



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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## EDITORIAL

# CENTRAL AMERICA, SOUTH AFRICA AND . . . . THE PRICE OF SILENCE

The South African poet Dennis Brutus, whom the United States is doing its best to deport, recalls an incident when he was imprisoned in the notorious Robben Island Prison in South Africa. He had told the white jailer of his confidence that his people would eventually be free, but the jailer told him that America would never permit that to happen. Brutus at that time thought that the guard was incredibly naive; but after more than a decade of living in America and facing the harassment of the immigration authorities, he has come to realize that he himself was the naive one.

Thus a sensitive poet as well as a courageous fighter for Humanity is callously being sent back to re-imprisonment and possible assassination. It is quite obvious that the country that has consistently trampled over the rights of indigenous Africans has found a strong ally in the country that has trampled and continues to trample over the rights of indigenous Indians. No matter how many black congressmen, senators, mayors, and dogcatchers are elected, or how many black kids are bussed to white schools, don't look for any change of heart on the part of politicians.

Today, those of us who acquire our information via the mass media are led to believe that what is going on in Central America is a valiant resistance against Soviet infiltration. A little closer observation would open our eyes to the fact that the United States has consistently supported repressive and racist regimes around the World. If one were to judge national characteristics by the policy of the Government, one would have to concede that racism is as American as apple pie. These are the ethics that were established by the Pilgrims and reaffirmed by the Dred Scott decision and the immigration quotas, and that now use the surplus value of our labor to butcher Indians in El Salvador and Guatemala.

We are told that this must be done, or the Soviets will establish a foothold in this hemisphere. There are those who believe that the present struggle in Central America is only a contest between those favoring capitalist domination and those favoring Soviet expansionism, while ignoring the fact that the Indians of Central America have suffered many generations of corrupt feudal domination by a small class of landowners who are the descendants of the conquistadores and have had a consistent stamp of approval from the United States. Those peones who are resisting their exploiters know nothing about free enterprise or State-capitalist ideology, and couldn't care less.

If anyone is giving aid and comfort to Soviet expansionism, it is the United States itself. Because the US has had a long history of supporting dictatorships around the World, it has become convenient for a competing World power to denounce such policy, thereby winning brownie points over the US by default. Such policy on the part of American politicians is what has made the US the most resented country on Earth.

We all know that Russia's actions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Afghanistan place it in the same league with the United States. The poor Indian peon of Central America, in all likelihood, has not even heard of these places that have received the solicitude of the Soviet Union. All he knows is that the bullets and bombs being shot at him come from the United States, which expresses sympathy and support for his exploiters as he watches his children being butchered and his wife and daughters being raped. If the peones hear about Russia or China at all, they hear that these two powers are the ideological adversaries of the US.

Without endorsing any of the political factions in Central America, we of the *Industrial Worker* call for the immediate cessation of all military and financial assistance to the landowner regimes of Central America, so that the peon and working classes of that region can be free to live their own lives. If the masses of El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as other Central Americans chafing under repressive landowners, were able to overthrow their rulers, there would be far less likelihood of foreign infiltration. These people have had enough foreign domination from Spain, England, and the United States, and without the actions of the latter power to make Russia look good, would not be receptive to any more foreign intervention.

It has become a moral imperative of the people living under the auspices of the United States Government to



loudly demand a halt to what's going on in Central America, to make the protests of the Vietnam era seem puny by comparison. The people who lived under the Hitler Administration prior to the Second World War, through their silent acquiescence, passed up their moral imperative to protest what was going on in their name. The fact that the people now living under the Reagan Administration have comparatively more freedom of expression than the German people had under Hitler makes the protest and indignation over what their "elected" representatives are doing in Central America the moral imperative of the century.

If a lone black poet, facing deportation and probable assassination, can raise his voice in protest, those who believe they live in the most "free" land on Earth would be

guilty of the basest cowardice if they did not do likewise. This World is not becoming any less crowded, and it is only the people of the United States themselves who can erase the image of the gun-slinging cowboy that has become implanted in the minds of people all over the World.

The members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who are workers first and "ethnics" second, feel that all people have the right to determine their own lives without interference from any superpowers. Therefore we add our voices to the growing shout "USA out of El Salvador!"—and for that matter any other place. There are plenty of things that need rectifying right here in the United States.

Carlos Cortez, X321826

## No More Full Employment!

Joblessness is here to stay. That is the view not only of radicals, but also of pro-capitalist economists. On April 1st an article by *New York Times* economist Leonard Silk ("Technology and Joblessness") reported that unemployment will be greater than 7% for a long time. (Capitalists view 4% unemployment as "full employment.") Black, Hispanic, and young workers will "experience 10%-plus unemployment rates even in good times from now on".

These sentiments were echoed April 25th by the *Wall Street Journal* in an article titled "Recession Ripples". According to the economists interviewed by the *Journal*, the current "recession" has accelerated long-term trends—like the shift toward a global labor market—that reduce the need for labor. As economist Audrey Freedman put it,

"Employment is going to recover somewhat among production workers, simply because output is going to rise again; but I don't think it will ever reach its former level."

For the moment most workers are apathetic, lulled by reports of the "coming recovery". However Melvin Levin, an urban planner, predicts that as it becomes clear that many of these economic changes are permanent, there will be "a period of turbulence, with upheavals in international trade and [the] workplace" (*New York Times*, April 1st, 1983). Such predictions prompted Leonard Silk to ask: "Can the problem of structural unemployment be solved—and without radical change in the economic system?"

It is significant that such questions are being asked in the Establishment media. Signs of panic are filtering down from ruling-class circles, thus indicating both new opportunities and new dangers for rebel workers. As the old economic system collapses, the bosses will seek to enlist the support of workers for their own authoritarian capitalist version of "radical change". Fellow Workers, will we be ready to fight for our own vision of a just and liberated society?

(reprinted from *Wobble*)







On these warm summer days one must listen to one's neighbors complain about the heat where a few months ago they were complaining about the cold. When I remind them that at least they don't have to pay exorbitant heating bills during these warm days, they tell me that the air conditioner uses up just as much energy. Consumerism seems to have made us a bunch of urban sharecroppers.

Consumerism victimizes the denizens of our modern age in more ways than one. Those of you readers who happen to be of the same generation as your scribe may remember paying far less for things that lasted much longer. We are told by the staunch defenders of planned obsolescence that if products lasted longer, the factories manufacturing them would close and there would be a lot more workers pounding the streets without jobs. Judging by the longevity of the crap we buy today, there ought to be full employment; but somehow that does not seem to be the case.

I remember some of the old Model-T Fords that one would see plying the roadways for decades long after they were out of vogue. Those were the days when owning a vintage automobile was an indication of poverty instead of being a status symbol. Looking at all the antique stores and the prices therein, I have the sinking feeling that I left behind a small fortune when I exchanged cities. At the time I forsook that small fortune, it was just worthless outmoded junk. But today we have junk a la mode.

In the warm summer streets we can see last year's latest-model cars with the undersides of their chassis rotted away by last winter's salt. Salt—which throughout humanity's turbulent history has been a valuable ingredient in making the daily diet more palatable, and which doctors warn you not to consume too much of—has become another major ingredient of planned obsolescence, as well as helping to keep those unemployment statistics up in the rarefied atmosphere.

Salt—while being a welcome flavor enhancer at the dinner table—can be a destructive force when exposed to shoe leather and automobile undersides. One might logically think that with the rise in unemployment during the winter months (even in normal times, not to mention the last two winters), the streets could be cleared by human hands wielding shovels and scrapers, thereby avoiding the unsightly effects and after-effects of that corrosive mineral whose only rightful place is on the dinner table. Of course such economical gestures might put the people in the salt mines out of work, not to mention the auto workers and (god forbid) the boondoggling politicians.

You know all those self-service gas stations where you can fill up your own gas tank and walk over and pay the cashier? Look at all the gas-station attendants who have been put out of work, and the gas still isn't getting any cheaper. My hairs are white enough to remember when an ice-cream cone was a nickel and a double dip was a dime. Now if you want a double dip you can forget about getting any change from your dollar, and there is more food coloring than dairy product in your ice "cream". And if your tastes lean toward strong potables, what you pay today for a bottle of beer used to buy a good-sized bottle of hundred-proof bourbon. What you pay at a bar for one shot, you could have gotten seriously mellow on just a few years ago. It's enough to drive one to sobriety.

It gives one pause to wonder, if we are paying more for getting less: Where is all that money going to? Somebody else must be getting what we are not. Such is the nature of planned obsolescence.

Marx said—and we Wobblies repeated—that the present economic system carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. And one has only to be on one of our modern expressways during rush-hour traffic or at the end of a holiday weekend to realize the wisdom of those words.

Our present economic system—along with its inevitable by-products such as wars, depressions, and wasted resources—should by all reasonable logic be obsolete, especially insofar as those who benefit from and administer that system are atavistic throwbacks to Old Testament times. It is this very group who through their educational systems and mass-media machinery have done their best to make thinking obsolete; and if the rest of us two-legged creatures don't wake up soon enough, they might be successful.

C. C. Redcloud



### 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.

#### OCTOBER ISSUE TO BE EDITED AND PREPARED BY WASHINGTON DC WOBS

The next issue of the *Industrial Worker* will be typeset and laid out by the *Industrial Worker* committee in Washington DC. This group has offered to relieve the load carried by the Chicago bunch for so many years, and will produce the entire October issue. Printing, however, will still be done in Chicago. If you wish to contribute copy for the October issue, please send it to:

Industrial Worker  
c/o Bruce Arnold  
1707 Lamont Street  
Washington DC 20010

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION



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

## Industrial Worker

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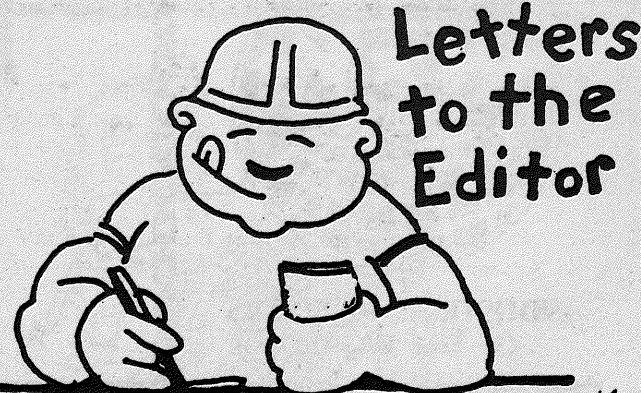
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GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER  
David Tucker

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



IW Collective:

On July 1st the PO miraculously, the very first time, delivered my bundle order of the IW July issue. This was just in time for me to take it to a Washington DC peace rally I was attending that weekend, and I went ahead before even reading the paper. During my distribution of the IW to working-class peaceniks, I was assaulted by a recipient for pushing "vile white-racist propaganda". I was completely taken aback and my attention was called to Page 2, an article entitled "Neighborhood Unity" under the byline of one Dorice McDaniels. After reading the article I had to confess that it was indeed "vile white-racist propaganda" and made futile personal apologies with promise to pursue the matter.

My assailant was a young Black woman with a group who I could hear say that she was going to bring it before an executive board of what I presume to be a civil-rights group. The word spread like wildfire and I became a leper that day, and we lost another woman who was preparing to sign up (or rather, re-join after a few years' absence). There were several rights groups present, and all were infuriated.

I later had the bad fortune to collapse from fatigue and severe heat prostration and had to be carried off, so don't know further details or what might have transpired at any meetings, etc.

Later, at home with my family, I was asked how I could associate with any group of people who would publish such an outrageously racist item. Particularly after a 12-year-old member of our *Third World* family had to be rescued by the leading attorneys of the Center for Constitutional Law, the Black Lawyers, and the NAACP, who interceded with the State Governor, an Attorney General, a city Mayor and Chief of Police after he had been falsely arrested, shackled and put into jail (not juvenile detention) and terrorized by the pigs! Having won our legal fight, we are now being harassed by armed goons in the night who probably won't lose easily.

Aside from the glaring statistical inaccuracies such as school bussing being "repugnant to about 50% of both Blacks and whites", a lie repeated by Nazi literature, by the way. The fact is that aside from the most racist groups in ameriKKKa, no one ever contended bussing was for integration but that it was done to improve the quality of education hithertofore denied to minority students in unequally funded and serviced schools. And nobody but the vilest rotten white racists come on with such crap as "Rufus, Jose" etc. My own family is Black, white, and Native American in makeup, and we all reject this racist article and demand—not request, but *demand*—a retraction of that scurrilous article.

This OBU suffers image problems already, don't tarnish what is left. Try to reclaim one vestige of honor before we are attacked by every civil-rights group in the country and additionally lose most members.

V. T. Lee

#### REPLY TO LETTER FROM V. T. LEE

FW Lee has a gripe about an article, "Neighborhood Unity", which appeared in our July 1983 issue. He demands a retraction. Well, since yours truly believes that only an author can repudiate his or her own writings, I guess we'll have to wait for FW McDaniels to respond to Lee's letter. In the meanwhile, I would like to respond as the person who, as copy editor for the IW at the time, allowed the item in the paper.

The surest way to cut off debate on any issue is to label one's opponent as a "vile, rotten racist" and link him or her to Nazis and KKK types. The Nazis and KKK opposed bussing; therefore if you oppose bussing, you are a racist. (Here in Chicago the Nazis distributed anti-Nuke literature not too long ago, and some Nazi outfits oppose conscription. Does this mean that all opponents of nuclear power and weapons and the draft are Nazis? Of course not! So why should it be any different with an issue such as bussing?)

I allowed the article to be printed because I felt that the main thrust of the article—that racial integration will come about not through the artificial schemes of guilty white liberals who don't have to live with the fallout, but through the more organic process of the integration of living space—was worth a hearing. If some readers missed this main point because they were put off by what they considered outrageous language or "lying statistics", that is unfortunate, but unavoidable. The only way to avoid offending anybody is to say nothing, and that would make for very dull reading.

In any case, our masthead states clearly that signed articles represent the opinions of the author and do not necessarily represent the policies or positions of the *Industrial Worker* or of the IWW. With that off my chest, I can sit back and await the flack from our more liberal readership.

Mike Hargis



# Boycott Scab Meat

On October 30th, 1977 Spencer Foods Incorporated ceased operations at its Spencer, Iowa plant due to a dispute with the union, Local 152 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (now the United Food and Commercial Workers). The company demanded at this time that the union accept the wage and cost-of-living concessions offered by management. The union's response was an offer to negotiate these items. However the company decided to lock the workers out in an attempt to starve them into submission.

On February 19th, 1979 the company resumed operations without the former union employees. The company disclaimed any obligation to the union by claiming that all former employees were terminated at the plant's closing in 1977, and because some Spencer Foods stock came to be owned by Land O' Lakes (the huge farmer-owned dairy processing and distributing co-operative). Both claims were phony on their faces because no termination notices were ever posted, and the corporate entity known as Spencer Foods Incorporated still operates the plant. In fact Spencer Foods, now as then, operates three plants. Besides the one at Spencer, there is one in Schuyler, Nebraska and one at Oakland, Iowa. Officers of Local 106 (Schuyler) were told that no change in labor-management relations would take place after the stock transfer, and that the same company would still be operating the plant.

Upon the plant's re-opening, a union picket line was put on and unfair-labor-practice charges were made before the National Labor Relations Board. Over the next two and a half years the NLRB investigated the situation and conducted hearings. On July 6th, 1981 an administrative-law judge found that the company was guilty of failing to recall the former employees and of not bargaining with the union. The company was ordered to reinstate the union workers with full back pay plus interest to the date of the plant's re-opening. To date, Spencer Foods Incorporated has not complied with the order and is exhausting all avenues of appeal. Meanwhile, the back-pay settlement grows daily and is currently estimated to be in the amount of \$45 million. Until recently, this was the largest back-pay settlement in US history.

Job Service of Iowa, the state-run employment service, was also charged by the union with unfair labor practices. This agency processed applications for employment at the Spencer Foods Plant, using company-authored screening criteria which effectively excluded all former employees. Out of a work force of 450, only 14 former employees were hired. Though this list of employment criteria was stringently adhered to in regard to former workers, it was not applied as vigorously to other applicants. Many of the people who were hired had poor work-attendance records, had tendonitis or back problems, or were related

to others working in the plant, all of which violate the criteria.

Why did Spencer Foods implement such a desperate scheme to disenfranchise Local 152? To understand this one must examine the way the union conducted itself from the late 1960s until the lockout. During this period the local discovered how well direct action worked. Its contract was probably the last in the country to provide for the settlement of grievances by "any means found to be necessary".

In practice, this meant that slowdowns were often employed to make a point. A point made in this manner was usually very well taken by management. Other means of withdrawing efficiency were employed as well. As the workers found these tactics to be successful, they came to prefer direct action to formal grievance procedures, applying it spontaneously to protect work standards and to correct unjust management practices.

During this period more and more of management's prerogatives were essentially handed over to the union. Workers were not dismissed without the union's assent, foremen did not enter some parts of the plant, and foremen who were disliked had to leave or production would suffer. These workers had discovered how powerful they really were, and only a lockout would return the plant to company control.

At the time of the lockout and the installation of the picket line, the local requested strike benefits as was their due from the International office of the union. The local's request was denied and they were advised to go back to work on management's terms, but this course was rejected by the union rank and file. Local 152 was forced to call on other area locals for operating funds. Only after the NLRB found merit in the union's charges and Local 152's struggles were becoming a popular cause in the area did the International start to support the workers in Spencer.

This case is waiting to be heard before the full NLRB in Washington DC. For some reason this particular case is continually tabled, while more-recent cases are given priority. Speculation as to why this is so revolves around two hypotheses. One is that Land O' Lakes has used its influence in the powerful dairy lobby to keep this expensive settlement case from being heard on appeal, and the other suggests that the Administration is dragging its heels on its own initiative until one of the Carter appointees is replaced, making anti-union sentiment predominant on the NLRB.

The UFCW has not instituted a boycott of Spencer Foods to date. However the IWW is currently boycotting beef produced at this plant. Please tell your butcher you do not wish to purchase beef with the inspection number 648 because it is scab meat.

Jake Edwards

## LABOR AND THE LAW

Ohio has joined the list of states that allow public employees to organize, bargain, and, with limitations, strike.

County employees in Los Angeles have been exempted from signing a no-strike pledge by a judge, although the local "Proposition A" required it.

UAW members who used to work for National Lock in Rockford, Illinois are wondering whether they will get their pensions. Keystone Consolidated had grabbed the company and obtained IRS permission to delay contribution to 17 pension plans without consulting the union. The case is in the courts, and Keystone appears to be an empire built up by the misappropriation of sundry pension funds.

The US Court of Appeals has upheld the NLRB decision that employers must give unions information on the safety of materials used in their plants, with one serious exception: They can claim that such information is a "trade secret". Otherwise, unions should have access to the generic names of substances used, toxicity studies on same, and basic health records of employees.

Hospital-worker unions have come out against extension of patents on drugs, as they reckon that the dollars that go to the drug companies can't be used to hire more hospital workers or to raise their pay.

A federal appeals court has ruled that the UAW does not have to offer strike pay to a non-member who paid only his agency fee and refused to picket or participate in the strike other than by not crossing its picket line.

Scabs hired by a building-materials company in Kentucky have won a Supreme Court decision for \$6 million against their employer on the score that he promised them permanent jobs, but instead let them go when he settled with the union.

In East Saint Louis, Ee-Jay Motor Transport has asked for \$100 million in damages from the *Saint Louis Labor Tribune* for reporting how he appeared to be trying to run down pickets.

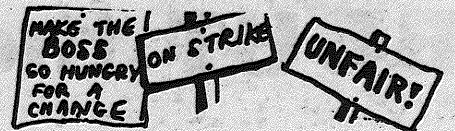
NLRB elections are scheduled among the 120 lawyers and assistants employed by the Legal Services Corporation in seven cities to determine whether they are to join the 2,000 already in the National Organization of Legal Service Workers, most of whom work for community legal-service programs.



North Carolina has adopted a new anti-slavery law directed against contractors who keep migrant workers in bondage under guard for debts for overcharged food, smokes, and drinks. The Workers Defense League, which campaigned for the law, estimates that at least 10,000 migrant workers on the East Coast alone are kept in such "debt bondage".

Nova Scotia coal miners have rejected a proposed contract with the Cape Breton Development Company, but under Canadian law will have to work under the rejected terms until late in 1984. The law limits raises to 6% this year and 5% next year, and says unions mustn't ask for improvements that cost money.

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## LABOR BRIEFS

In San Francisco on July 4th, union members gathered in Civic Plaza to celebrate "Labor Independence Day". How about a nationwide observation next year to update and class-angle the gripes of 1776? (See the IWW Preamble for a Declaration of Independence of the Working Class.)

Scab electrons kept ringing the phones on August 7th even though the Communication Workers had pulled out their 525,000 Bell employees along with 100,000 Electrical Workers and the 50,000 members the independent Telecommunications International Union has in the US. These scab electrons had been sent on their way by other union members who didn't know whether they would ring your phone, light your lamp, or cook your dinner, and these electrons are undeterred by picket signs.

This seems to be the last time for unions to bargain nationwide with AT&T, as the 22 wholly-owned Bell companies are due for a divorce at year's end. A major issue was company responsibility for retraining in new technologies. During negotiations, says CWA President Glenn Watts, "the Bell system bargainers did little more than show up at the meetings". The last such strike, in 1971, lasted six days.

At the Jacobsen Division of Textron in Racine, Wisconsin, the UAW, via a short summer strike, won a promise from this maker of golf-course maintenance equipment to restrict transfer of work to its non-union operation at Atwood, North Carolina.

Ford, with plants and part suppliers around the World, has written a letter to its unorganized salaried employees and retirees telling them it must cut health-care benefits so that it can "compete effectively with domestic and foreign competitors".

UAW contracts cover more than a thousand employees working for Japanese firms in the US. These include employees of Hitachi, Honda, Hoover-NSK, Nissan Motors (for office workers in Portland and Denver, but not for production workers in Smyrna, Tennessee), and Yamaha Music Products. The formerly independent Marine Draftsmen's Union at the General Dynamics submarine plant in New London, Connecticut, now a UAW affiliate, voted 6-to-1 to strike against a wage freeze.

In nine West Coast shipyards, members of nine unions bargaining jointly walked out for new contracts as negotiations continued with a smaller association of shipyards engaged in ship repair, and with Lockheed Shipbuilding in Seattle.

At Marshall, Minnesota, a 60-million-dollar plant that was supposed to turn the 1983 crop of corn into sweeteners stands incomplete because the contractor, Daniels International, wanted the work done with union and non-union people working below union scale and side-by-side. Despite the heavy unemployment, the informational picket kept most job seekers away, and firms that deal with unions turned down subcontracts.

In Southern California 35,000 Carpenters struck in July against take-aways. After two weeks an intermediate agreement let a third of them return to work pending a general settlement. The major demand: Hire only union members and subcontractors who hire only union crews. This issue of working alongside non-union employees has kept 2,000 Carpenters out in the San Francisco Bay area since early summer.

The Food and Commercial Workers have lifted their boycott of Iowa Beef Processors and settled with it at its Dakota City, Nebraska plant.

The National Writers' Union and Media Alliance (Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, California 94123) has its major contract at *Mother Jones*. It has set up four regional assemblies with provisions for a few hundred "at large" members living in areas where local units have not been set up. Its journal discusses civil-liberties issues of special concern to writers, along with some bits of scandal from their inky world.

Brewery Workers ended an eight-week strike against Miller Beer with a 36-month contract granting a 17% wage gain over two years and the same third-year increase negotiated in the industry.





# ABOUT the FIFTY-ONE PERCENT

## THE DECLINE of the FAMILY WAGE

In some respects, our Victorian ancestors were much more forthright than their squeamish descendants. They made no bones about it: Marriage was what a woman did for a living. As economist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) observed: "The female of the genus homo is economically dependent on the male. He is her food supply."

This dependence was embodied in early 20th Century America in what was called the "principle" of the family wage: A male worker would be paid enough to support a family. The gut reality through most of this century was that only the more-privileged male workers—whites who were members of powerful unions or of skilled crafts or professions—actually earned enough to support a family.

Yet the principle applied to everyone: as a goal for personal upward mobility (a man took pride in the fact that his wife didn't "have" to work) and as a social ideal. Socialists advocated the family wage, trade unionists fought for it, and most feminists, by the turn of the century, either approved or did not oppose it. But the fight for the family wage helped establish our present gender-based occupational hierarchy. Women were squeezed out of the professions and the higher-paying craft jobs like printing and pushed down to the bottom of the labor market. As it turned out, the other side of the principle that a man should earn enough to support a family has been that a woman needn't earn enough to support even herself.

The perpetuation of the family-wage system has depended on two things: one fact, the other an assumption. The fact is that men, on the average, earn more than women. The assumption is that men use their higher wages to support women, and hence that most women are at least partly supported by men. The assumption and the fact reinforce each other. If it is assumed that most women are already supported by men, then they can, in good conscience, be paid less than men. And if women cannot expect to earn a decent wage on their own, survival demands that they will indeed seek the financial support of individual men, usually by marrying them. This reinforces the assumption that men, as supporters of women, deserve higher wages than women, and so forth.

Hence the basic asymmetry of need that shaped what used to be called "the battle of the sexes". The family-wage system guaranteed that, at least for economic reasons, women would have a greater interest in marrying and a greater financial stake in the preservation of their marriages than men would. So, well before recent alarm about the "breakdown of the family", the 20th Century wage system contained the makings of serious instability.

Marriage is of course more than a financial interaction; but it holds no guarantee that a man's emotional dependency on his wife will last as long as her financial dependency on him. The law acknowledges women's financial dependency, and (at least in principle) adjures married men to share their wages. Almost every state in the US does place legal responsibility on the husband to support his wife and children. But neither the extent of this "obligation" nor the level of support in relation to a man's income has ever been defined, so that the "right to support" in practice means little more than the "privilege of living with the husband". After divorce, the law takes only slightly more interest in the woman's financial situation: Only 25% of the women who are awarded child support actually receive it, and 60% of these get less than \$1500 a year.

Thus a woman's and her children's situation is dependent on the husband's good fortune and good nature. Men are favored in the labor market so that they earn on the average 40% more than women do. Yet nothing compels them to spread the wealth to those—women and children—who are excluded from work or less-generously rewarded for it. Men cannot be forced to marry, and once married they cannot be forced to bring home their paychecks, to be reliable jobholders, or, of course, to remain married.

The US divorce rate, which had been inching upward throughout the 20th Century, suddenly doubled in the decade between the mid-'60s and the mid-'70s. In 80% of the divorces in which children were involved, the children stayed with their mothers. Despite the much-hailed mini-trend of single-father-headed households, the number of men raising children on their own actually declined in the decade of the '70s. The most-likely outcome of divorce is that men become singles and women become single parents.

### WOMEN: THE NOUVEAU POOR

The changed economic relations between the sexes are what sociologist Diana Pearce has termed the "feminization of poverty". In 1980, two out of three adults who fit into the federal definition of poverty were women, and more than half the families defined as poor were maintained by single women. From the mid-'60s to the mid-'70s, the number of poor adult males declined, while the number of poor women heading households swelled by 100,000 a year (now 150,000 a year). Many of these are second- or third-generation poor, habitues of what conservatives like George Gilder called the "welfare culture". But many are also new recruits to poverty, who had been middle-class until divorce or desertion severed their claim on a man's wage. For all of them—single mothers living at

Today's American stocks



the edge of subsistence via welfare, minimum-wage-level jobs, or a trickle of child-support payments—the only thing left of the family-wage system is that women, on the average, can't get what a family requires for even a moderate standard of living.

But if men have defaulted on the pact represented by the family wage, so too have their corporate employers. Near the turn of the century, the family-wage system implied a pact between the social classes as well as between the sexes. To the working class, it seemed to offer dignity and a certain gentility. To far-sighted capitalists and middle-class reformers, it seemed to offer social stability: Men who were the sole support of their families could be counted on to be loyal, or at least fearful, employees. Personal consumption helped fuel general prosperity, and the domestic order based on the working husband and the consumer-homemaker wife seemed to be stable and even "natural".

From the perspective of the '80s, however, the family-wage system is beginning to look like an artifact of affluence, no more stable than the price of oil or the value of gold. It seems clear that the family wage has become a less-attractive investment to the men who control corporate wealth. As American capitalism stumbles ahead, it has less use for the diffuse affluence represented by the family-wage system. Money that might have sustained individual workers as sole breadwinners has gone to other uses: to overseas investments, to six-figure incomes for the managerial elite, or to chase other money in a paper whirlwind of speculation.

The US base of consumption is narrowing; the economy is less and less able to produce even the hope of a decent standard of living for all its members. In the short run, consumer-goods industries simply narrow their target populations to the "up-scale" customers whose incomes put them "over the buying point". From the marketing outlook of the '80s, it doesn't seem to matter whether every family has the income to maintain a moderate level of consumption; it only matters that some households have the income to consume at the level of gluttony.

For women as a group, the future holds terrifying insecurity. The only solution the New Right holds out to the feminization of poverty is, as you might guess, marriage. Onalee McGraw, who handles education and family issues at the influential Heritage Foundation (the New Right think tank initially bankrolled by beer magnate Joseph Coors in 1973), rejects economic solutions such as efforts to increase women's earnings.

"I don't oppose equal work for equal pay for women," McGraw said, "but it could possibly exacerbate the whole situation in the long run.... Anything that's likely to make a woman more independent, more of a powerhouse, more of a threat to men, is not going to help." Her solution? "We need to make it tougher for men to get divorced," and second, we need to make it tougher for them to remain single or stray, by "withholding sexual favors until they're married".

### ASIAN WOMEN WORKERS IN THE US

Asian women workers in the US face multiple jeopardy—as non-whites, non-males, and often non-English speakers and non-citizens as well as non-capitalists. At the 14th National Conference on Women and the Law, in the workshop on Asian women, speakers discussed the situation of Chinese workers in the garment industry, Filipina nurses in US hospitals, and Korean restaurant workers.

In the US, most Chinese workers (many of whom can speak no English) are employed in restaurants or in the garment industry. Garment workers get paid by the piece and may work 6 to 7 days a week, 9 to 10 hours a day, with no sick leave or vacations. Women workers sometimes bring work home for their children to do in order to increase the family's income. Women take home about \$3,000 a year, and in one factory had to buy toilet paper for the plant themselves because the employer wouldn't supply it.

There is no overtime pay, and in order to appear within the law, employers punch time cards for employees and maintain two sets of books, one of which is falsified to satisfy investigators of minimum-wage violations.

Factory bosses act very paternalistically toward workers, and cite their own financial strains as the reason for not paying decent wages. Many factory workers aspire to become industry bosses themselves, and this situation, combined with the model of boss as father and workers as children, makes it very difficult to organize workers against management.

An attorney for the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund told the story of one garment worker who filed a complaint. Her photo and her Social Security number were published in the Chinese newspapers under the caption "She is a good union member." This black-listing was enough to keep her out of every New York garment factory.

Filipinas face problems both as women and as immigrants. Filipina nurses in US hospitals are often given RN responsibilities, but are paid LPN salaries until they are eligible to take US Nursing Board exams. Their six months or so at lower salaries before they are paid full salaries save hospitals a lot of money.

Most of the 700,000 Korean Americans work in factories or restaurants. Less than 10% of factories with largely Korean workers are unionized, possibly because the workers have been taught to equate unions with communism. Korean restaurant workers are almost all women, who are expected to sit with male customers and drink with them. An article appeared in a Korean-American newspaper about a Korean bar in which a man beat up a waitress who wasn't being attentive enough. The article criticized the woman for not doing her duty.



One practical effect of Reaganomics has been to create a veritable army of female laborers in an economy that never intended to admit women as independent persons, much less as breadwinners for others. It is becoming increasingly clear that the US economy is working well for fewer and fewer people. Former docile colonies are rising up in revolt against continued exploitation, necessitating more and more US military spending. To finance the guns, social-welfare spending must be slashed. And as domestic spending dries up, US capitalism becomes ever more dependent on foreign markets, demanding more control over them and requiring still more military intervention.

It's time to put this whole useless economic system where it belongs: on the scrap heap of history.

plp

(This article was adapted from *The Hearts of Men*, by Barbara Ehrenreich, published by Anchor Press/Doubleday, New York, 1983; and "The Nouveau Poor", by Barbara Ehrenreich and Karin Stallard, *Ms*, Volume 40, Numbers 1 and 2.)



# Japanese Capital in Indonesia



To a person standing in Jakarta's main public square in the early 1970s, Indonesia's Presidential palace appeared to be topped by a gigantic neon Toyota sign. Indonesian nationalists found this symbol highly appropriate because the chief resident of the palace, President Suharto, was heavily involved in the company which assembles Toyotas in Indonesia. The regime has actively encouraged the massive influx of Japanese capital into the country.

Jakarta students and urban poor who rioted during the visit of Japan's Premier Tanaka in 1974 also found the symbol meaningful: They singled out and burned Toyota automobiles. The Toyota office was the only multinational headquarters to be destroyed. Toyota became the focus of anti-Japanese anger because it was so visually prominent, and the large sign eventually came down. Yet Toyota's economic stake in Indonesia is small compared to that of other Japanese companies, and is barely measurable compared to total Japanese investment there.

Indonesia is clearly Japan's most important economic partner among the Alliance of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). About half of Indonesia's exports go to Japan, and a third of its imports come from there. Though the overall trade is not as important for Japan as for Indonesia, it is a vital source of oil and other raw materials. Indonesian goods made up 42% of Japan's imports from ASEAN in 1981. Indonesia is also second only to the US as an outlet for Japanese foreign investment. Of the \$4.5 billion invested in ASEAN countries by Japanese firms up to 1977, \$3.1 billion went to Indonesia. Japan has also been Indonesia's biggest source of bilateral aid and loans, providing an average of \$250 million in each of the last 15 years.

Japanese imports from Indonesia increased a thousand fold between 1950 and 1981. Japanese exports to Indonesia increased only a hundred fold during that period. The composition and rate of growth of Indonesia-Japan trade was determined at any given moment by the different characters of the two governments which held power in Indonesia during that time. The nationalist Sukarno regime of the '50s and early '60s was marked by economic and political instability which limited the growth of trade with Japan. Trade followed a standard neo-colonial pattern, with Indonesia exporting raw materials to Japan, including crude oil, rubber, bauxite (aluminum ore), and copra (ground coconut), and importing manufactured goods, especially textiles.

## THE RIPOFF MATURES

In 1968 only nine Japanese companies were licensed

to operate in Indonesia. By 1977 there were 728, with total investments of \$3 billion. The textile industry felt the impact of Japanese manufacturing investment most deeply. The introduction of modern textile mills nearly destroyed the Indonesian hand-loom and batik industry—without providing some alternative employment. While Japanese enterprise had created jobs for 72,400 workers in 1977, at least twice as many lost their jobs in the indigenous textile industry.

Japanese investment has aggravated the long-term economic gap between Java and the rest of the island nation by reinforcing the existing division of labor. Most investment in manufacturing is in Java, which has always been the most developed island in Indonesia. Investments in



such resource-exploitation enterprises as agriculture, fishing, logging, and mining are in the less-developed outer islands. Like other foreign resource-extraction enterprises they are nearly self-contained, creating only a few jobs and having little impact on the local economy.

Japanese investments in manufacturing do not provide much stimulus to local raw-materials producers either, because the firms import most of the raw materials they need for operation. A 1975 Japanese Government study found that Japanese manufacturing firms procured only 26% of their raw materials inside Indonesia, importing 50% from Japan. Japanese textile plants in Indonesia import 90% of their raw materials from Japan.

Wage levels and working conditions in Japanese-owned firms are comparable with those of American and other foreign firms and are generally better than those of local companies. Nevertheless, the pay scale is hardly lavish. In 1976 the average worker in a Japanese-owned textile mill received a monthly wage of about 17,000 rupees, of which 11,000 went to purchase the family's rice. The remaining 6,000 had to cover all other necessities.

The rapid expansion, high visibility, and disruptive effects of Japanese investment in Indonesia in the early '70s led to a widely-felt sense among Indonesians that they were little more than a colony. This bred anger, which erupted in an evening of rioting in Jakarta on January 15th, 1974. What had begun as a peaceful student demonstration against the visit of Japanese Premier Tanaka turned into a massive riot after angry workers and urban poor joined in the fray. In the aftermath, the Suharto Government announced a new set of policies, requiring that all foreign investment take the form of joint ventures and that foreign employees be replaced with locals "as soon as possible".

## EXPLOITATION IN FULL SWING

In 1982 President Suharto and a host of Japanese officials trooped to Sumatra to inaugurate the operation of the Asahan Aluminum Smelter. The occasion was a celebration of Japanese generosity and Indonesian development. But behind the festivities lay a harsh reality. Asahan uses inexpensive hydropower from a plant built for the project to process bauxite ore from nearby deposits. When fully operational next year it will produce 225,000 tons of aluminum ingots annually, making it the largest aluminum smelter in Asia. By completion the plant will have cost \$2 billion, 95% of which comes from Japan in equity

[ CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX ]

# Afterthought: Children & Capitalism

Children have been the first casualty of Reaganomics. Some 12 million children—more than a fourth of the total number in the US—now live in poverty: two million more than when Reagan took office, with much of the increase due to cuts in the social-welfare programs that so many children depend on for shelter and sustenance. But Reaganomics didn't just fall out of the sky and hit America. Adult America was prepared, at some unconscious level, for an Administration which could seriously propose that fourth graders contribute to the fight against inflation by eating ketchup for lunch.

Like other economically-unproductive and socially-suspect groups, children in this century have had to find ways to defend their right to subsistence and to maintain a modicum of self-respect. Rejected and ejected from the labor market, children subsist on the charitable contributions of their parents—or, failing that, make do on the meager offerings of the State. Economically, children are on a par with other labor-market rejects like welfare recipients and are prone to subconscious labeling as "bums" and "idlers".

For children the key "strategy" has been consumerism. Ever since the first nickelodeons opened their doors nearly 80 years ago, the young have done their part in keeping the wheels of commerce turning. Neither recessions, depressions, nor declining fertility rates have slowed down the growth of the kiddie markets. According to a survey by the Rand Youth Poll for the National Restaurant Association, while the teenage population declined 6.6% between 1975 and 1980, teen spending rose more than 50%. Trade journals—with little else to glow about in the depressed 1980s—report enthusiastically on the continuing growth of the kiddie markets, accelerated in the last few years by the volatile commerce in video games.

Marketing experts predict that children will not only increase their purchases of toys, games, designer jeans, sneakers, cosmetics, and soft drinks, but also double their consumption of snacks and become major purchasers of audio and video equipment and home computers. In many households, children are replacing their mothers as chief decision makers in choosing their families' foods, toilet articles, and appliances. As *Seventeen* magazine reported in a full-page ad in the January 17th *New York Times*: "Last year they personally spent 37% of the family food budget, or \$13 billion."

It is as consumers that children have been able to win

a supportive constituency among wealthy and powerful adults. Manufacturers of retail goods (and not only those consumed solely by the young) have long promoted the idea that children are worthy of high levels of parental subsidy. Both in their advertising and in the TV programs which that advertising pays for, they endorse the notion that children's "needs"—whether for Pampers or for Pop Rock—merit serious adult consideration.

But the consumerist strategy has its psychological cost. For one thing, it strains whatever affection parents spontaneously feel for their young. Kiddie-market manufacturers spend some \$800 million a year on TV ads urging children to wheedle, whine, or harangue their way to new acquisitions. These ads find their way not only into the homes of the upper middle class, but also into those of the unemployed and the chronically hard-pressed, where the cost of a single Smurf figure (from the "collectible world of Smurfs") could sabotage a family meal.

To consume, children must either dip into their parents' pockets or learn to shoplift. In poor neighborhoods, small children hustle pizza-parlor patrons for quarters to play Frogger, and some of them will soon be big enough to mug pedestrians for the wherewithal to buy "muscle-builder (radio/tape desk) boxes". About 74 years ago, Jane Addams reported from Chicago that much of the "petty pilfering" that went on was a result of children's need for nickels for nickelodeons. In the 1980s nickels have become five-dollar bills, and some of the "petty pilferers" carry guns. So long as children are both financially dependent on their parents and exposed to a spectrum of consumer temptations, the disjunction between their "needs" and their families' incomes will regularly generate child outlaws. And as the incidence and intensity of child crime increases, adult sympathy for children as a class decreases.

The effect of the Reagan Administration's policies has been to destabilize what was already an economically precarious situation for children. No age group, of course, can be counted a winner in the mammoth shift from spending for social welfare to spending for the Military. But for children there is an especially-nasty twist to the combination of de-regulation and cutbacks in social-welfare programs.

The slashes in Aid to Families With Dependent Children, food stamps, and categorical nutrition programs pose a direct threat to the health of millions of children.

In addition, these cuts are a clear signal to all adults, including those on the verge of poverty, that this Administration believes the sole responsibility for a child's welfare lies with his or her immediate kin. Lose your job or gain a mouth to feed, and it is—moreso than at any other time since the advent of the New Deal—*your* problem. With hard times and a shrinking welfare state, children look more like economic liabilities and less like little blessings—a shift of perspective that no doubt contributes to the recent recession-associated rise of child abuse.

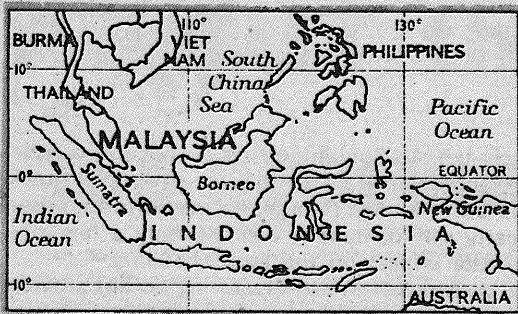
At the same time that the current Administration is shedding financial responsibility for children, it is encouraging their exploitation as consumers. During the previous three Administrations there was a definite, if glacial, drift toward upgrading children's television. The Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission at least considered proposals that would require the networks to offer a minimal amount of educational programming and clamp down on the more-outrageous advertising claims (for example, that a breakfast consisting largely of sugar will endow the eater with the strength of a superhero).

Then came the Reagan Administration; and, according to Peggy Charren, the director of Action for Children's Television, "It was as if a signal went out through the industry." The networks dropped their quality programs, and the FTC started shrugging off consumer complaints about commercials, including some that Charren believes are deceptive enough to be "clearly illegal".

A truly pro-child public policy should be based on the recognition that in many ways the needs of children are like those of any other subordinate social group: They need economic security, and they need dignity and respect. Since we do not, and should not, expect children to earn their keep, we can guarantee their economic security only through some kind of income-support program to sustain them through the vagaries of their family fortunes. If all children had a claim on public services and resources—day care, health care, and the like—no child could be regarded as an economic burden by the very adults she or he must look to for love.

(adapted from an article in Volume 236, Number 19 of *The Nation*)





## INDONESIA

[Continued From Page 5]

and loans. It is owned by P. T. Indonesia Aluminum, a joint venture with the Indonesian Government and Nippon Asahan Aluminum, which owns 75%. After 30 years the smelter will be turned over to the Government in Jakarta.

Japanese interest in the project derives from a fairly-simple calculation. After oil prices shot up in 1973, Japanese oil-fired smelters became disastrously uncompetitive. By moving its chief smelter to Indonesia, with its oil and ore, Japanese aluminum has become competitive again.

All Indonesia will get from Asahan is tax revenues and whatever profits accrue to its Government's 25% equity share. Most of the electricity generated by the hydro project goes to the smelter. The smelter itself will likely be worn out and obsolete 30 years from now, and the bauxite supplies will be depleted. The project uses local resources for distant purposes with little in return. Japan's massive purchases of Indonesian oil and logs have similar effects, and the logging is particularly notorious, as the tropical hardwoods are cut without regard to reforestation or conservation.

The development strategy which encourages this kind of role for foreign capital was not conceived in a political vacuum. Governments are controlled by the rich and the most ruthless. In this case, the deal serves the generals who have run Indonesia as a virtual dictatorship since 1966. By concentrating so much of their investment in joint enterprises with these generals, the Japanese played a key role in building up their economic power. Because their personal interests were so closely tied to maintaining good relations with Japanese capitalists, the generals have usually negotiated deals in which the benefit goes not to the Indonesians who become dependent on the new economy, but to their alleged benefactors, the Japanese capitalists and Government.

(Adapted from an article by Joel Rocamara in *Southeast Asia Chronicle* Number 88, February 1983)

## ODDS 'N' ENDS

**EGYPTIAN LABOR LAWS** require employers in both the public and private sectors to set up day-care centers if they employ more than a hundred females. But according to Egyptian journalist and author Farida el-Nakkash: "Many employers stop hiring women when they have, say, 96." Mixing of women and men at work is forbidden in Saudi Arabia, so the 28,500 employed Saudi women work in education (teaching girls), in medicine, and surprisingly, in all-women banks. (Islamic law guarantees the right of women to own their own jewelry, which means that most upper-class women have considerable amounts of money under their control, thus encouraging the creation of sex-segregated banks.)

**US COURTS TOUGHER ON MINORITIES:** A recent study by the Rand Corporation in California, Michigan, and Texas showed that black and Hispanic criminals are sentenced to prison more often and generally serve longer terms than whites convicted of the same crimes. In California the average sentence imposed is some six and a half months longer for Hispanics and almost a month and a half longer for blacks than for whites. In Michigan, courts impose sentences averaging more than seven months longer for blacks, and in Texas, sentences average three and a fourth months longer for blacks and two months longer for Hispanics. The study of racial discrimination in the criminal justice system said minorities in the three states were treated the same way as whites in terms of arrest, prosecution, and conviction. Blacks account for 48% of the US prison population, but compose only 12% of the general population.



Is Your Job

Killing You?

BLACKMAIL: YOUR JOB OR YOUR HEALTH

"I like the man that likes his company, and tells the people so: who's never heard to run it down and likes to see it grow." — *Tacoma Smelter News*, 1920

In an unprecedented move, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has asked the residents of Ruston, Tacoma, and other nearby towns to take part in a difficult decision concerning the fate of Asarco, the country's only arsenic-producing copper smelter. Should they continue to accept the four extra lung-cancer deaths a year in the square-mile area around the plant caused by the arsenic emissions, or face the probable closing of the 93-year-old smelter, which employs 570 workers and pumps an estimated \$51 million a year into the local economy?

The EPA is proposing a new, tougher emission standard that would reduce arsenic-pollution cancer deaths by three a year by lowering arsenic emissions from 310 tons to 189 tons a year. This is still a high risk level, because there are no known safe tolerance levels for arsenic. Vegetables grown in gardens five blocks from the smelter contain too-high levels of arsenic to be edible. The smelter's manager claims that the current emissions pose no danger to the public, but that the smelter's owners are willing to spend \$4.5 million on secondary hoods for its copper converters to trap fumes.

Residents were invited to express their views on Asarco at public hearings August 30th. Public opinion will weigh heavily in the EPA's decision concerning Asarco's fate. Meanwhile, the EPA is conducting seminars to inform people about the health risks, and Asarco is dropping hints that it will close down rather than having to install more costly pollution-control devices.

## That's Capitalism

What do you do if you're a boss, and the restaurant you just bought is losing money? Why, fire the workers, of course.

That's just what the owners at Rudford's Restaurant in San Diego, California did last July. Shortly after they took over, they gave every worker in the place one day's notice, eventually sacking 19. One of the fired workers had 30 years' experience, another 27 (at that restaurant), and more than half of the fired workers had worked there for five years or more. None of this deterred the new owners, who not only saved money by hiring replacements at the minimum wage, but also got out from under a pension plan and health-insurance program.

The workers decided not to take this sitting down, and set up pickets outside the restaurant. They've been out there for weeks now, from five in the morning to ten at night, leafletting, talking to customers, and carrying picket signs announcing their grievances. According to picketers, 70% of Rudford's customers are honoring the lines, despite the profusion of signs in the windows offering a variety of specials to those willing to cross the picket lines.

Despite this success, management is refusing to talk to the fired workers, instead posting a leaflet on its doors announcing that it decided "not to hire" the fired workers because it wanted the "best" people for the positions. The leaflet is signed by many of the new workers, including one who worked at the restaurant before the new owners took over.

Management did not return this reporter's phone call. The workers, however, who are not represented by a union, remain firm in their determination to win. "We're not leaving until we get our jobs back," said one. Meanwhile, the pickets remain.

### 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.

# From the Bookcase

## FLORA TRISTAN AND THE WORKERS' UNION

*The Workers' Union*, by Flora Tristan, translated with an introduction by Beverly Livingston, University of Illinois Press, 1983, cloth only, \$14.95

Five years before the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, and 62 years before the founding of the IWW, Flora Tristan urged the formation of one big union of working men and women as the indispensable vehicle of proletarian emancipation. Her book *The Workers' Union*, published in Paris in 1843 and now translated into English for the first time, is a revolutionary classic.

As Beverly Livingston points out in her insightful introduction, Flora Tristan (1803-1844) was "the first to call for an international association of the proletariat". Although it is doubtful that any of the founders of the IWW knew of her work, one cannot but be impressed by the similarities between her ideas and the IWW program. Whole paragraphs of her critique of existing labor organizations—arguing that they tended to be "absurd" and "selfish", dividing the working class into "a multitude of small private groups", competing with rather than helping each other—could have been written by Big Bill Haywood or Vincent St. John. Against this "system of separation, which decimates the workers", Tristan affirmed her own aim: "to establish the solid, indissoluble unity of the working class".

Then, too, when she observes that the worker is a "practical joker who laughs at his own misery and sings to entertain himself", and adds that "songs have an extraordinary magnetic effect on gathered workers", we are once again on terrain made familiar by Wobbly traditions. Her book includes several songs imbued with the spirit and imagery of many IWW lyrics:

*The great freedom humanity dreams of  
Like a new radiant sun is rising  
On the horizon of the future.  
The Union must maintain your flame...  
Be united. The Union will give you strength.*

Indeed, Flora Tristan's program included a strong cultural emphasis that has little in common with the economic priorities of social-democratic and communist parties, but closely resembles the approach of the organization that has given us the songs of Joe Hill and T-Bone

Slim, the cartoons of Ernest Riebe and Ralph Chaplin, and much of the best proletarian fiction and theater. The official paper of the Workers' Union, Tristan wrote, would regularly feature "fables, tales, songs, plays". She appealed to "worker-poets, writers, speakers, musicians" to take up the cause of the "universal union of working men and women".

Tristan was for a time close to the greatest of the utopian socialists, Charles Fourier, theorist of "passional attraction". Fourier was regarded by Marx and Engels as a forerunner of "scientific socialism", by Kropotkin as an anticipator of anarchism, and by Andre Breton as a precursor of surrealism, and is increasingly recognized by contemporary scholars for his prefiguration of the psychoanalytic and ecological critiques of capitalism. There is also a notable feminist dimension in Fourier's work which certainly attracted Tristan, and which she elaborated as part of her program for the Workers' Union. In France, Flora Tristan holds a position comparable to that of Mary Wollstonecraft in England and Margaret Fuller in the US—as a pioneering radical feminist. Her working-class and socialist orientation, of course, gives her feminism a special importance for us today.

Tristan's obvious limitations—her sentimental hope for co-operation between classes; her naive belief that even the bourgeoisie could be convinced that working-class emancipation would be in the best interests of all; her almost mystical notion of socialism and her tendency to regard herself as a messiah—are shared by most utopians, and need not detain us. Her chief contribution, as Beverly Livingston notes, was "transforming a visionary dream into a practical program of action", and thus her work inevitably offers "a curious blend of materialistic perceptions and idealistic visions".

Between the revolutionary generations of 1830 and 1848 in France, Tristan was a remarkable transitional figure. While remaining faithful to all that was best in the old utopian dreams, she boldly leaped ahead into the workers' real struggle against wage slavery. In reminding us of the first bright and inspired days of the proletarian cause, *The Workers' Union* can help us find our way out of the miserabilist muddle of ideology today. In our own transitional time, with all humanity confronted on every side by unprecedented horrors, Flora Tristan still speaks to us.

Franklin Rosemont





# 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 Jaroszowski, IW Distributor, 719 South 4th Ave. (5), Barrio Hacienda, Tucson, Arizona 85701

**BRITISH COLUMBIA:** Vancouver IWW, 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, Branch Secretary, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140; Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Ct., 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

**IDAHO:** IWW Delegate, Route 1, Box 137, Potlatch, Idaho 83855

**INDIANA:** IWW Delegate, 520 West Smith, Bloomington, Indiana 47401

**IOWA:** All Workers Organizing Committee, Box 382, Sioux Rapids, Iowa 50585

**ILLINOIS:** IWW, 3435 N. Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657, Phone (312) 549-5045  
Champaign/Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820

**KANSAS:** IWW Delegate, PO Box 522, Wichita, Kansas 67201

**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, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings are held the first Sunday of each month, Phone 522-7090 or 524-0529

**MICHIGAN:** IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506  
Ann Arbor/Detroit General Membership Branch, 400 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105  
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**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, c/o 201 Seeley Road, Apr. 4-H, Syracuse, New York 13224; Georgene McKown, Delegate, 117 Edgemere Road, Syracuse, New York 13208  
New York City 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; Pete Posthumus, 35 Williams Dr., 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, c/o Box 310, Rosendale, New York 12472

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

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

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

**RHODE ISLAND:** IWW c/o 1400 Broad St., Providence, Rhode Island 02905

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** IU 450 Branch, 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, Washington 98277, Phone 671-9995. Meets first Monday at 6:30  
Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 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, c/o 426 Cantwell Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53703

## 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

# 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
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- History of the IWW in Canada . . . . . .50
- Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary . . . . . 4.50
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- The Right To Be Lazy . . . . . 1.25
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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

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The San Francisco IWW has published a 12-page question-and-answer pamphlet on the Industrial Workers of the World. It is an excellent introductory booklet, dealing with our union's stand on politics, labor leaders, dues, economy in general, and how we can all organize. The pamphlet retails for 10¢ each, and bulk orders at the same rate as the other items on our literature list are available. Order from the San Francisco IWW, listed in our Directory on Page 7.

## LITERATURE DISCOUNT POLICY

Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the IWW literature list may be ordered at a 40% discount if orders are pre-paid. We offer a 30% discount on similar orders which we must invoice. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery.

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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.

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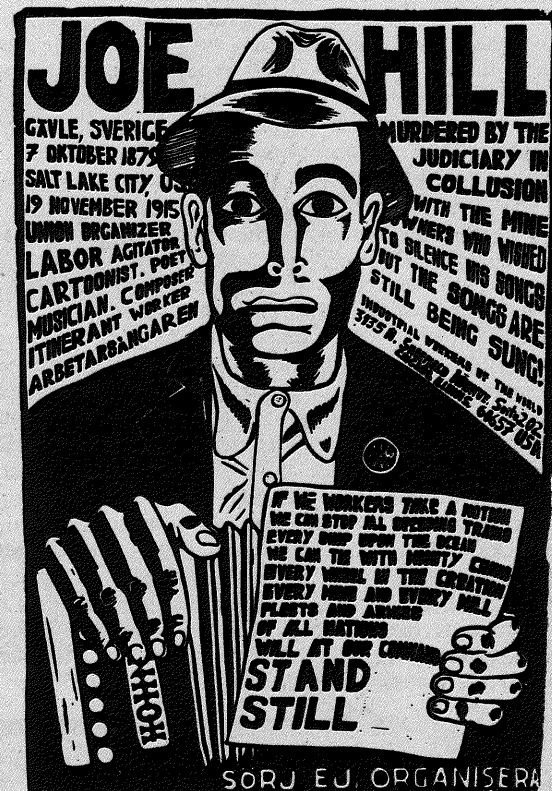
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# REHEARSAL FOR DEATH

Our sad old world insists on repeating history. *We will not learn!*

I hear the distant tramp of American feet marching off to battle. The broad highway leading to war is being paved with slimy rationalizations. Let me elucidate:

I had hoped that popular movements would encourage self-reliance among the common people. But this job they have done very poorly.

Our logic was bound to break down because of the many illusions implicit in it. There was the illusion of the Great Leader, a god-like aspiration in the hearts of many people, a miracle to which they turned. There was the faith that out of some vague future abundance peace and freedom would flow automatically. There was the conviction that the widespread pacifist implications represented the hard substance of resistance to war and the practical means of abolishing it.

People took for granted that only capitalists cash in on war. They overlooked the glittering promise of blood money in defense jobs, very enticing to unemployed workers. They divided workers and capitalists into opposing ideological camps, based on an assumption that ignored the strong hold the two-party political system still has on the country. They saw the transfer of power as a simple remedy in itself. Thus they assumed that while power in the hands of capitalists made for war, power in the name of the people (liberal politicians or ethnic leaders) necessarily made for peace and economic progress, regardless of the form that social and economic organization took. From this reasoning it followed that all would be well, all good would flow from the simple organization of "the people".

Organization by whom? For what? To be sure, there is much movement, there are massive demonstrations, there is much bustling and scurrying in circles. Progress seems to be reckoned by body counts: so many hundreds seen at this function, so many thousands estimated at that project. This is the great, tangible harvest of all the pitiful strivings and aspirations of the common people. We pass resolutions, we carry brave banners—and we come full circle.

True, reliance on reform has worked reasonably well for a time. A screw in our economy has been tightened here, a bolt loosened there. But the machinery still grates and rasps. It is not in the nature of reform movements to overhaul the works. There comes a time when the busy little liberals run out of things to do and ways to repair our broken-down economy, and we are compelled to rely

on expedients of a more-conservative nature. Basic issues can no longer be evaded by this or that palliative. That heartless man in the White House is not really responsible for the breakdown of the economy. Too often, our liberal leaders fall into the defense trap too—hoping and pretending that war jobs will solve our problems. It seems we cannot employ sufficient numbers of people at real work building houses, paving streets where chuckholes are causing accidents, feeding the hungry.

The great, pressing question is not Shall we give capitalism one more chance? but rather What form will industrial democracy take?

Am I dreaming of a millennium, a never-never land?

As is customary nowadays, war will overtake us some time before fighting actually occurs. The war ideology will conform to the accepted liberal tradition. It will be directed against an evil which every real liberal condemns. The era of preparedness which we have never left for a generation will grow only a little more intensive. It will provide its apologists from among the labor leaders, intellectuals, and "good people" in church and pacifist groups—yes, from the very elements which now condemn war! And how useful will be the great mass of organization that lies ready to be converted into a vital military arm!

It is time we asked What assurance have we that Western governments will not abandon democracy in the name of a war for democracy? What can we salvage from the wreckage of a third world war that we apparently couldn't save before? (Even if no earth-destroying hell bombs are thrown!) What issues can be settled, other than who is stronger? Every conflict seems to tilt the balance of power. World War One established the United States in first place. World War Two advanced Russia to rivalship. What top dog will menace the World next time?

We are beguiled not by lies, but by half-truths. The sugar-coated pill goes down easier than arsenic. In our commendable desire to help the persecuted and threatened peoples menaced by totalitarian "communists", we must never forget that "if enough people believe that a particular type of war might be justifiable, the War Department will see to it that they get that kind of war—in print. The kind of war they have gotten in fact they will discover for themselves some years later."

(I found these comments in an old notebook written the day of the 1938 national student peace strike. How few changes were necessary to bring them up to date!)

Dorice McDaniels

## WHOSE RECOVERY?

Officially, the recession is over and the economy is well on the road to a vigorous recovery. From a low point in November 1982, with 10.8% officially unemployed, the economy has now surged to the point where only 9.5% of the total work force are officially unemployed. Since the US work force totals 100 million people, 1% equals 1 million people.

Meanwhile, the number of persons living below the Government's official poverty line jumped last year to 34.4 million, or 15% of the population—more than one person in seven—according to the latest Census Bureau figures. It was the highest poverty rate since 1965, and represented the fourth consecutive annual increase. The poverty line, adjusted each year for inflation, was \$9,862 last year for a family of four.

As in the past, conservatives complained that the Census Bureau's report exaggerates the number of poor people in the US because it reflects money income only and not such no-cash benefits as Medicare or food stamps. With the cutting back on such programs under the Reagan Administration, however, such criticisms are less valid.

The overall poverty figures mask tremendous differences within the population as a whole. The percentage of people over 65 living in poverty dropped from 15.3% in 1981 to 14.6%, though these figures do not reflect the differences in income by sex among the elderly. The proportion of people living in poverty was enormously higher for blacks (35.6%) and Hispanics (29.9%) than for whites (12%), although all three groups were up from 1981.

Families headed by female householders with no husbands present had the highest rate of poverty (36.3%), while for female-headed non-white families with several children the poverty ratio mounted to 75%. Due to the

strictly sex-segregated job market, male poverty is usually ended by getting a job. But the money women make in the jobs they get is often not enough to raise them above the poverty line. Median income is \$13,950 for male workers 15 years and over, and \$5,890 for women. But these figures include people who do not work full-time. For people working full-time all year long, the male median income was \$21,660 and the female \$13,660.

The South remains the poorest section of the country, with 18.1% of its people in poverty. The rates are 13.3% in the Midwest, 13% in the Northeast, and 14.1% in the West.

### FROM HOUSTON

If you've been around the movement more than a short while, you've heard this one:

"You IWWs make all that talk about revolution. The most you'll ever accomplish is clean unionism."

Clean unionism? A clean-union movement, IWW-style; that's not revolutionary? Limitation of tenure of office; no more professional ex-workers implementing union policy. Officer pay and worker pay equal. Negotiations conducted by real live workers from the job, not by careerists far removed from it. *No more* career "grievance committees".

Those are the basics. That's not revolutionary unionism? It would revolutionize the union movement. A revolutionized union movement could revolutionize the working class. And a revolutionized working class...

I'll settle for clean unionism, then defy the cartels and conglomerates to stop what's under way.

Pervicacia



## DID YOU NOTICE?

**FEMALE CRIME UP:** In Illinois, the number of women arrested for major offenses such as theft, robbery, burglary, assault, arson, murder, and manslaughter increased 69% in the last decade, and male arrests increased 58%. Men, however, were arrested for 90% of the crimes. The proportion of women arrested for violent crimes such as assault and homicide has remained relatively low and stable during the last 10 years. In Cook County Chicago, women accounted for about 7% of violent-crime arrests, compared with 8% statewide and 10% nationwide. According to Claudia McCormick, the superintendent of the women's section of Cook County Jail, 60% of the women being held there charged with murder are battered wives. ("Women are not becoming more dangerous, they feel it is either his life or hers.") The typical woman theft offender in Cook County Jail is a member of a minority group, between 26 and 29 years old, high-school educated, unemployed, and a single parent with children. McCormick said that most of the 240 to 250 women in Cook County Jail fit that category: "Most of the women here are just trying to feed their children."

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**MEN DON'T ACCEPT WORKING MOTHERS:** According to a poll taken by the Public Agenda Foundation the people in the US most likely to accept the idea of women with children under 12 working are the working mothers themselves. The most decided disapproval of working mothers was voiced by college-educated men (possibly because their mothers and wives were the least likely to work). Some 66% of male college graduates believe working mothers weaken the family, while only 52% of blue-collar men share this belief. In contrast, women with children do not see any danger in working mothers, and 38% said a full-time job can be good for mothers. It is college-educated men, however, who are most likely to decide what the child-care policies will be in government and business.

### 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!

### WILDCAT

