



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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## HAZARDS OF CONCESSIONS

We hear a lot about union concessions these days. Concessions by the auto workers, concessions by the steel workers, concessions by the teamsters, concessions by public employees. Concessions by workers are the latest rage among employers of all kinds. Concessions, whether they come as rollbacks in benefits, wage cuts, longer hours, or reduced job safety, are promoted as a cure-all for every sort of economic ill. But as is the case with most quack cures, concessions don't get the results claimed for them, and have hazardous side effects as well.

It's too bad workers don't have a "consumer advocate" or public health agency that would warn them of the bogus claims for concessionary "miracle drugs". If they did, these are some of the warnings we might hear:

**Bogus Claim Number 1: Concessions will save both the employer and your job.** Fact: Businesses fail and public services are phased out for a variety of reasons, few of which have anything to do with worker wages or benefits. In manufacturing, for instance, labor accounts for only 10% of overall costs. In the service sector this is higher, but it remains true that the costs of materials, maintenance, rent, insurance, taxes, and interest on loans equal or outweigh labor costs. A recent article in the pro-capitalist *Wall Street Journal* made the point that while it feels that concessions are a good idea, concessions will not save failing businesses because workers would never agree to take drastic-enough cuts to make a difference. Of course the *Journal* failed to mention the reason workers can't accept drastic cuts: the extreme hardships such cuts would mean for working-class families. ("Givebacks Won't Spur Industrial Comeback", *Wall Street Journal*, January 31st, 1983)

There is no disputing that concessions benefit employers. But this does not mean job security for the workers. Overwhelming evidence has been provided by those places where workers have accepted concessions. In private industry, money provided by concessions has been used to finance runaway shops, introduce automation, invest in other industries, purchase other companies, and even pay off creditors before filing for bankruptcy. In the public sector, concessions have been made by public workers in order to pay for the big tax breaks and subsidies being given to corporations and the Military. Layoffs and new cutbacks have followed concessions wherever they have been made. The old IWW adage still holds true: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

**Bogus Claim Number 2: Sacrifice now and prosperity is just around the corner.** Fact: This rosy notion rests on two false assumptions: that a reduction in labor costs will make a business or a community more competitive, and that lower labor costs produce capital that will be invested to spur the immediate business or the entire economy.

Concessions, however, have a snowball effect. As soon as the workers in one plant, office, or store take cuts, employers elsewhere demand cuts too to "stay competitive". A momentum builds that undermines the livelihood of all workers. As wages everywhere begin to fall, there is less demand for goods and services, since people have money for only the barest essentials. Not only does this reduced demand mean more layoffs and economic hardship, but businesses become reluctant to invest in a declining economy. Instead the wealth taken from concessions and cutbacks is squandered in speculation and wasteful business practices.

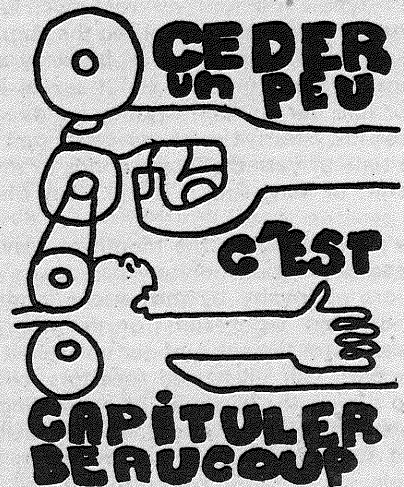
**Bogus Claim Number 3: There is no alternative.** As mentioned earlier, wages and benefits are only a fraction of the costs of operating a business or public service. Savings can be made by eliminating wasteful management practices. Loans can be re-negotiated. Changes in products or services can be made. Concessions and cutbacks follow the line of least resistance. Employers demand concessions from workers because workers have the least power in the industrial hierarchy. When workers make it clear that there is going to be a determined resistance to concessions, many managers become truly "inspired". Suddenly all sorts of alternatives are discovered. Even if the strength of the employer is such that no absolute victory can be won, the workers will end up better off after having put up a fight. At the very least, workers can win guarantees of return of any concessions during the course of the agreement. To cave in to management demands without a struggle only leads to more concessions and ultimately a busted union.

### The Real Remedy

Bogus claims are just one side of the concessions problem. The capitalist system is experiencing a crisis of international proportions. Employers have used this crisis to divide workers and pit them against each other in a futile attempt to "save jobs" at any price. This strategy has been successful because workers are isolated. We have allowed the bosses, the capitalist media, union bureaucrats, and government agencies to convince us that other workers are our enemies.

The Industrial Workers of the World, however, recognize that "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All." Every rejection of an employer's demand for concessions, every job action or strike in resistance, benefits the entire working class. Therefore it's up to us and all workers to do whatever we can to support anyone fighting concessions—morally, economically, and in our actions.

If you're a worker fighting concessions and need help, contact the IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657, or your nearest IWW delegate.



"To give a little  
is to lose a lot"

## Striking Times

The advertising staff at the *Detroit Metro Times*, a weekly paper, walked out after management refused to guarantee them \$150 a week, recognition as a bargaining unit, and inclusion in the health-insurance plan. Management then hired three scabs at \$200 a week each. Gotta pay good to get folks across a picket line, huh?

The Detroit/Ann Arbor IWW is supporting the striking sales personnel, who are setting up their own independent association. There are specific ways that *Industrial Worker* readers can help. The publishers and most of the owners of the *Metro Times* are members of the Democratic Socialists of America. Many of our readers and some of our members belong to the DSA or know folks who do. These people can bring pressure directly on the management at the struck paper by expressing their opposition. Write a letter to the editor at *Detroit Metro Times*, 2111 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan 48201. You might send a copy to the strikers in care of the Ann Arbor GMB of the IWW, 400 North 1st, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

T.

## "You can't scare us..."

They filed into the Los Angeles County courtroom unwashed and unkempt. Their combs, handkerchiefs, and jackets were filed away somewhere in Lompoc. Their clothes had a baggy, slept-in look, as indeed they had been. One young man was wearing borrowed shirt and pants because some energetic US marshal had shredded his clothes while dragging him to the holding van. Handcuffed, they'd been treated to a rough ride the previous night from the federal prison at Florence, Arizona. But when they found a roomful of supporters, their faces beamed.

These 15 defendants were a handful of the 800 individuals who had already served nine days in federal detention for their civil-disobedience action at Vandenberg Air Force Base March 21st. Why was Vandenberg important? Because first-strike weapons, highly accurate MX missiles capable of launching World War III, are tested there. These missiles are landing on the Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands. And oh, yes, a minor result of this war play has been the considerable inconvenience to the Kwajalein natives who've been interned in the small overcrowded island of Ebeye.

The defendants, proof of the proud tradition of civil disobedience, chose to plead nolo contendere. What had nettled the legal mind most was their refusal to accept



bail or give out their names. They wanted to conceal the identity of two-time offenders, for the government prosecutor was demanding a stiffer sentence for them.

(That ploy didn't work.)

"You can't intimidate us with that threat," a repeater scoffed.

Brown, the presiding woman judge, felt obligated to point out the separation between moral action in the statement of opinion and legal violation.

"It isn't your convictions that got you into trouble, but the stepping across that line. You went out of your way to break the law. Doing so just made you feel good."

"You're darned right, it made me feel good," retorted the defendant, adding: "I believe in stepping over the line before I get stepped on, and humanity becomes embroiled in another war."

Another complained that he'd been dropped on his back during his arrest.

"It must be that you weren't co-operating very well," smiled Judge Brown.

"Me co-operate? What do you suppose I was up there for?"

Another idealist, admitting to four clashes with the law, explained: "In 1956 my mother began joining peace demonstrations. I was brought up to speak out my mind. I vote. I petition. I write letters to congressmen. And if I could reach them, I'd address the Russian rulers the same way. But civil disobedience is just one more technique I use."

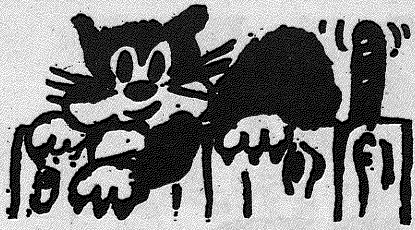
The verdict: "Sentence is time served. Second offenders included. Case dismissed."

Civil disobedients embraced supporters. We danced on the sidewalk. We sang and clapped. It's been a long, long time since this reporter has felt like smiling.

Even though we knew there would be other Vandenberg.

Dorice McDaniels





## LEFT SIDE

For countless millennia since the antiquity of human development there have been basic celebrations that have come down to us in one form or other. The human creature, having life, is a celebrating creature who will always find an excuse to celebrate something, even if it is only life itself. The simple joy of realizing that the days were getting longer again evolved into Chanuka, Saturnalia, Christmas, and New Year's, as Pesach, Ramadan, and Easter are coincidentally close to the Spring Equinox.

One of the most enduring and yet greatly misunderstood and perverted festivals grew out of the realization that the cold weather was finally gone and the good weather was really here to stay. The seeds could be planted without worrying that the frost would kill them. The Sun was out, and one could put away the winter heavies in mothballs or whatever served as such in days of antiquity. It was a time of renewed hope and optimism. The dance around the Maypole is a holdover from much lustier celebrations when the Maypole symbolized the human phallus in the days before the institution of property and its attendant class divisions brought about sexual inequality.

Like it or not, our modern May Day is a direct descendant of those lusty festivities of our pagan past that were held at the time of year that corresponds to the Western World's month of May. And it is still a day of hope and optimism.

In today's World, where the month of May has been perverted into ostentatious military parades on one hand, or declarations of loyalty by the various forms of commercially-motivated nation-states on the other, it would be well to recapture the spirit of our unlettered ancestors of the dim past. Our unlettered ancestors, being as ill-equipped to survive the harshness of a changing environment as were their piscine, winged, and quadrupedal colleagues, had somehow through communal co-operation created a unique civilization and culture as well as discovering technology. Unfortunately, that technology that our early ancestors so ingeniously invented has gotten out of hand. Where our ancestors had survived as a species on the rudest of tools, we who have the greatest of modern technology at our disposal, which could make this planet of ours a wonderful place to live in, are on the verge of destroying ourselves and our planet as well.

One Wobbly poet described civilization as a railroad train rushing further and further away from a switch that foolish workers forgot to pull. Our malady stems from the simple fact that we as human beings no longer have control over the technology that our species has developed. The abundance of tools that could make our lives so much easier are under the ownership and control of a few members of our species to use for their own comfort and ends. The machinery that could enhance the forces of nature to benefit all living things, instead—in our modern "enlightened" age—destroys our natural environment every day and reduces entire species of our fellow creatures to extinction every year.

The Amazon rain forest can be reduced to a desert, and the water table of the western plateaus can be drained so that even a cactus will not grow; the last buffalo, coyote, and California condor can disappear forever; and we surviving humans will still be expending more of our labor power for the simple necessities of life, because we consent to live in a world where too many decisions affecting too many people are being made by far too few of our number.

We have only to listen to the newscasts of world tensions, read the environmental impact statements, and observe the nuclear stockpiling going on around us to realize that the future does not look too rosy, and that things indeed will get worse before they get better. But we must still look upon May Day as a day of hope! May Day is not just a day to get out our banners to march down the street and congratulate ourselves on the big turnout we make, only to immediately resume our routinized lives. By doing only that, we would be insulting rather than respecting the memories of our past martyrs who dedicated their lives to passing on to us the struggle that it is our responsibility to carry on. The struggle we carry on today is one less struggle that our descendants will have to bear. It is very important that we engage in this struggle, if only to insure that we will have descendants.

Whether we choose to worship Jehovah or the Great Spirit or are content simply to appreciate the wonder of existence itself, if we have any concept of harmony and justice at all, we must give serious priority to devising how we are going to take control out of the hands of the few and put it back into the hands of the many. We would not think of leaving a fox to guard our chicken coop or a wolf to ride herd over our goats, but we are every bit as stupid in leaving our destinies in the hands of a handful of politicians, militarists, and "statesmen" who have cocktails with each other while we whose labor supports them continue to shoot at each other.

We need nobody to tell us to eat when our stomachs growl, and we need nobody to tell us to relieve ourselves when our stomachs rumble. Before we boast about our evolution, let us remember that nobody has to tell the monkey to pick the bloodsuckers off his skin.

C. C. Redcloud

# Our Readers Write

(Note: The following letter from Fellow Worker Dan Perry of Chicago has been edited and condensed to save space.)

Why am I a union member of the Industrial Workers of the World? Why am I a socialist and a revolutionary? Why am I dissatisfied with the American economic system: the system of capitalism?

I must fight for and believe in the rights of the poor, the oppressed, the workers. I must fight to prevent the capitalist class from denying the people their right to earn a few dollars, to live comfortably, and to put aside money for their unproductive years. Even now the capitalists, with their bankers and through their government representatives, desire and conspire to take away from the older and disabled working people the only thing left of their productive years: the small pittance of Social Security benefits they exist on.

The rights to the wealth of the nation, the land, the natural resources, the industries, the institutions, belong to all the people, not just to a select few. Why should a few have so much, and so many have so little?

There can be no compromise, no truce, no peace between the working class and the capitalist class! They have nothing in common. There is only class struggle. As long as capitalism maintains the status quo, there will always be subjugation of the workers.

It is obvious that the capitalists have made a sorry state of the American economy, and indeed the world economy. This depression surely was not the fault of the working class. The greedy profit-taking by the capitalist bankers, through their manipulation of the American economic system, has always existed. To blame this state of affairs on the working class because of their efforts through their unions to get better wages is ridiculous.

The only answer is the elimination of the capitalist system. This elimination can be accomplished only by the complete overthrow and dismemberment of capitalism as a system. Capitalists, through their police powers, will inevitably crush and destroy any other method used by the laboring class of this country. This has been proven time and time again. The IWW is well aware of the capitalist police power.

Dan Perry

### CHEERS FROM ONE WHO DISAGREES

To the IW Collective:

I want to thank you for the way you worded the blurb on abortion in the March *Industrial Worker*. While you reported the actions of the Right To Lifers, you did so in a way that was not offensive to those of us who believe that abortion is wrong, but who have no need to enforce their morality on those who don't. (Bet you didn't know there were any Catholic Wobs?)

You do an excellent job. I'd only suggest that front-page graphics should be a little smaller, more on the order of the "Truly Needy" graph, and far distant from the scantily-clad "Come fight you fools". It's more professional, and people will take the paper more seriously. Take care. For the OBU,

Barry Norris

### MAY DAY GREETING

Friends and Fellow Workers:

It behooves us, on this Labor Day (May 1st), to extend our solidarity and love to our Polish fellow workers, who courageously battle for human dignity and control of their lives. The same must be said for our brothers and sisters south of the border, who resist US-backed dictatorships with their lives. We in the Industrial Workers of the World believe in a revitalized labor movement, united on our democratic syndicalist principles and constituted in Chicago in 1905. Our program presents a workable and just system of economic distribution and power.

We wish you a happy Labor Day and invite your inquiry.

Joint Council  
Industrial Workers of the World  
Boxholder, Little River, California



## FOOD for PEOPLE: update

Bellingham, Washington (WNS): We have just completed our sixth in a series of monthly community meals. This has been a very successful program, with as many as 450 being served free nutritious meals at each gathering.

Food for People has now been in existence for over a year. It is powered by the belief that the need for charity is a result of the misorganization of society rather than of individual shortcomings.

Our approach to "charity" has been different from the usual handout. We have been offering more than just food. Our basic premise in establishing the community meal is fourfold: (1) Make the environment one that we and our friends will feel proud and comfortable to be a part of. (2) Charge nothing for the event. (3) Attach no strings to the receiving of the meal. (4) Present with each meal a program which stimulates, challenges, and/or entertains. With these as our basic guidelines, we have created what we feel is an act of dignity and hope for us all.

The result has been that our meals have created a feeling of pride and solidarity in the unemployed and under-employed people who have taken part.

Unfortunately, the owners of the hall where the meals have been staged didn't seem to see it in the same light. After completing the six meals they were committed to, they chose not to continue allowing us the use of their hall (a rather affluent church parish hall). Their reason was that we were putting on programs that were much too controversial for them. They expressed a fear that we were "indoctrinating" poor people.

It is my personal opinion that we just didn't fit into their concept of charity—namely the rich giving handouts to the poor, or vertical integration if you will. (Look at me, I'm feeding those poor unfortunates!)

We just happened to be unemployed and under-employed members of the working class. Our "charity" was horizontally integrated. It was too much like a conspiracy to organize the "rabble". I feel they perceived us as offering a real threat to their dollar dominance. Poor people helping poor people looks like communism to them.

Where does Food for People go from here? We are actively pursuing a new location for the community meal. We are also putting more energy and resources into the informal soup kitchens we've had in the past year. An interesting and exciting idea is the building of a "mobile" soup kitchen with which we can easily do our feeding wherever we see the need. That includes the City Hall, the Federal Building, and so on. Our energy is high and growing!

One interesting side effect of our success has been a boon to the hungry of our community. Two organizations which pressured us to discontinue our efforts in the beginning are now mimicking us. The most notable of these is the Starvation Army. It's interesting and gratifying to see the Sally Anns learning from a group including such a high percentage of Wobs!

David Helm, X332451

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ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

## Industrial Worker

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THE FINAL DEADLINE FOR ALL COPY IS  
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## DEATH SHIP

(Editor's note: The *Marine Electric*, a coal freighter, sank off the Virginia coast February 12th, drowning 36 of her crew. The ship was scheduled for a hull inspection, but the owners received a postponement of that from the Coast Guard. A former crewman reported that the ship was unsafe, and families of those who were lost have criticized Marine Coal Transport for its handling of the incident. The tragedy prompted the following item from a reader.)

My brother, Anthony Quirk, was a crewman on the *Marine Electric*. He worked in the merchant marine about seven years, and was a member of the National Maritime Union and a believer in socialism.

I am sure that Marine Coal Transport, the company that owned the *Marine Electric*, and the National Maritime Union will find plenty of unemployed men to replace those who died on the *Marine Electric*, and I am just as certain that the families of those men will never replace them. The sinking of the ship was an avoidable tragedy, a by-product of capitalism. The owners sent it (a "rust bucket") out into a blizzard, gale winds, and high waves. As capitalists they were seeking to maximize their profits, no matter what the social costs. By not ordering the ship to remain in port until the storm was over and not ordering needed repairs to be made, they were minimizing their costs. They seek to limit their liability for the loss of 36 men to the value of the ship, a 39-year-old "tub", and its cargo, a pile of coal.

Whatever compensation the families of the deceased crewmen receive from the company will be paid by the company's insurance agent. To make up for its loss, the insurance agent will increase the premiums paid by marine transporters. The companies will then increase the rates they charge the jobbers who receive the cargo. The jobbers will include their increased costs in the selling price charged the consumers (me and you). We share in their losses, but we don't share in their profits. All of us will have to finance the loss of 36 men caused by the profit-maximizing behavior of the few capitalists who own Marine Transport Lines Incorporated.

As with most industrial accidents, those who died in the sinking of the *Marine Electric* were working-class people. A few years ago another "rust bucket" heading out into the Atlantic with a cargo destined for Europe sank without a trace in a storm off the coast of New Jersey. About 25 crewmen lost their lives in that accident, another avoidable one. Two years ago 50 men fell off a nuclear coolant tower they were constructing several hundred feet above the ground. The company owners (Cotrell Company of Boundbrook, New Jersey) pressured them into embedding their scaffolding in cement that had not fully dried. The scaffolding let go, and the men plunged to their deaths.

The near-massive disaster at Three Mile Island is perhaps the best contemporary example of how capitalists are willing to risk the lives and health of millions in order to maximize their profits. Private ownership of productive property and production for profit instead of need cause a low value to be placed on human life in this society.

Private ownership of the means of production allows a relative few to exploit working-class people, and inevitably results in such tragedies as the sinking of the *Marine Electric*. The laws created by representatives of the capitalist class and the judicial system they administer and control may or may not hold those who caused the tragedy accountable for it.

As a working-class person who lost a brother to a social system he did not believe in and opposed, I for one do hold them accountable. While I want to see the people who made the decisions responsible for the sinking of the *Marine Electric* punished, I want even more to see the institutions which influenced them to make these decisions changed. It's more the basic institutions of this capitalist society and less the greed of the owners of the *Marine Electric* that are responsible for the death of my brother and his 35 fellow sailors.

I have no illusions that the inquiry into the causes of the tragedy and the legal proceedings stemming from it will implicate private ownership of the means of production as a cause of it. Only we as working-class people opposed to capitalism can do that in the case of this tragedy and others like it.

My brother Tony was a white Irish-American. He died out there in the ocean with crewmen who were black, Puerto Rican, and of other diverse ethnic and racial origins. But the ocean doesn't care, and neither do the capitalists. The main thing the crewmen had in common was that they were all working-class. They were out on the ocean not from love of it but from economic need, and it will be out of the same need that all working-class people will create a socialist United States. Just as they cooperate in sailing ships, they will someday co-operate in creating and administering a socialist US.

I look forward to that day, just as my brother Tony did. There will come a time when among other industries in the US, the marine-transport industry will be run by the workers who are in it for the benefit of all of us. It will be a democratically-socialized marine-transport industry, and the workers in it will decide whether they want to risk sailing out into a blizzard. They will also decide whether the cargoes of the ships they are on are worth more than their lives.

Michael Quirk



## YOUR HEALTH

THIS RECESSION IS CAUSING stress problems both for those left on the job and for those laid off. Those kept on are often assigned a wider range of chores and longer overtime. Those laid off find unemployment belittling, and (says Dr. Ramsey Liem) "the wives of unemployed men become significantly more depressed, anxious, phobic, and sensitive about interpersonal relationships than the wives of employed men". One excellent therapy: invest some time in efforts to make this world different and better.

HEALTH HAZARDS OFF THE JOB keep growing. The stuff of the world is old, but we keep creating new hazards with it via the combinations into which industrial chemists put it. Often these hazards are not widely known until years after they have been created. Recently such hazards have been augmented by filling the Environmental Protection Agency with company stooges, and by cutting the budget of the Consumer Product Safety Division so that a mere 80 inspectors have to keep tabs on more than 15,000 products.

HOW MUCH OF OUR CANCER comes from the job? Answers differ. The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment says that not more than 4% of cancer comes from the job—most comes from smoking and bad diet. But both the National Institute for Health and the American Industrial Health Council estimate that 20 to 40% of all cancer can be traced to the workplace. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health says that over their worklife 45 million people have had significant exposure to carcinogens at work, and that currently some 880,000—or about 1% of the work force—are so exposed.

A RECENT STUDY by the Mine Safety and Health Association applies to many jobs above ground too. It found that mines with good long-run safety records had good safety training programs, standard operating procedures that had been made clear to both workers and supervisors, adequate staffing and funding of safety departments, and especially important, two-way communication on health and safety issues.

NIOSH HAS COMPILED a list of the 10 major work-related diseases: (1) occupational lung diseases; (2) musculoskeletal injuries such as disorders of the back; (3) occupational cancers other than lung; (4) amputations, fractures, and eye damage; (5) cardiovascular diseases; (6) reproduction disorders; (7) nerve poisoning; (8) noise-induced hearing loss; (9) skin disorders; and (10) psychological disorders.

The listing was based on frequency and severity.

## AMERICAN LABOR ROUNDUP

AIRLINE PILOTS said Eastern Airlines had "stabbed them in the back", conning 400 of their members into concessions to pay for the increase the Machinists later announced for their 13,000 members. By a narrow vote-by-mail the pilots had postponed \$30 million in wage boosts for a year. They wanted to "reconsider" this when they learned that the Machinists had gotten pay increases of 32%, 21% retroactive to January 1st. Industrial organization does have its advantages.

STEEL WORKERS felt like reconsidering their \$2.9 billion in concessions when they learned that US Steel was thanking them by arranging to import semi-finished slabs of steel from Scotland, where the Government subsidizes the steel company and the wages are much lower. US Steel plans to replace the obsolete furnaces at its Fairless plant with facilities to finish some three million tons of imported slabs, with a substantial loss in jobs.

AT THAT TIME the steel industry employed around 270,000 as compared to 331,000 a year earlier, but up about 30,000 from the December low, with companies still counting 128,000 on layoff.

STEEL WORKERS COMPLAIN that the corporations did not re-invest profits to keep plants up-to-date; but at the most modern plant (the Bethlehem Steel plant at Burns Harbor, Indiana) they have a new worry. As the most efficient plant they have had rather steady work; but now that Bethlehem has closed less efficient plants, employment will expand and shrink with the market.

AT WEIRTON STEEL employees were to vote in April on whether to buy the plant for \$66 million, close to ten grand for each of its 7,000 employees. The new company would also have to come up with a prompt \$75 million cash payment on the \$300 million inventory. The proposal for this Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) calls for workers to invest a third of their pay (which averaged \$35,000 last year), with a 15-year layout and no payment on principal till 1989.

TEAMSTER PRESIDENT Roy L. Williams drew 55 years on the charge of trying to bribe a Senator to vote against a de-regulation of the trucking industry that cost many union members their jobs. Why is it the Teamsters so often get accused of no-nos? In contrast to other occupations, there has been much less physical opportunity to sell truck drivers on the merits of unionism, and thus less rank-and-file input and less union democracy. But surely a larger reason for this selective jumping on the Teamsters decade after decade is that it is truck drivers who often decide whether strikes will be won or lost in other industries by deciding whether or not to move cargo through picket lines.

ROBOTS WILL TAKE OVER Parker Pen in Janesville, Wisconsin and cut the 580 work force there to about 350. United Rubber Workers and Machinists have agreed to the terms: About \$8.5 million will be spent on the robots and \$5.5 million on the workers as compensation for layoffs.

GEORGIA-PACIFIC LUMBER has been ordered to pay \$2,666,667 to about 1500 black employees for discrimination in hiring and job assignment. This is the outcome of a 12-year battle by the International Woodworkers. The long case involved a landmark decision that unions can bring job-discrimination suits on behalf of those for whom they bargain.

EVEN THE TRADITIONALLY HAWKISH AFL-CIO is beginning to back away from President Reagan's escalating defense budget. The US labor federation's executive council in Miami has approved a policy statement calling for a reduction in defense increases from about 10% to 6%. Perhaps a third of the membership of the AFL-CIO supports a nuclear-freeze resolution introduced by the United Food and Commercial Workers. Among the supporters of the resolution are AFSCME, the Communications Workers, and the Service Employees.

FOR UNIVERSAL  
WORKING CLASS CONTROL  
OF INDUSTRY

Minnie F. Corder, X324726





# SOUTH KOREAN LABOR PAINS

(second installment)

In 1945, Korea—which had been a Japanese colony since 1910—was divided into the northern Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the southern Republic of Korea (ROK). The split destroyed the economic unity of the country, separating the more industrial north with its greater mineral and power resources from the more agricultural south. After the devastation of the Korean War, in which over a million Korean civilians were killed, 43% of the country's industrial facilities and 33% of its housing destroyed, and most of its draught animals slaughtered, both sections of the country struggled to rebuild. In the south, pollution from the new industries wreaked havoc upon farmland and fishing areas alike.

By 1979 South Korea was facing serious economic problems brought about by its over-dependence on foreign loans and investments. Inflation was running at 40% a year, and because of the country's tight trade and capital links with the US and Japan, the world recession devastated whole industries, causing countless bankruptcies and growing unemployment. The average salary for an ROK industrial worker was between 70¢ and \$1 for a 60-hour week. In 1980, according to the *Korean Times*, the total number of victims of industrial accidents was 117,938: 1,295 killed, 101,837 injured, and nearly 15,000 affected by various occupational illnesses. It is against this background that the bitter struggles of the 1980s are taking place.

Sparked by the self-immolation of a young textile worker in 1970, the workers' movement in South Korea became increasingly militant throughout the '70s. Using whatever methods they could, unions raised wages and bettered working conditions. By 1978 a loose network of strong democratic unions had been established. This movement, with its allies in the universities and churches, was viewed as a major threat by the Government.

Utilizing public support for the workers and popular dissatisfaction with the 18-year rule of Park Chung Hee, political opposition gained visibility and strength. In May 1979 Kim Young Sam was elected as the new party chairperson of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) after promising to fight for democratic reforms.

## War in the Factories and Streets

That August the workers' struggle burst into the headlines of the nation's normally-censored press. Two hours after the midnight curfew on August 11th, a police raid arrested 180 women workers of the YH Industrial Wig Company and 30 NDP members who were on the second day of a sit-in to protest the factory's closing. Many workers, NDP members, and reporters were badly beaten during the raid, and a young woman, an executive member of a labor union, was killed. The incident was front-page news throughout the ROK for days, until the Government ordered the press to sidetrack the issue by blaming the confrontation on the church-based Urban Industrial Mission.

In early October President Park ousted Kim Young Sam from the National Assembly, ostensibly over Kim's public appeal to the US to withdraw support from Park's dictatorial rule. Soon thereafter students and workers led large demonstrations in Pusan, Kim's home town. The resulting repression by riot police and the Military led to massive selective violence by demonstrators. Most of Pusan's police stations and mass-media offices, along with the headquarters of Park's ruling party, were destroyed. Unrest soon spread to nearby Masan, the site of one of Korea's free-trade zones, where workers also took to the streets. The presence of factory workers and hundreds of dock workers among the protesters worried the Government. Some 60% of South Korea's trading is done through Pusan, the country's largest port.

Fearing a repeat of 1960, when student protests in Pusan and Masan led to the overthrow of Syngman Rhee's dictatorship, the Government declared martial law in both cities on October 17th.

Nine days later President Park was shot dead by the head of the Korean CIA. Most Korean analysts believe he was killed to remove the prime target of anti-Government protest and to buy time for an economic recovery that would defuse worker unrest. Massive student demonstrations planned for later that month were thus averted. But with the symbol of dictatorial rule now dead, an unprecedented wave of labor unrest swept the country. In the first three months of 1980 there were more than a thousand strikes—10 times more than in the previous 10 years. From early January to April, workers in hundreds of workplaces held sit-ins and strikes. Many won major concessions, including the recognition of independent democratic unions.

In the second week of May 1980, hundreds of thousands of students demonstrated in Seoul, demanding an end to martial law and the restoration of democracy. Due to the widespread hatred of Park's rule, even the Government conceded the need for change. When the interim administration of Choi Kyu Hah promised to consider the students' demands, the students called off their mass protests and set May 17th as the deadline for the Government to announce its schedule for a return to democratic rule. A day later both the opposition and ruling parties declared their intention to vote for an end to martial law.

But since the assassination of Park, a low-ranking military officer named Chun Doo Hwan had slowly been consolidating power. (Many Korean observers speculate that US General Wickham, commander of the US-Korea Joint

Military Command, who was Chun Doo Hwan's commanding officer in Vietnam, had secretly been promoting Chun for some time.) In April Chun became the recognized head of the ROK's military forces and CIA. From this joint position Chun was able to direct the coup that brought down the curtain on South Korea's "democratic spring" in May.

On May 17th Chun declared martial law throughout the ROK. While 40,000 US troops were put on full alert, thousands of South Korean troops were deployed in major cities. The National Assembly was closed, and paratroopers occupied all the universities. Hundreds of labor unionists, students, and opposition figures were arrested.

But in Kwangju, a city of 700,000 in the southwest, demonstrations continued. The day after the coup 5,000



Photo by Phris J. Harvey.

Slum district on outskirts of Seoul, 1979

students clashed with martial-law troops and paratroopers. Under the cover of pepper fog, paratroopers—including many with experience in Vietnam—began an indiscriminate slaughter. Hundreds of dead bodies were loaded onto military trucks and taken to mass graves.

But the citizens of Kwangju refused to be intimidated by this bloody spectacle. On May 19th 20,000 people demonstrated in the streets, and the next day the crowd had swollen to over 100,000. Later that day, after several hundred people had been shot, weapons were seized from police stations and armories. A "citizens' army" of factory workers, unemployed people, and students formed and attacked the Military in open battle. By May 21st the Military and the police had retreated to the outskirts of the city, where fighting raged for the next five days.

Meanwhile, the Korean Military pulled a tight noose around the city. All communications were cut, and Government-controlled newspapers began carrying stories of "communists" and "North Koreans" trying to take over Kwangju. On May 26th General Wickham authorized the release of more than 20,000 South Korean troops under his command from duty along the Demilitarized Zone with North Korea. In the pre-dawn hours of May 27th the city of Kwangju was assaulted by the Korean Army and quickly retaken. Most of the leaders of the uprising were killed, and hundreds more were arrested. Altogether more than 3,000 people were killed.

Within a week of the massacre President Carter assured the military junta that US economic support would continue, and approved a 600-million-dollar loan to help cover the cost of nuclear reactors built by Westinghouse. Three years later, US-Korea relations are, in the words of the Reagan Administration, "closer than ever". In February 1981 General Chun became the first head of state invited to visit President Reagan, who proclaimed an end to all discussions of US troop withdrawals from South Korea. From February through April 1981 US and Korean

forces staged their annual "Team Spirit" maneuvers, involving more than 160,000 soldiers—the largest peacetime military exercises ever held by the US.

At US direction (85% of the South Korean Military is under US command), South Korea spends 6% of its Gross National Product on defense. In 1983 Korean military spending will be nearly \$4.6 billion, 30% of its Government budget. The South Korean Air Force and Army (the fifth-largest in the world) provides a lucrative market for General Dynamics (missiles, fighter jets), General Motors (tanks), Hughes (helicopters), and Northrop (fighter jets).

## New Resistance, Growing Repression

After Chun consolidated his power, he made union-busting one of his priorities. The legal labor movement has all but been destroyed, and militant unions have been broken up. New laws outlaw formal ties between union locals and their national councils. Cut off from their parent bodies and unable to bargain collectively with industry, locals have become easy targets for replacement by management-run unions. Hundreds of union activists have been arrested and sent to military "purification camps", where they are forced to participate in military and anti-communist training.

The US role in the repression of Kwangju and US direct support for Chun before and after the uprising outraged most of the people of South Korea, leading workers to aim protests at American targets. In December 1980 21 members of the Chonggye Garment Workers Union entered the Seoul office of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), a US Government-funded AFL-CIO affiliate. They hoped to meet with Morris Paladino, the AAFLI executive director, ostensibly in Seoul at the time to investigate the labor situation, to protest the banning of their union.

When Paladino refused to attend the meeting, the angry workers occupied the office, took the AAFLI's Seoul director hostage for several hours, and threatened to burn the building. But shortly after midnight police stormed the office and arrested all 21 unionists. Five of them were later sentenced to up to seven years in prison. Paladino has been named as an American CIA agent by former CIA agent Philip Agee, and the AAFLI, like similar organizations in Africa and Latin America, is widely suspected of being a CIA front.

Between the worsening economic situation and the increasing anti-Americanism of Korean workers, US investment in South Korea was lower in 1982 than in the past, reflecting the pullout of Dow Chemical and Control Data. DOW was the leading US investor in the country, but pulled out in the fall after a prolonged dispute with its local Korean partners. Control Data pulled out after a violent labor dispute in June. At Control Data's Seoul factory, six women union members demanded better pay for the 300 women in the plant. When Control Data fired the activists, the rest of the workers engaged in a strike and then in a work slowdown. Finally the workers took two US executives hostage for nine hours.

Such incidents have not deterred Korean commerce ministers from touring the US to drum up new investments. The Caterpillar Tractor Company, faced with a strike at its Mentor, Ohio lift-truck plant since October 1st, is said to be contemplating shifting production to Korea. It is sad but not surprising that it was the tax dollars of these same American workers that helped smash their Korean counterparts' unions, thereby making the American workers vulnerable to management pullout threats. There is no plainer example of the truth of the slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all."

plp

*Multinational Monitor*, Volume 4, Number 1, January '83  
*Multinational Monitor*, Volume 4, Number 2, February '83  
*The Nation*, Volume 235, Number 15, November 6th, '82  
*Not Man Apart*, Volume 12, Number 6, July '82  
*WIN*, Volume 18, Number 16, September 1st, '82

## 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, IL 60657, with a line about your job. The initiation fee is \$5 in the U.S., and dues are \$5 a month.



# WORLD LABOR NEWS



MILLIONS OF ARGENTINE WORKERS defied the military government and shut down ground transportation, businesses, and international air traffic March 28th in the second nationwide strike in four months. The workers, faced with Argentina's 400% inflation, demanded a 17% wage increase. The Government warned the strikers that they could be fired or imprisoned or lose a day's pay, although that might be difficult to enforce. By the Government's own admission, 96% of the country's 10 million workers took part in the strike.

BACKED BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS of US dollars, Protestant Evangelical churches and sects have spread to the smallest hamlets and mountain villages in Central America, particularly in Guatemala, where the military ruler, General Montt, is himself a born-again member of the California-based Church of the Word. While rivalry between competing denominations is of no concern to industrial unionism, fears have been voiced that as in the case of the Hmong/Meo people of Laos and Miskitos of Nicaragua, the CIA and other agents of the US Government are trying to inflame existing divisions in societies in the path of US wars. With regard to Guatemala, these fears were heightened by a meeting in Washington DC last year between Montt's aide Francisco Bianchi, Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell, White House aide Edwin Meese, and William Mittendorf, US ambassador to the Organization of American States, to discuss financial support for Montt's regime and the fundamentalist cause.

52 LEADERS OF TURKEY'S labor union DISK are on trial, and the prosecution has asked for the death sentence. Since the military coup in 1980, Turkey has endured a reign of state-orchestrated repression. In 1982 Turkish authorities admitted holding 29,000 people in prison for political offenses, with 3,000 of them facing trials which could result in the death penalty. Amnesty International has documented many cases of torture, and about a thousand people have simply been gunned down in the streets by Government death squads. The four major political parties have all been dissolved, as has DISK. None of this, of course, has deterred the US Government from pouring aid into the country, which has now reached \$930 million. Turkey's strategic location as the closest US base to Tehran and the Persian Gulf has made it the third-largest recipient of US military aid, after Israel and Egypt.

LABOR UNREST IS INCREASING in Brazil, four months after the Government imposed the usual austerity measures required of recipients of International Monetary Fund loans. The Government began by attacking the living standards of the vast majority of Brazilians through stringent wage cuts, which they could ill afford. Real wages have declined catastrophically since the US-backed military coup in 1964, which overthrew a reformist government and installed the present regime. The next blow was struck in mid-February, when the cruzeiro was suddenly devalued by 23% in an attempt to reduce Brazil's balance-of-payments deficit. That action loosed a new surge of inflation, now running at 100%, to which the Government's most conspicuous response has been to pressure its bureau of statistics to distort the figures.

AS A SOP TO CHILE'S CRITICS, a commission appointed by Pinochet recommended that 562 non-Marxist exiled opposition leaders be permitted to return to the country. Pinochet then reduced the number to 125 little-known dissidents and fired the five commission members. Other evidence of a Government crackdown in Chile: Police have broken up two "marches against hunger" in Santiago since December, and the Government has provoked its first direct conflict with the Catholic church by expelling three foreign missionaries who had organized "Christian communities" in a slum.

A QUARTER-MILLION MALE EMPLOYEES of the central government of India feel entitled to new uniforms and shoes. If their demands are denied, they have threatened to stage a parade through New Delhi in "minimum underwear".

TWELVE FARMERS DIED and more than 20 were injured in a violent dispute March 25th over about 250 acres of land near the village of Chalchihuitan in Chiapas, Mexico's southernmost state. According to the Government newspaper *El Nacional*, peasants who sympathized with Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party tried to stop members of the opposition Socialist Workers Party from taking over the land by force.

ARGENTINA HAS CUT its program of training and equipping anti-Sandinista forces in Central America, thus making it necessary for the US Government to play a more open role in its not-so-secret war against Nicaragua. Argentina had sent military advisers to Honduras, where they had helped train anti-Sandinista Nicaraguans, and had acted as a middleman for the transfer of American cash from the CIA to these groups.

IN ARGENTINA ITSELF, author Jorge Luis Borges commented: "The Malvinas war demonstrated that Argentine military men are much more dangerous to their compatriots than they are to an enemy in the field." He alluded to the regime's mid-1970s campaign against leftist guerrillas that resulted in the disappearances of 6,000 to 15,000 people. Local and international human-rights organizations claim that many of the missing had nothing to do with the guerrillas, but were summarily executed on suspicion of subversion.

IN THE US, CIA attorneys are arguing that Congress should allow continued funding of paramilitary operations against Nicaragua, despite the Boland Amendment particularly outlawing CIA or Defense (sic) Department money for "the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras". The attorneys claim the spending is legal because the "purpose" of the US agencies supplying money and weapons to the insurgents is not to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, even if the purpose of the anti-Sandinista forces who receive the support is to do so.

## CHINESE AGRICULTURE

Since 1979 agricultural output in China has increased by an average of 6.5% per year, though the country continues to import grain at a rate which grew from 4.6 million tons per year in the early '70s to more than 13 million tons in 1981. The increase in food production has been attributed to increased prices for crops and the re-establishment of the individual family, rather than the commune or brigade, as the basic agricultural production unit.

One problem with the new agricultural policies is that the return to family-based production has reinforced the rural preferences for sons over daughters and encourages families to have more children to help in the fields and paddies. Also family production will encourage families to pull their children out of school earlier.



The Sixth Congress of the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT) opened in Barcelona on January 12th. Following is a report of the main resolutions of the Congress as summarized in the February issue of CNT, official organ of the Confederation.

The main resolutions of the Congress concerned the form of organization, the national and international economic and social situation, the problems of the Spanish labor movement, and the attitude of the CNT toward "marginal" non-labor movements.

On the form of organization, the Congress recommended the creation of an economic and social advisory council made up of economists, psychologists, sociologists, and representatives of other disciplines reporting findings and making suggestions for consideration by the National Committee of the CNT.

For the second time since 1931, the Congress moved for the formation of National Industrial Federations similar to the "One Big Union" of the IWW.

On the national and international economic and social situation, the Congress emphasized that the proletariat can attain its freedom, economic well-being, and social equality only with the disappearance of both capitalism and the State. The destruction of capitalism and the State can be greatly expedited only to the extent that the workers develop the capacity for self-administration of production and distribution of social wealth.

Economic and social problems cannot be tackled on a national basis because the giant multinational capitalist conglomerates are the outstanding feature of modern capitalism. Only the closest solidarity between the national federations of workers' unions can cope with the problems of the workers on an international scale. The Congress therefore urges the solidarity and co-ordination of the labor movements of all countries in the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association (IWA).

On militarism, the CNT insists that the armies of all nations are the main enemies of freedom and the Social Revolution. The Congress calls upon the workers to fight for world disarmament and the abolition of all armies and military blocs and alliances, including NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and urges boycotts of military service, conscientious objection, and conversion of military funds for useful civilian and social purposes.

The CNT favors "marginal" movements in accordance with anarchist ethical principles. Women's rights, abortion rights, ecology, sexual freedom, neighborhood cultural groupings, progressive education, grass-roots co-operatives, and the like are seen as rebellions against centralization and State totalitarianism. The autonomy and self-administration of daily life must be expanded and encouraged.

On movements for national independence and establishment of new nation-states, the Congress points to the irreconcilable antagonism between the nation-state and the natural community. The nation-state breaks up the organic unity of the natural community by exercising absolute power over its subjects and their associations. The State must not be re-created.

The Congress emphasized that the anarchist alternatives to nationalism are stateless federations of free communes (municipalities) and other voluntary associations of various peoples with other peoples.

The Congress addressed a fraternal appeal to heal the split in the CNT, urging the comrades who left the CNT to achieve unity and understanding on the basis outlined

THE HIGH-TECH INDUSTRY cannot be counted on to lead the US out of its unemployment doldrums, according to an employment analyst of the Remediation and Training Institute in Washington. While vocational educators and private technical schools are gearing up computer-oriented training, the whole thrust in the computer field is to make machines that require fewer programmers and technicians. The main effect of the computer revolution will be to segment jobs in the high-tech industries, eliminating middle-skill jobs while increasing the demand for a smaller number of workers with advanced skills and multiple degrees. Most jobs will be low-wage and low-skill. Meanwhile, the high-tech computer and electronics industry, long believed to be immune from recession-spawned salary freezes, plant shutdowns, and layoffs, has begun to face the same problems as the steel and auto industries.

## MUTINY FOR THE BOUNTY

Britain's Royal Navy has hijacked one of its own ships to avoid union problems, but the union mutinied. It all started when the Navy brought a North Sea ferry, the *Keren*, to shuttle troops to the Malvinas. The 70 civilian crew members got paid royally for North Sea duty, but the Navy pays less. The National Union of Seamen said the ship wouldn't sail unless its crew got paid more. The Navy gave the crew Easter leave, smuggled on board a replacement crew of sailors and soldiers, and cast off. "It was a shabby trick... it's despicable," sputtered NUS secretary Slater. But the union may have the last laugh: It has called for a worldwide strike to tie up British ships, unless the Navy surrenders.

## CNT Congress

in the resolutions of the Sixth Congress. To achieve this purpose, to strengthen and restore its influence, and to develop a realistic program of action defining the position of the CNT on the problems of the labor movement, the Congress decided to call an extraordinary Congress of the CNT to be convened in Madrid from March 31st to April 3rd, 1983.

We wish our comrades all success in their deliberations, which we will report.

(translated by Sam Dolgoff)



Anti-nuclear protest in Amsterdam

## DIGGING WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

Richard J. Altenbaugh, an assistant professor at the School of Education, University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15261), wrote his dissertation on three residential labor schools: Commonwealth, Brookwood, and the Work People's College. He is now expanding his research into a book, and would like to reach people who studied at these schools, especially the Work People's College in Duluth, which was linked to the IWW.

In its earlier period, the Work People's College was a Finnish language institution, originally designed to train Lutheran ministers. It remained largely a service to workers from Finland to facilitate their entry into American industry and union activity. It welcomed workers speaking other languages from the mid-'20s to its close in 1941.



# Fictional Film

*For Us, The Living*, produced by PBS

Much touted in the main-line media, the PBS film *For Us, The Living*, which purports to tell the story of the martyred (1963) black civil-rights leader Medgar W. Evers of Mississippi, actually deserves a failing grade.

The film is ostensibly based on the 1968 book of the same title written by Myrlie Evers (Medgar's widow) and a New York media man, William Peters. Although that portion of the book dealing with Medgar as husband and father has merit, the latter section, involving the Jackson Movement, is sketchy and chronologically garbled, and omits the deeper questions. (Myrlie Evers did not participate in Movement activities, and that portion of her book appears to have been put together from *New York Times* clippings. Typos in the *Times* articles are included verbatim in the text of the book.) In the early 1970s, black playwright Ossie Davis did a highly-fictionalized script based on the flawed Myrlie Evers/William Peters book. This very strange script eventually wound up with PBS, and Charles Fries Productions—and with over a million dollars from PBS and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The film was then made in Atlanta without consultation with Jackson Movement veterans. Nor were the Jackson Movement records—contained in my collected papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History—used in any way.

The result is that *For Us, The Living* is highly romanticized and brimful of distortions, and exemplifies countless omissions. It does not catch the essence of the man, the state, or the times, and can only be considered a primarily fictional work, utterly worthless as historical depiction. A few of the many examples:

The police-state nature of Mississippi, dominated by organized racists and economic royalists (a well-organized machine), is considerably softened. Virtually nothing is said of planter/industrialist control and their shrewd use of racism to inflame the poor whites, but instead the poor whites receive most of the blame in this film. The daily racism of Mississippi is distorted: At a time when no conventional Mississippi white called a black by a courtesy title (Mr., Mrs., Miss), we have some of this in the film. And in one episode (one of many in the film which never actually occurred), Medgar Evers stands off a group of whites with a revolver when they attempt to rape his mother-in-law. In the real-life Mississippi of that era, his next options would have been either permanent relocation in Chicago or lynching in Mississippi.

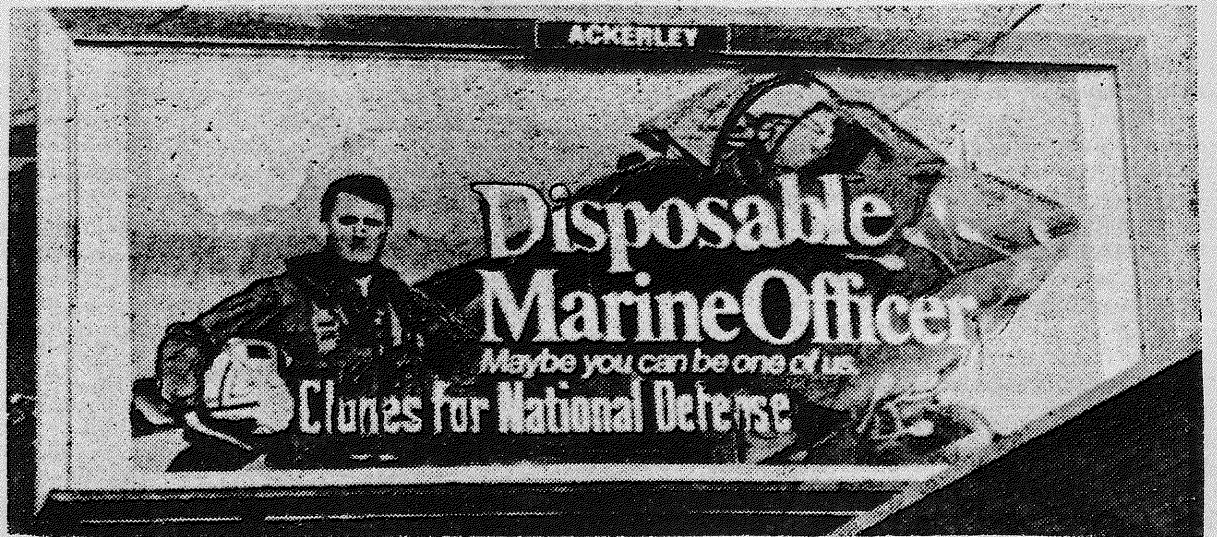
Non-NAACP organizations (SNCC, CORE, and SCLC) and their leaders are not mentioned in the film—nor are local Jackson activists. The 1961 Freedom Rides and the 1962 Meredith desegregation of Ole Miss—both major events—do not exist in this version of history.

Very significantly, the National NAACP in New York and the Kennedy Administration—both vigorously opposed to direct action, especially in Mississippi, and both working to destroy any attempt at it—are now portrayed as sturdy advocates of courageous conduct. The careful, step-by-step development of the crucial, highly-dramatic Jackson Movement of 1962-63—from boycott to massive demonstrations—is almost completely omitted. Its great factional division—activist proponents of large-scale direct action and the black grass roots versus the National NAACP and the Kennedys and middle-class Jackson blacks—is entirely absent from the film. The direct-action period is horribly mangled: A few events from several years are garbled and then juxtaposed into an apparently brief chronological period; and to cap it off, film clips from the 1966 "Meredith March" at the Mississippi state capitol (three years after Medgar's death) are placed in his time.

Acting on behalf of myself and a number of Jackson people who asked me to do so (I was the chairperson of the Jackson Movement's strategy committee and a close associate of Medgar Evers), I wrote a lengthy letter to PBS following the premiere of the film in Jackson in early March. I followed this up with a request that PBS label the film as "fiction" (it has been widely advertised as a "docudrama" and sometimes as a "documentary"), and asked that the national showing of the film be followed by a critical panel of Jackson Movement veterans. Not surprisingly, the PBS response (when it finally came) ignored the question about the vast number of distortions and omissions and declined to label the film as fiction or follow it with a critical discussion. Among the many questions this film raises—including the proper use of public money—is this: Aside from the importance of historical accuracy in any event, why did the filmmakers find it necessary to distort and garble—when the true story of Medgar Evers, the Jackson Movement, Mississippi, and all the attendant issues make up an extraordinary complex which exemplifies the highest kind of drama and challenge?

John R. Salter Jr.

# ART AND CULTURE



## DEBS ONCE AGAIN

*Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*, by Nick Salvatore, published by the University of Illinois Press

Eugene V. Debs was, if nothing else, one of the most dynamic figures to have lived in the 20th Century. Debs's rise to national prominence coincided with the great advancement of industrialism in the United States between 1877 and 1920.

Born in the then frontier town of Terre Haute, Indiana to poor but literate French immigrant parents, young Eugene Victor (named after his father's favorite authors, Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo) was to run 65 years later as the Socialist Presidential candidate from a prison cell and poll a million votes.

Debs was not a born radical. He was not a man fighting the tides of history, but very much a man of his times, as Salvatore points out in his painfully-researched biography.

This is where Salvatore excels as the latest in a distinguished list of Debs biographers. It is his intimate knowledge of labor and American history that lends credibility to this careful examination of Debs's complex development. Debs had gone from a conservative trade-unionist who exhorted his membership to live in "sobriety" and "brotherhood", refraining from strikes, to leading two of the most dramatic strikes in US history and serving as the founding father of the Socialist Party and as one of the founding fathers of the IWW.

There are two notable departures from the previous accounts of Debs's life in Salvatore's book. First is his insistence on giving a detailed but concise history of Debs's

home town, Terre Haute. Salvatore believes that Terre Haute's early "spirit of democratic ideology" and primitive agrarian capitalism had a profound effect on young Debs. Terre Haute's status as a major railroad center also fired young Debs's imagination and led him to become the first secretary of the Terre Haute local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

Second, the book lacks the homey anecdotes about Debs which abound in earlier portraits. Salvatore is concerned with "demystifying" Debs and rescuing him from those who think of him as either a saint or a scoundrel. It is Salvatore's contention that the stories of Debs's generosity and wit, while largely true, serve to surround him with a shroud which obscures his steely and determined nature.

Salvatore is obviously in awe of his subject, but is not afraid to expose the human frailties of the man. He is critical of Debs's aloofness in dealing with the internal strife plaguing the Socialist Party which led to its diminished importance in American politics. Salvatore also contends that Debs's lack of introspection (largely due to his demanding schedule) and his wavering about the IWW also caused consternation among his comrades.

Salvatore's fast-paced prose accommodates the compelling story of America's pre-eminent radical, and allows the work to be not only scholarly but highly readable as well. *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* is a history not only of one man, but of the struggle of the American workingman to assert his dignity and worth in our society.

B. F. McClelland



## PROCESSED WORLD

Originating in the financial district of San Francisco, *Processed World* is a well-produced quarterly magazine of about 60 pages. It is written by a group of present and former office employees who possess in common, as they say, a "bad work attitude". By means of humor, graphics, hard-hitting articles, and a general spirit of resistance to the deadening hierarchies of the modern office, *Processed World* offers delightful reading combined with the inspiration to think about better ways of organizing the contemporary working world.

*Processed World* 5 begins, as each issue does, with a section called "Talking Heads"—feedback from readers. A letter from the owner of an engineering company bitterly attacks the magazine as giving him "more laughs than anything I have read since the IWW pamphlets". The engineer lectures the magazine that true "production for need" means producing something better and cheaper than a competitor, rather than considering its actual effects on people or the environment, as the magazine advocates. But as the editor says, the engineer's letter reflects "attitudes and platitudes regrettably widespread among workers".

*Processed World* 6 is filled with fine and funny graphics, including re-designed advertising for office systems that in their new form reveal the true messages they convey. And there are also jokes:

Q. How can you tell when your boss is lying to you?  
A. When his lips are moving.

*Processed World* is available for \$10 for four issues (if you have a good steady income) or \$5 for four issues (if you haven't) from 55 Sutter Street (829), San Francisco, California 94104. The magazine would also like to hear from people willing to distribute copies in their own office or geographic locale.

Tom Wayman

## A Freebie, Anyone?

The state of South Dakota is trying to encourage vacationers to come there during their travels. The Tourism Bureau of South Dakota is placing advertisements in national magazines and periodicals to call the following toll-free telephone number to inquire about sights to see and tourist facilities available in their fair state. By dialing (800) 843-1930 you can, without charge, talk directly to South Dakota no matter where you live in Freedom Land.

This is a golden opportunity to tell the boosters there that if they want you to spend your money in their state, they should lay off the Lakotas at Yellow Thunder Camp and put a stop to the continued robbery of the Indian people in that state. What better chance to make a long-distance telephone call without depleting your pin money and do a good deed at the same time?

## WOBBLE

A universal conference was being held by various surgeons of the world. After some merriment, a Swedish surgeon boasted that in his country the surgeons were so skilled that they could remove the stomach of one human, place it in another, and have him out looking for work in eight weeks.

All agreed that this was indeed an accomplishment, until a German surgeon said it wasn't anything: In his country they could remove the intestines of one human, place them in several humans, and have four people looking for work within six weeks.

"What's so great about that?" asked a Russian surgeon. "In my country we can take the heart out of an animal, place it in humans, and have them looking for work within two weeks."

Not wanting his country to be outdone, a surgeon from the United States chimed in: "Our country tops all of your so-called feats. In our country we can take an asshole out of Hollywood, put him in the White House, and have half the country looking for work the next day."



# Literature

- theoretical:**
- IWW Organizing Manual . . . . . \$ .75
  - Collective Bargaining Manual . . . . . .75
  - IWW Preamble and Constitution . . . . . .30
  - Inflation: Cause and Cure . . . . . .25
  - General Strike for Industrial Freedom . . . . . .50
  - One Big Union . . . . . 1.00
  - Unions and Racism . . . . . 1.00
  - Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job . . . . . .50

- 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 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
  - Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter . . . . . 1.00
  - Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism . . . . . 5.95

- posters (printed)**
- Organize! . . . . . \$ .50
  - One Big Union . . . . . .50
  - One Anti-War Poster . . . . . .50

- posters (lino-graphics):**
- Joe Hill . . . . . \$5.00
  - General Strike . . . . . 5.00
  - Huelga General . . . . . 5.00
  - Draftees of the World Unite! . . . . . 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.

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**Available from Local Groups and Branches:**

Available from New York IWW:  
A Worker's Guide to Direct Action, 50¢  
PO Box 183, New York, New York 10028

Available from the Tacoma-Olympia Branch, 2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, WA 98405: *Fellow Union Member*, 10¢ each; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢ each; 15 to 499, 3¢ each; 500 or more, 2¢ each.

## SUSTAINING FUND

(Received March 15th Through April 12th)

X18584, Texas . . . . .	15.00
Shelby Shapiro, Agana, Guam . . . . .	27.00
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Many thanks, Fellow Workers, for your generous support.

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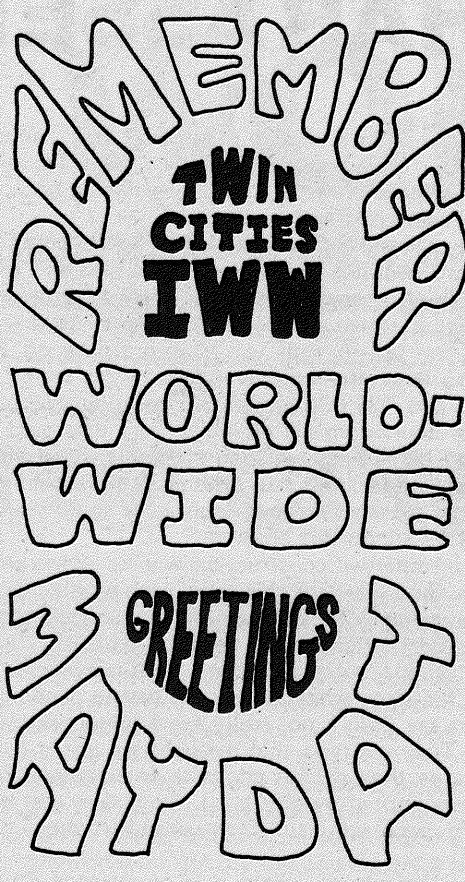
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### PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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.



## 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

**ARIZONA:** Stan Jaroszinski, IW Distributor, 719 South 4th Avenue (5), Barrio Hacienda, Tucson, Arizona 85701.

**BRITISH COLUMBIA:** Vancouver IWW Group, Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 4P3 or phone (604) 430-6605.

**CALIFORNIA:** San Diego IWW, Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4472 Georgia, San Diego, California 92116, Phone (619) 296-9966.

San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, Louis Prisco, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140; Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, Phone (415) 658-0293.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:** IWW, PO Box 53243, Washington, DC 20007

**GEORGIA:** Elton Manzione, delegate, 726 Pulaski, Athens, Georgia 30601, phone (404) 353-1218.

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

**ILLINOIS:** IWW, 3435 N. Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657, Phone (312) 549-5045. Members meet first Sunday at one of members' homes. For information call hall or Fred Thompson at 227-3630. Champaign/Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville IWW Group, c/o Long, 1841 Sherwood Ave., Apt. 2, Louisville, KY 40205

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

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston General Membership Branch, Steve Kellerman, Branch Secretary, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings are held the first Sunday of each month. Phone 522-7090 or 524-0529.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit/Ann Arbor General Membership Branch, University Cellar IU 660 Branch, 530 S. State, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104  
Copper Country IWW: Robin Oye, Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock, Michigan 49930

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis/St. Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1621 Marshall Avenue (3), St. Paul, Minnesota 55104

**MONTANA:** A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59874, 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 Eckhart St., Buffalo, New York 14207, Phone (716) 877-6073  
Central New York General Membership Branch, Branch Secretary Andrea Barker, 201 Seelye Road, Apt. 4-H, Syracuse, New York 13224; Georgene McKown, Delegate, 117 Edgemere Road, Syracuse, New York 13208  
New York Regional Membership Branch, PO Box 183, New York, New York 10028. Delegates: Rochelle Semel, 788 Columbus Ave., New York, New York 10025, Phone (212) 662-8801; Norman Robberstad, 7524 Fifth Ave., Brooklyn, New York 11209; Andy Easter, 4 Lee Drive, Great Mills, Maryland 20634; Pete Posthumus, 35 Williams Drive, West Paterson, New Jersey 07424; Branch Secretary: Jim Jahn, 252 West 91st St., New York, New York 10024, Phone (212) 496-8913  
Mid-Hudson Region IWW Group, 1 Northern Blvd., Albany, New York 12210, Phone (518) 465-4234, Dr. Avraham Qanai, Delegate

**OHIO:** IWW Delegate, PO Box 47, Dayton, Ohio 45402

**ONTARIO:** Delegate: Brian Burch, 13 Kerr Road, Station 30, Toronto

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia, Tom Hill, delegate, 5023 Cedar Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** Meril Truesdale, Delegate, Harbinger Publications, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, South Carolina 29201, Phone (803) 254-9398

**TEXAS:** Austin: IWW, 915 East 48 1/2 Street, Austin, Texas 78751, phone (512) 452-3722. Houston: Gilbert Mers, 7031 Kernel, Houston, Texas 77087, phone (713) 921-0877.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Ave. South, Seattle, Washington 98144  
Bellingham GMB, PO Box 1386, Bellingham, WA 98227, Phone 671-9995. Meets first Monday at 6:30  
Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, Ottilie Markholt, Branch Secretary, 2115 South Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, Washington 98405, Phone (206) 272-8119

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Michelle Wolford, 440 Pennsylvania Avenue, Morgantown, West Virginia 26505.

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

### EUROPE

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

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

### PACIFIC

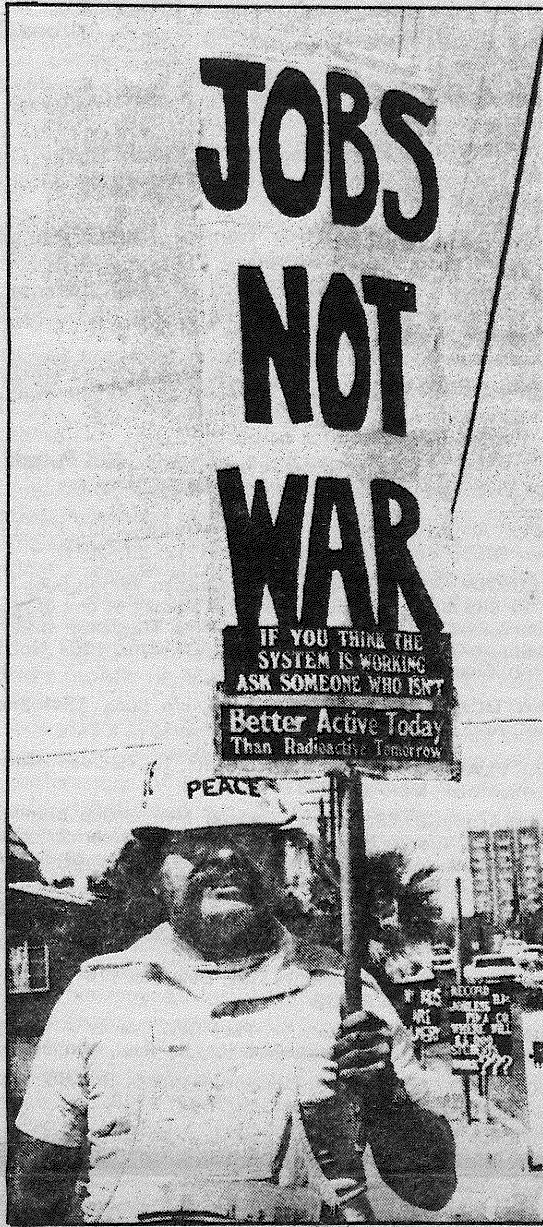
**GUAM:** Guam IWW Group, Shelby Shapiro, Delegate, PO Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910

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



## FREE SPEECH FIGHT CONTINUES

## TUCSON WOB HARASSED



Art Grashberger, The Arizona Daily Star

Stan Jarosznski

*Industrial Worker* peddler Stan Jarosznski had charges against him "dismissed with prejudice" by a Tucson, Arizona judge March 14th, but soon after going back on the streets he was cited again.

FW Jarosznski was twice ticketed by city cops in early March, for "peddling without a license" and for "displaying advertising signs on a vehicle". Stan went to court on these charges armed with IRS documents declaring that the IWW was tax-exempt as a labor organization. He also carried his large and brightly-painted signs saying "jobs, not war" and "26,000 jobless in Pima County".

In the courtroom his citations were dismissed "with prejudice" by the judge, which means he had been selectively prosecuted. Hard hat in hand, he presented his case of political persecution in a loud voice so all could hear him, and his supporters cheered.

This unemployed construction worker orders and pays for a thousand issues of this paper each month. He claims he is a one-man campaign against the current economic situation. City officials claim he is a nuisance.

The "vehicle" cited was Stan's adult tricycle, on which he leans his signs while selling the papers. And city sign inspectors say Stan is not really exempt from sign-display permits. They contend that his signs are not truly political, because they do not advertise an election. (Political signs are exempted by city law.) They claim that he owes \$37.50 for each sign—and Stan uses a half dozen or more of them.

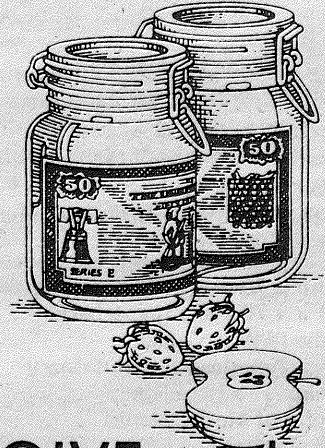
"It's a shakedown," Stan told an *Arizona Daily Star* reporter. "They want me to pay for my First Amendment rights." According to a lengthy and favorable article in the *Star*, sign inspectors have said that protesters in groups are not cited for carrying similar signs. "But such sign carriers keep moving," one said, "and it's not feasible to write up groups."

## Ticketed Third Time

On March 31st Stan got another citation—for posting signs within the street right-of-way. So it's off to court again for Stan, later in April.

FW Jarosznski requests that our readers send letters of protest to Representative Morris Udall, House of Representatives, Washington DC 20515. He suggests that you remind the Arizona rep of the history of persecution of the IWW in Arizona. It might also be helpful to let the City know how you feel. Write to the Department of Finance, Revenue Division, 250 West Alameda, Tucson, Arizona 85701. Send copies to the Chicago IWW office too.

Preserve  
the  
future.



GIVE to the  
sustaining fund!

## ANOTHER WOBBLY OPERA

In January the Toronto Workshop Productions Theatre put on a folk opera titled *The Wobbly*. The libretto was written by Ronald Weihs, and the musical score was written and directed by George Luscombe. Both Weihs and Luscombe have long dedicated their talents to themes of social struggle, with an impressive list of credits on the program notes.

Among the principal leads in the production were Joe Hill, Big Bill Haywood, the Indian Wobbly, Frank Little, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Interwoven throughout the story was some excellent choreography by a group of dancers called the Ladies Auxiliary. No synopsis of the story line accompanies the program notes, but the correspondent who sent them to us was quite impressed.

It is interesting to note that the acknowledgement for financial support was given to the Canadian Arts Council and the Ontario Arts Council as well as various government agencies. It is apparent that creative artists have won themselves a little more clout than their colleagues down here in Freedom Land. If things like that can happen where a labor population is just a little bit more alert, it should be an incentive to really educate for industrial action.

CAC

## AROUND OUR UNION

## CELEBRATING MAY DAY

IN MINNEAPOLIS our members will be at the May Day parade with placards and leaflets.

IN CHICAGO the IWW will participate Sunday, May 1st, in a World Labor Day Speakout arranged by a coalition for the purpose in the Lincoln Park Free Speech Area from 2 to 5. This will be in combination with a "bring your own" picnic.

THE OPEN COALITION which arranged the Speakout was set up by Chicago members of the IWW, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Labor Party, with The People, Yes offering some music and the Illinois Labor History Society passing on the information to its extensive mailing list in a current bulletin that features material on the history of World Labor Day, May 1st.

ON MAY 8TH the Chicago members will participate in the Mother's Day Peace Walk and Festival that starts at noon and ends up with a festival at the bandstand in Grant Park.

## LABOR FESTIVAL SCHEDULED IN SEATTLE

A coalition of labor activists has formed the Labor Education Committee (LEC) in Seattle. Made up of individuals from the Cannery Workers Union, Ship Scalers, UFCW, IWW, and other labor organizations, the LEC is making plans for this year's Labor Education Festival, which will be a monthly series of public forums for the labor community and the public in general. The programs will focus on such topics as "Worker Health and Safety", April 1st; "Labor's Stake in Central America", May 6th; "WPPSS—Benefits and Costs", in June; and "Labor and Co-operatives", in July. The August forum will be on "Labor and the Unemployed", and the last presentation, in September, will be "Labor and Health Care". The forums will be held in the IBEW Hall at 2700 1st Avenue in Seattle, from 7 to 10 pm. For details contact the LEC at (206) 292-8313 or (206) 725-0260.

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## WHY NOT?

The IWW wants you—to join the 1% Club. Donate 1% of your income for operating expenses. Buy press stamps! Give to the Sustaining Fund! Help the *Industrial Worker*! When did your branch last cuss/discuss an article in the *Industrial Worker*? Leave an extra copy of the *Industrial Worker* in the laundromat!

## WORLD LABOR DAY PROGRAM ON RADIO

Fellow Worker V. T. Lee was asked to provide a half-hour broadcast on World Labor Day—Sunday, May 1st—on a station that runs to "young-adult rock" in the Mid-Hudson region of New York. He agreed to provide it.

He has a suggestion for folks with some spare time who listen to radio. They can use it to get across some good ideas via interview and call-in TV shows. He advises them to check out such shows and listen to them enough to be able to judge where they might fit in. He writes: "When and where possible, one must cultivate individuals in the media who might be even remotely sympathetic, and get them interested in your message. Study the local stations with a news orientation, and don't overlook the pm offbeat hours. You need to plan something that will help them keep their audience interested."



Members of the Boston General Membership Branch gathered recently to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the

Branch's charter. Among those pictured are several of the founding members.