Industrial Worker* about Bill Douglas's editorial correction at the Strategic Air Command facilities at Omaha, I was reminded of similar artwork done on the stop signs all over my neighborhood one dark night during the height of the Vietnam War. They were decorated thus:

STOP
WAR

It took the Establishment a full six months to note and obliterate the fancywork.

Dorice McDaniels

BUILD THAT PRESS

Here's for six months' dues and six of those voluntary press assessments.... I worked in the lumber industry from age 14 to 65, and retired in '59. Had the dumb, work oxes understood their class interests the parasites would all have been in overalls by now. We need to build a strong IWW press to counteract the lies of the opposition.

Yours for a Workers' World

Elmer Anderson

WHY VOTE?

In the December issue of the IW, an article appeared titled "Polling Place Put Past Pickets". It said the UFCW took pickets away (from a struck store where a polling place had been set up) "so workers could enter to vote the rascals out".

I thought the IWW was anti-parliamentarian, against political struggle and the ballot.... Why not reprint articles from the past about wildcats and sitdowns, and not just unionization drives by unions which "mislead the workers"?

Morgan Miller

(Comment: The IWW leaves elections and religion up to its individual members. They can be Democrats, Republicans, socialists, vegetarians, or what have you, but must be committed not to scab on each other.)



"Okay, so it's safe. . . . Then what are those things waiting for?"

BLOOD MONEY

On November 7th, 1980 five coal miners were killed in Westmoreland Coal Company's Ferrell Number 17 mine in Boone County, West Virginia. Since then Westmoreland has pleaded guilty to 16 violations of mine-safety laws. It had ordered false entries made to indicate that air volume and methane measurements had been made that in fact had not been, and had done the same with required checks of other hazards.

A federal judge has ordered the company to pay out \$1,075,000, of which \$600,000 goes to the Government and only \$475,000 to the community for health care, education of doctors, and mine-safety training.

DRAFT RESISTER SPEAKS

Ben Sasway, the first person convicted for failure to comply with the 1979 draft-registration law, spoke on February 19th to an audience of 75 people in Washington DC about his action against subscription.

Sasway told the crowd that he failed to register for the draft for a number of reasons. Foremost among these was a determination to decide for himself whether or not he would kill, rather than let the decision "be deferred to the Government". Sasway also spoke of his opposition to US military involvement in areas like Central America, South America, and the Middle East. He said that the draft would be necessary to furnish the manpower for armed intervention in any of these places, and that therefore to resist the draft is to interfere with any such plans. "The US Army is based on an interventionist mode, and that has to be changed."

He also gave support to other draft resisters. To those who might want to take the same action he did, Sasway offered encouragement, pointing out that although jail isn't easy, it can be survived. Disclaiming any urge to be seen as a "symbol or leader of the draft-resistance movement", he spoke in favor of many forms of military resistance, including GI resistance among those who feel that the service is their only opportunity for job training and steady pay. "If everyone resisted the way I did, it would be a boring movement."

Sasway, a resident of San Diego, is making a speaking tour throughout the country. He is out on appeal, facing a sentence of two and a half years.



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HARD-TIMES BLUES

According to the law—that is, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Economic Growth Act—six million of the unemployed are supposed to be at work now, for by that law the Government was supposed to keep unemployment in 1983 down to 4%.

Besides the 10 million counted as unemployed, there are over half a million who have given up looking, and millions more who work only part-time. Already in 1981, according to economist Sar Levitan, part-time work had brought the earnings of 34 million who still had jobs "below what a minimum-wage job would have yielded for the number of work hours they were available".

Churches have bread lines, unions have food banks, and out in the suburbs something has to be done for the "new poor"—the folks who had left city living to the poor folks. The population of Cleveland, for example, is the same 570,000 that it was in 1916, far down from the 915,000 who lived there in 1950. For each person living in what looks like a bombed-out city, there are two people living in surrounding suburbs. Now the depression has hit them too. Welcome to the struggle to make this planet a place where we can all live well. Down in Mississippi a family of three gets \$96 in cash each month and \$183 in food stamps.

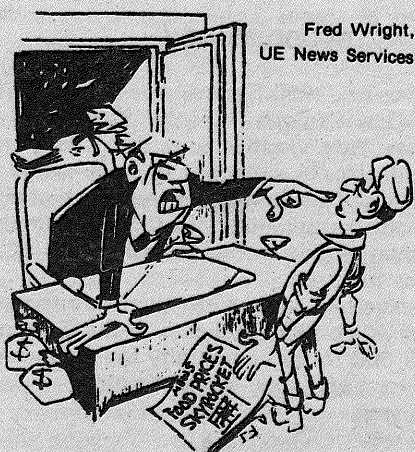
In Saint Louis it is estimated that 15,000 go to bed each night hungry. There Operation Search has been soliciting food for its pantries, fed 219,000 in the last year, and proudly says that it managed to distribute \$45 worth of food for every dollar contributed. In Gadsden, Alabama the United Rubber Workers set up a food bank for 280 laid-off Goodyear hands, financed by five-buck donations from its members still at work. In X, Y, and Z there is recurring evidence of a willingness to sacrifice a bit for unfortunate brothers and sisters, a potential pool for solidarity that can be cultivated.

There's a 45-rpm record *Steel Mill Blues*. The money from its sale is feeding laid-off steel workers. It's a song written by 18-year-old Mike Pickering about his laid-off friends and relatives. It's two bucks at local Steel Worker offices, or \$3.25 postpaid from USWA/Steel Mill Blues, Five Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222. All

professional and commercial services for its production were donated. In January the union raised \$15,000 in the Pittsburgh area from its sales, and all proceeds go to food banks that serve laid-off steel workers.

But a bag of groceries now and then doesn't do the job. Apart from having a roof over one's head and food in one's belly, there is health to maintain. Probably 25 million once covered by some health-insurance plan are now left uncovered as a result of the layoff of 10 million. Legislators dream up tax incentives for employers to continue insurance on those they lay off, or plan to expand Medicare to cover the unemployed.

In Chicago, eight weeks before the municipal elections, Mayor Byrne set up a 10-week emergency job program at \$8.50 per hour for the lucky ones among a host who lined up in the rain. By and large the weather has been good and the ground clear for raking up old bottles and tin cans, and a fair bit of sociability prevailed on this chore, though most folks felt this "made work" was about as futile as



"Our country is facing a most serious crisis and you talk about feeding your kids."

the Mayor's bid for re-election, which it did not buy.

There are potholes in the streets and bridges closed to traffic because they are no longer safe, and people look back from Chicago's tin-can raking to the "good old days" of the 1930s and the WPA. The Works Progress Administration did more than rake leaves. In its first year alone it built 6,000 schools, 5,000 other public buildings, 7,000 water and sewer systems, and 150,000 rural roads. Some of its municipal improvements still endure, and besides all that its unemployed actors developed a theater and its jobless writers created those state guidebooks.

There are those who doubt that Reagan "prosperity". It may be spring weather and worn-out cars that gave a few auto and construction workers jobs in March. They think the WPA might be a good idea to try again. New York has a Public Works Program, devoted to "make-work" jobs because the law providing for it prohibits PWP folk from performing "any work ordinarily and actually performed by regular employees". Some are shocked at this provision—but how would it work if these Public Works Program folks were assigned to the jobs of regular city employees? Would they then be laid off, go on welfare, and eventually rotate jobs?

Add it up and these hard-times blues come to more than a set of layoffs, more than some unwise government decisions. Much the same is happening in countries with a wide variety of governments and laws. Production facilities are deteriorating, resources are deteriorating, and the unemployed are deteriorating, all imperiling our future capacity to produce. This is happening on a well-endowed planet, where for millions of years our species with thumbs that could touch all fingers made tools out of sticks and stones and eventually out of the ores in the earth, and ended their dependence on chance supplies of food and warmth and shelter. Today with our gadgets we can out-fly the eagle, outswim the shark, outstink the skunk, and demolish our planet.

A Works Progress Administration? It is time to think as objectively as we can about what four billion people should do with this pleasant planet. We should organize, get our thinking together, and not keep on doing what we are told to do by those who got us into this mess.

ft

A Glance around the Globe

A CHILD'S MURDER led to the dissolution of one secret Mexican police force. In early January Mexican federal police killed a man, reportedly resisting arrest, who was wanted in connection with the kidnap/murder of an 11-year-old boy. After the man was dead, it was discovered that he was a former member of the Division de Investigaciones para la Prevencion de la Delincuencia (DIPD), one of the most repressive and hated institutions in Mexico because of its long history of kidnapping and extortion. President de la Madrid's abolition of the DIPD met with widespread public approval, but questions were raised about what the unemployed DIPD agents would do next. Recently four of these agents were charged with kidnapping three members of the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, suggesting that former secret police may become hired guns for the extreme right.

CITING "SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS" in human rights, the Reagan Administration has certified El Salvador for the third time as worthy of US aid. As always, reports of continuing assassinations, disappearances, dismemberment, torture, and rape were discounted as having been "distorted by a worldwide propaganda campaign from the Soviet Union via Cuba". The AFL-CIO, which supported the first two certification whitewashes, is balking on this one. In view of the AFL-CIO's record of cold-war solidarity with the Administration on Latin America, this is a surprising and heartening development, although the labor federation seemed more upset by the 1981 murder of three of its own people in El Salvador than by the deaths of the 36,000 Salvadorean workers killed by their "own" government in the last four years.

UTAH PHILLIPS IN APRIL

Utah Phillips will be giving concerts at the following California and Nevada locations in April. For more particulars call your local paper or inquire at record shops.

April 8th: Old Time Cafe, Leucadia
 April 9th: McCabe's, Santa Monica
 April 11th: Unitarian Church, Santa Barbara
 April 13th: La Semilla Cultural Center, Sacramento
 April 14th: Sebastopol
 April 15th: Ploughshares, San Francisco
 April 16th: Freight and Salvage, Berkeley
 April 18th: Lassen College, Susanville
 April 20th: Space Theater, Reno, Nevada
 April 21st: Victorian Museum, Nevada City, California
 April 22nd: Empire Theater, Placerville
 April 23rd: Stockton
 April 24th: Mariposa
 April 26th: Roger Rokas', Fresno
 April 28th: San Jose State, San Jose
 April 29th and 30th: The Palms, Davis

MOTHERS AND WIVES of the "disappeared" met in a South American congress in Lima, Peru last fall. They represented an estimated 90,000 Latin Americans from 12 countries believed to have been kidnapped or murdered by authorities for real or assumed opposition to Latin American regimes. Women from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Mexico exchanged information about their efforts to find their loved ones or acquire confirmation of their deaths. Not only is the "disappeared" phenomenon now prevalent throughout Latin America, but there is increasing co-ordination between national security forces through computerized information banks that facilitate the arrest of political dissidents in exile. Invariably, kidnapping follows the same pattern: With well-organized precision, heavily-armed men dressed in civilian clothes force people into unmarked vehicles, and they are never heard from again.

"WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, there are elements in our society who are committed to violence, subversion, and terrorism... Circumstances dictate that the national good is best served by limited relinquishment of some individual civil rights." So said Republican Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama at the August 8th, 1982 hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. And guess whose civil rights will be the first to go.

PALESTINIAN EMIGRATION from the West Bank—if not an official government policy to depopulate the West Bank of Arabs—is certainly encouraged by Israeli immigration laws concerning West Bank residents and policies that keep labor and industry subservient to the Israeli economy. According to Bank of Israel figures some 136,000 Palestinians, mostly young men, have left permanently to seek work in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. While the Arab birth rate is estimated at more than 4% per year (versus the Jewish increase of 2.3%) the West Bank Arab population is growing at only 1.4% a year. The thinning out of West Bank Palestinian workers has created a situation wherein only 19% of the population belongs to the work force, as opposed to 37% of the Jewish population in Israel. Israeli plans to increase Jewish settlement on the West Bank to 100,000 by 1986 are causing Palestinian fears that Arab towns will become ghettos.

THE REAL DANGER FACING SOCIETY, according to Bishop Robin Eames of the Church of Ireland, is "the cumulative effects of concentrated condemnation of the police". What Philippine Catholic bishops found disturbing was that military abuses, poverty, and unemployment were providing "fodder to revolutionary groups" and causing "growing support for the dissidents". Nothing about poverty, military abuses, and unemployment being bad in themselves.

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PEKING'S CAMPAIGN to shield Chinese youth from the "spiritual infection" of Western culture currently includes preventing the showing of *Norma Rae*. Washington's campaign to prevent outbreaks of anti-nuclearism and environmentalism includes the labeling of one Canadian film on nuclear war and two others on acid rain as "political propaganda" and forbids their showing in the US without a disclaimer saying that the US Government does not approve of them. An LA film distributor was quoted as saying he wished the Government had just called the three films pornographic. "Then we could distribute them in plain brown wrappers."

BONN IS NOT REVEALING sites for the new missiles that the US is foisting on it, ostensibly to keep the Soviet Union guessing. It also denies the large and vocal German peace movement a focus for its opposition. It has been suggested that Pershing II missiles will be installed at Neu-Ulm in Bavaria late this fall, and cruise missiles in the northern Palatinate—Chancellor Kohl's political power base—in 1984-85. The actual installation of these Euromissiles will probably generate even more protest than present missile preparations in England, where the sites have been the focus of continued peace demonstrations.

ELDERLY WOMEN are America's fastest-growing poverty group. Of the elderly who now live in poverty, 72% are women. Due to irregular career patterns, only 5% to 10% of women workers stay in one job long enough to qualify for private pension benefits. In addition, life-long homemakers suffer under the present system where pensions are considered the property of the worker, not the married couple, thus depriving many widows and divorced women of benefits, and 60% of women over 65 living alone rely on Social Security as their sole source of income. In 1982 the average Social Security benefit for retired female workers was \$335 per month.