



**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD**

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

VOLUME, NUMBER 5 WN 1452

WASHINGTON, D.C. MAY, 1984

25 CENTS



Labor Strife Mounts In French Industries

by Marrienne McMullen

It was an unlikely place for a campfire. But there it was: in the middle of a highway between Paris and the Charles de Gaulle Airport. Around it stood about 150 truck drivers drinking coffee made on the fire and undoubtedly feeling the strain of several days, literally, on the road, sleeping in their trucks and causing the worst traffic jam in the history of French motor transport.

The eight-day long blockade of France's major arteries in late February has been perhaps the most dramatic and troublesome labor action against the Socialist government there, but certainly not the sole action. Miners, steel workers and auto workers are among the many who have hit the cobblestones in the past few months, and public employees--nearly six million of them--staged a one-day general strike on March 8.

France's communications, transport and utilities were disrupted as civil servants protested pay raises of five percent, which is less than the inflation rate. As many as 5 million consumers were left without power while a parade of over 15,000 strikers coursed through the streets of Paris.

What has brought workers out to the streets is the same thing which only three



years ago brought them great hope: the Socialist government of Francois Mitterand. The government has been embarking on a plan to trim noncompetitive industrial sectors, as opposed to subsidizing them, and to modernize its more successful industries. What this means for the working class is massive layoffs.

In February the government announced that France's shipbuilding capacity would be cut back by one-third, which would eliminate 5,000 of the nation's 20,000 shipbuilding jobs. At the same time the Government Coal Board proposed a "modernization" of the mining industry through a plan that would do away with 30,000 of the present 57,000 jobs over a six-year period. Within days of these announcements, Citroen, the auto manufacturer, talked about laying off 6,000 of its 44,000 workers.

Since assuming power in 1981 the government has taken some steps that French workers

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Corruption Exposed at L.I.U.

The Laborer's International Union and IWW member Chris White has helped expose corruption within the Laborer's Union. Along with other rebels in the union, White has uncovered a pattern of questionable loans from union pension funds, kickbacks to union officials in return for awarding contracts to provide union services, and bribery of government officials to gain immunity from prosecution.

The key figure in the corruption is the President of the union, Angelo Fosco, who according to inside sources was "hand-picked" by mafioso Tony Accardo to head the union.

Fosco is accused of receiving over \$200,000 in kickbacks between 1970 and 1977. These kickbacks allegedly came from businesses that got contracts for handling LIUNA health and welfare services. He also increased the salaries of his friends and relatives on the union payroll, gave a contract to a company of which Fosco is part owner, and frequently charged personal expenses to the union. Fosco also contributed \$150,000 to the Carter-Mondale presidential campaign in 1980 to get the government to stop criminal investigations against Fosco and his cronies, and even used union funds to defend himself from criminal prosecution.

White and other Laborer's dissidents have tried practically every union and government

channel to get rid of the Fosco regime. When they tried running candidates against Fosco, one of the reform candidates was beaten on the convention floor. When they tried to nail Alaska governor Bill Sheffield for back taxes on an illegal loan from the Laborer's pension fund, Labor Secretary Ray Donovan helped get a special tax exemption for Sheffield through Congress. When the union did not suspend Fosco and other LIUNA officials under criminal indictment, in accordance with official union policy, the dissidents filed suit.

While the union reformers initially got some help from public interest lawyers, their suit ran up against attorney William Dobrovir's request for \$75,000 per year to continue to push the suit. As Chris White pointed out, "These exorbitant costs have the effect of denying us our constitutional rights."

White sums up his experience, "I have followed the union reformer road to its logical conclusion and the buck appears to stop at the White House. By comparison, Watergate looks like a third-rate burglary. The news media seems to be the only thing these bastards are sensitive to."

If you are a LIUNA member and want to help White, write to: PO Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.

(Reprinted from Wobble.)

'Go Organize the Goldfish' —The Adventures of a Professional Picket—

by Dorice McDaniels

I was the only "striker" on a Retail Clerks picket line some years ago. This was a boycott designed to discourage trade while signing up the employees working inside the large department store, Milliron's. But somehow my reckless impulsiveness landed me out there with a picket sign and, to my surprise, a new job. I became a professional picket.

Milliron's was undergoing a face lift. The eight unions involved had verbally agreed to cooperate with the Clerks. Initial collaboration was quickly over, however. Lesson #1 in our education in union solidarity! Carpenters caused us considerable embarrassment by flaunting union buttons in their caps as they pounded nails recklessly over our heads. Union cement mixers wove in and out through our line with wheelbarrows, and when their work was dry they polished the huge pillars with noisy electric Sanders that wafted cement dust into our nostrils. So with union electricians, union glass fitters, union upholsterers...

"Unions aren't little business anymore, they're big," one organizer boasted.

Aye, and in the process of growing big they'd forgotten a few basic facts. Organizers had degenerated into "business agents" with a commercial swagger. By reducing unions to a dollar sign and overlooking worker participation they'd created some very literal members who honored the letter (sometimes) rather than the spirit. And we were losing the battle. Six futile months at Milliron's!

Just before noon one Saturday a court clerk handed us pickets an injunction limiting the number of boycotters to two silent walkers at each door. Our union general ordered his recruits back into action. As soon as one four-some was arrested another took its place until 22 of us were in L.A.'s Lincoln Heights jail. Immediately upon our release we courted arrest again. Eight of us (yep, me too!) chalked up two counts of contempt that day. Though we won this immediate skirmish in court, the union eventually had to fork over \$3,000 in fines.

Our police chauffeur told us, "Well, girls, I'm sure glad you didn't give me any trouble. I hate to have to hit people over the

head, 'specially ladies. Gives the department a bad name."

On our second trip to jail we were dumped in the drunk tank. The cops thought anyone rash enough to disobey an injunction twice in one day must be drunk!

The Retail Clerks lost their bout with Milliron's Department Store in Los Angeles. But they busied themselves conducting other union drives.

"We have a little matter to settle in Hollywood today," our business agent announced noncommittally as he piloted us out to his car. "This is as bad as being in the army," Sandra grumbled.

"At least when I was employed as a clerk I knew what I was selling," Betty remarked.

"I wonder what we're supposed to say when people ask us what the trouble is," Ginger mused.

As soon as we began flirting our banners in from of a grocery store four men rushed pell-mell outside and surrounded the organizer, shouting, thrusting accusing forefingers in his face.

"We didn't do anything wrong. We just didn't want..."

"If you just take those darn fool pickets away we promise..."

"OK, you know what you have to do." The organizer waved papers in the air. "Phone us when you're ready."

"Oh no, no! Not that!"

Two hours later the organizer left the store grinning triumphantly. "OK, kids, you can go home now." (Two of these picket "kids" were graylocks!)

After the incident at the Hollywood market came a women's apparel shop, then a couple of furniture stores. (Lost causes all.) At Wright's the Teamsters business agent played the leading role.

At first, union drivers played the game. Half were loyal, the other half were "persuaded" to be reasonable.

A disgustingly careless crew at the station developed a habit of misplacing vital parts. Even a court order failed to produce table legs and chair seats. What good were

(continued on page four)



Around Our Union

Hangin' Proud Up North

Vancouver: The Vancouver IWW banner hung proudly from a literature table March 3 as Vancouver Wobs participated in a Direct Action Fair and Conference. The one-day event featured displays and tables from a variety of women's, peace and political groups. Workshops were held on the history of popular resistance, on effective means of confronting authority, on direct action in the workplace, and on legal self-defense.

The regional IWW conference announced in the March issue of this paper has been tentatively scheduled for Saturday, April 14 and Sunday, April 15. Sessions will include discussion of the IWW Preamble, IWW organizing, and IWW prospects in British Columbia. Contact the Vancouver Branch for more information.

Former General Secretary-Treasurer Dave Tucker was interviewed on Vancouver's co-op radio station CFRO during his visit to the area in March. He spoke on where the union is today and what our prospects and plans are.

Missoula, Montana: The Clark Fork Valley IWW Group recently co-hosted a Utah Phillips concert. Local member Mark Ross shared the bill with Phillips. The local had a literature table, with the Little Red Songbook being the most popular item. The local prepared their own leaflets on the General Membership Branch drive and International Women's Day.

The group has been meeting on a regular basis. They have been active in distributing the *Industrial Worker* to local bookstores and spreading the One Big Union idea in other ways. In March they had the pleasure of meeting and talking with former GST Dave Tucker on his way across the country.

Chicago: The Chicago General Membership Branch has been increasingly active in recent months. Following strike support work during the Greyhound strike, Branch members have been preparing a series of public meetings, the first of which took place March 4 on the subject of women workers. The program featured a film and a presentation by a member of the Branch, followed by lively discussion among those attending. Future programs are being planned on South Africa and Nicaragua for April and May. The Branch is also preparing to participate in the annual Mothers' Day March for Peace in mid-May, and is discussing activities to commemorate May Day.

The Branch has reprinted the leaflet on unemployment originally printed by the Bellingham Branch, as part of a campaign of outreach to unemployed workers. In addition, the Branch recently began publishing a newsletter, *Rebel Worker*. The first issue came out in January, featuring an article on the Greyhound strike, and efforts by local Greyhound workers in the aftermath of the settlement to organize a rank-and-file caucus.

Concessions: Saving Profits, not Jobs

by Jon Bekken

For many years Wobblies and others committed to revolutionary industrial unionism have tended to support (no matter how critically) business unions in their workplaces, believing that "any union is better than none." Recent events are quickly rendering this position obsolete, as business union-management collaboration reaches new lows.

Across the continent, business unions have been negotiating concessions on wages, hours and, especially, working conditions, often with employers who continue to make substantial profits. Such concessions have now become so commonplace that there remains little point in reciting examples.

Most notable among recent examples, of course, is the Greyhound strike where employees ultimately granted substantial concessions to a highly profitable company. Recent reports indicate that Greyhound has fired 200 union activists for strike-related activities and is seeking massive rate hikes in several parts of the country.

In Fresno, California, the United Auto Workers have gone so far as to bust their own local. Last August, the UAW dissolved its Local 1364, and quickly cut a deal with General Motors dropping seniority rights and agreeing to concessions on work rules and job classifications. Members of the local have been denied the right to meet in their own hall and are effectively disenfranchised by the International's action. Three hundred of them picketed their former union hall last summer in protest of this betrayal of their rights.

U.S. Department of Labor statistics show that in the first half of 1983, one-quarter of unionized U.S. workers took pay cuts, while another 20 percent made no gains. These concessions, the statistics show, have been centered in the traditional business union strongholds. Indeed, a survey conducted last year and reported in the May-June 1983 issue of the *Harvard Business Review*, found that "concessions in recent years are primarily limited to the union sector of U.S. industry."

The same story reports that while half of all companies losing money are seeking concessions, 31 percent of the much larger group of profitable companies are seeking or have obtained concessions. 56 percent of unionized companies in the survey reported a "need" for concessions.

"Many nonunion companies report financial problems," reports D. Quinn Mills, Professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School, "yet virtually none reports employee concessions. This reluctance to impose concessions on nonunionized employees is due to the possible reaction of their employees, he concluded, who remain free of much of the discipline imposed by modern business unions."

Interestingly, in this survey only 43 percent of the companies that had won concessions from employees cited business conditions or economic need as the reason for seeking concessions. Thirty three percent reported seeking concessions only because "an opportunity was perceived to cut costs," while a number

of respondents also pointed to concessions won by competitors as their justification.

The fact that the bulk of the companies winning concessions are highly profitable cannot be understated. The survey shows that

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Mills concludes that concessions will continue to be sought by U.S. companies even after the current recession ends.

Concessions are often justified under the pretext that they save jobs. Throughout the continent, however, workers are learning that this claim is without basis in fact. In the steel industry, for example workers, who gave

up wages in order to "save their jobs" are ending without either wages or jobs. Steel plants across the United States are closing without regard for whether or not their workers agreed to concessions, as bosses decide to take the quick profits to be made through tax write-offs and importation of cheap steel from super-exploited workers in the Third World.

Like concessions, lay-offs and plant closings have been met by business unions with little more than resigned acceptance, except in those cases where these unions have actively collaborated in the process. So long as the business unions maintain their perverse belief that the working class and the bosses share common interests, and subordinate their representation of workers to the preservation of the capitalist system, they will remain unable to offer an alternative to falling wages, worsening working conditions, and massive lay-offs. Instead, revolutionary unions, organized on an industrial basis, are needed to confront the bosses, mobilize resistance to their offensive, and organize the working class to establish control of industry.

Overtime = Unemployment

Call 'em Back to Work

Those of us who still have jobs should not forget those of us who are laid off. The employers have forgotten them. Rather than call them back to work whenever there is more to do than we on the job can accomplish in eight hours, our employers ask us to work overtime.

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

Industrial Worker

The *Industrial Worker* (ISSN 0019-8870) is the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, 3435 N. Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL 60657, phone (312) 549-5045. It is owned entirely by the IWW and is issued monthly. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Unless designated as official policy, articles in the *Industrial Worker* do not necessarily represent the official position of the Industrial Workers of the World.

NO PAID OR COMMERCIAL
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The *Industrial Worker* is mailed without a wrapper to cut expenses, but a wrapper can be requested.

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Overtime can be and should be converted to jobs for our laid-off fellow unionists. The work we do in working longer than eight hours is not strange to the skills of the laid-off workers. It is more of what they used to do before they were separated from it because they had less "seniority" than we have. That's a poor excuse and a continuing threat of unemployment to the guys next to us who have less of this "right stuff" than we who remain on the job. The longer we have worked for our employer, the longer hours we may go on working for them--what a prospect, what a promise, what a future.

Overtime, "working over," "overworking," whatever the name we choose for it, is more than a trend; it is managerial policy and practice degenerating into a bad habit and proof that managers cannot manage their work load, the chief reason for their presence in the plant. And this bad habit of theirs dismantles the eight-hour day structure the unions struggled so long to build.

It is not reasonable to think the managers, with all their computers and high-tech aids, cannot divide twenty-four by three; but it is apparent they stubbornly refuse to do so.

We should help the managers to overcome their reluctance to be reasonable by declining their invitations to work overtime, and by asserting our determination to re-establish the eight-hour shift and to reinforce it by sharing the "unmanageable" work load with our laid-off fellow unionists too long separated from us.

Yours for the eight-hour day,
The Seniority Bunch
Local 600, Detroit

(reprinted from the Detroit Free Press)

From Wisconsin...

A Story That Never Ends

by Terrence Stoflet and Judith Davis

Northwest Wisconsin has taken it on the chin with a double whammy of injury and insult.

The injury occurred with the take-over of an Eau Claire-based Armour Meats plant by Con-Agra, a company dedicated to maintaining non-union processing plants. The wages were cut from an average of \$10.50 per hour to \$5.50 and no former employees were to be hired back as of December 19, 1983.

Con-Agra now wishes to have near-by municipalities issue bonds to help finance the deal. The bond issues might help to keep the plant open, but Con-Agra will not agree to give this guarantee. It is as if the plant has been kidnapped, is being held for ransom, and may or may not be delivered safely back to a state of employment and tax revenue.

The insult came when individuals and families received private mailings of a Presidential-level appeal for contributions to the GOP Victory Fund. Persons who have long been loyal union supporters were affronted to find that the message inside, endorsed by the Honorable Ronald Wilson Reagan, contained the most blatant of anti-union rhetoric. An excerpt reads, "In the 1982 elections labor unions and their political action committees gave over 17 million to their candidates. Ninety-four percent of that money went to Democrats. With the invaluable help of Big Labor and the unions' compulsory membership dues, liberal Democrats are raising millions."

Radical Unionists Meet in Europe; Discuss Increased Cooperation

by Mike Hargis

Two important meetings of revolutionary unionists took place this winter. The first was in Elmshorn, West Germany, bringing together the northern sections of the International Workers Association (IWA). Delegates from the Direct Action Movement of Great Britain (DAM); Free Workers' Union of Germany (FAUD), the Norwegian Syndicalist Workers Federation (NSF); Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation of Sweden (ASF); and the Secretariat of the IWA (based in Madrid) listened to reports from the various sections and discussed ways and means of increasing cooperation among the northern sections.

The International Secretary of the IWA, Angel Espinosa, reported on his recent trip to South America where he made contact with revolutionary unionists in Chile, Uruguay and Brazil. The repressive situation which the Latin American comrades face was underlined for the secretary when he was arrested twice in the course of his trip, in Chile and Uruguay. Yet, despite these conditions, there is much potential in South America, and more delegates will be sent there in the future.

Espinosa also reported on inquiries received from Sweden, Japan, Australia and North America.

Activity reported from other areas included:

Mexico: The IWA section attempted to form a union in the printing trade but this effort was smashed by the reformist union confederation. The fellow workers were forced to either join the reformist union or lose their jobs.

France: Following a successful strike in Bordeaux, 200 members of the Socialist Party--connected to the CGT-FO (Force Ouvrier)--bolted and went over to the CNTF (National Federation of Labor).

Germany: The FAUD has been very active in the powerful anti-missile/anti-militarist movement and took part in discussions recently held with armaments workers.

Norway: The NSF is very active in Polish Solidarity work and have begun publishing a newspaper, *Arbeiter Solidaritet* (Workers' Solidarity), which they report is being received well in the union movement.

The second meeting of European revolutionary unionists took place in Ancona, Italy from December 8 to 11. This was an organizational "Congress for the Restructuring of the Italian Syndicalist Union (USI--Italian section of the IWA.)"

Unlike the formative Base Assemblies of 1978 and 1979 which led to the formal reconstitution of the USI at the Congress of Parma in 1979, the meeting in Ancona had as its object the clearer definition of the structures and line of the organization.

The earlier meetings resulted in political confrontations between two groups. The majority came from the Italian Anarchist Federation (FAI), who wanted to launch the USI immediately as an alternative to the reformist centers. The



*The Honorable Ronald Wilson Reagan,
President of the United States,
requests the honor of your support
and participation in the congressional elections
as a Sponsor of the
GOP Victory Fund*

The balance of the circular strongly suggested that a Republican victory would be a defeat of Democrats and labor unions alike. In our opinion, both a political party and a President openly declaring their dislike for organized labor implies a serious threat to all who work under the union umbrella.

The story of injury and insult never really ends. It just moves about from place to place with the industrialists, their greed, and their token Presidents.

second group, from the Committees for Direct Action and the journal, *Autogestione*, felt that strengthening the base committees in the workplace was a prerequisite to building a genuine alternative based in the class struggle.

In contrast, the Congress of Ancona dealt more with industrial questions than with political points. Fewer "pure" anarchists were present and the USI declared its organizational independence from the FAI.

The USI has a dual structure, much like the IWW, both vertical (Industrial Unions) and horizontal (intersectoral Labor Exchanges, similar to our General Membership Branches.) Of the two the Italian fellow workers are putting their emphasis on the vertical aspect due to the fact that most branches of industry, whether in the public or private sector, are governed by the same national contracts. For the anarcho-syndicalists to have any impact on this structure they feel it imperative to organize industrially.

The immediate task of the revolutionary unionists, as they see it, is to break the trade union-imposed peace within the workplace by helping the workers to rediscover the power of the General Assemblies and fight to free the factory councils from the influence of the employers and the trade unions. These councils grew out of the strike wave of the "Hot Autumn" of 1968 as autonomous organs of struggle. However, these groups were eventually legalized and incorporated into the structure of the workplace as instruments for the adjustment of working hours, safety and working conditions in general. (A similar process took place in Poland following the strike wave of 1956.) The USI proposes to participate in these councils, at all times seeking ways and means for breaking them away from management.

Currently the USI is strongest in the health industry, where their section has elaborated a platform in opposition to those of the reformist unions, and in the transport industry, including air transport, where the fellow workers issue an industrial bulletin and have led recent struggles, particularly at Rome Airport.

The USI also has sections among land workers and in the postal service. There are possibilities developing in municipal transport, among bus and subway workers, and among artisans.

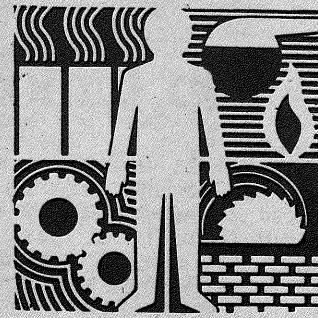
By the time you read these lines the 17th Congress of the International Workers' Association will have taken place in Madrid. In future issues of the *Industrial Worker* we will report on this event.

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!

Fred Thompson's

labor in north america



Workers in some industries are still winning raises--and in others their unions are conceding give-backs, with non-union workers giving back even more.

Jewel Food has over 70 retail stores in Chicago. Recently it boosted the salaries of its executives to around the \$800,000 mark and cut the pay of its clerks as much as \$1.75 an hour, in mid-contract with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)--and this in a line of work where no one can say the folks in Taiwan are grabbing the jobs...Flight Attendants settled with United Airlines for a 17 percent cut for new employees in return for a six percent raise, just once in the next three years...At Eastern Airlines the Pilots gave up about a fifth of their pay for stock...The two-tier deal in the trucking industry--less pay for those still to be hired--has led some companies to induce old-timers to quit so they can be replaced with cheaper new employees. United Parcel in New York City has offered some old hands \$42,000 to quit for that reason.

Meat packing workers, to quote UFCW's vice president Anderson, face "a concerted drive by employers to turn a highly organized industry into a substantially unorganized one at wages of \$5.50 to \$6.50 an hour." This is being done via plant closings, bankruptcies, sale of plant, massive lay-offs, and the rise of new processors with new technologies and great hostility to unions: Iowa Beef (now going into pork too), Excel and Cargill.

There are gains. Longshoremen (ILA) with brief strikes won contracts with 200 ocean carriers on the Atlantic and Gulf, raising rates to \$15 an hour (retroactive to October), \$16 the next year, and \$17 in 1985. This affects about 50,000 longshoremen. By additional strike action in Boston they own 1500 hours of guaranteed work for the first year, 1600 hours in the second year and 1650 hours in the third...Oil Workers (OCAW) reached an agreement with Gulf Oil in January that prevails through most of the industry, but Union Oil in Rodeo, California, wouldn't go along. There, a 20-year-old striker named Gregory Goobic was run down and killed on the picket line. The union had asked police to require incoming trucks to stop long enough to be told a strike was on. The strike was eventually won.

The guys and gals who write the news that Their Eminences read on ABC and CBS--the Writers Guild of America--got a six percent increase on March 6 after a 16-hour bargaining session, pay boost or else.

Some major bargaining is coming up. UAW's new president Owen Bieber told the 2,500 delegates to its special pre-bargaining convention March 6 that it is telling Ford and GM that no pay cuts will be accepted. Ford and GM contracts both expire Sept. 14. Other UAW contracts that expire this year: Harvester, Mack Truck, Massey-Ferguson and Rockwell International...Locomotive Engineers and United Transportation will bargain with major railroads this year; both have proposed a 30 percent pay boost over three years, and the roads say they want to reduce pay for all employees hired since December by 20 percent.

The United Mine Workers convention granted its executive the right to call selective strikes this year. This was a shift from its old policy of calling out all union mines at one time, because less than half the coal now mined is from union mines and contributions from working miners can maintain resistance of those out on strike. Says UMWA's new president Trumka: "Concessions do not guarantee job security, just poverty." UMWA contracts expire Sept. 30.

Hospital workers organized in what was District 1199 of Retail, Wholesale and Distributive Workers have gone independent after being threatened with take-over by RWDWU president Heaps, and denied their bid for protection or autonomy by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. It has been one of the more rapidly growing segments of the labor movement. One field in which it organizes, institutions to care for the elderly, keeps on growing as people live longer, while tough times have reduced hospital check-ins by folks under 65.

Life in These Hard Times

Top Union Brass Make Salaries that Big Business Would Envy

The last few years have been hard for unionized workers. Layoffs and givebacks have reduced take-home pay by substantial amounts. Ah, but there is at least one class of union member that appears to be doing quite well.

The salaries and benefits of top union officials continue to rise in most cases, putting many in salary brackets that would be the envy of the managers who they oppose at negotiation time. While a few unions have imposed restraint or even (horrors) cutbacks on their officials, for most of the top brass things are still looking up, depression or no.

Statements from union financial reports place ex-Teamster head Roy Williams far ahead of the pack. His salary is \$225,000 a year. Expenses, however, account for another \$551,850 which, with a \$3,650 allowance leaves him a total of \$780,500. Most of the expenses have gone to defer the costs of the appeal of his conviction of attempting to bribe a U.S. Senator, a charge under which he was forced to resign his union position to avoid being imprisoned while the appeal is pending.

Following the lead horse to the wire comes John O'Donnell of the Airline Pilots (232,012 total compensation), Marvin Miller of the Baseball Players (\$203,035) and Jesse Calhoun of the Marine Engineers (\$196,585). The present leader of the Teamsters, Jackie Presser, will be receiving a \$225,000 salary. He also, however, holds at least three other union positions, bringing his total salary, excluding expenses, to \$534,497.

Numerous also-rans have come in in the salary steeplechase at over \$100,000. Officials of unions ranging from the Carpenters (Patrick Campbell, \$101,635) and the Teachers (Albert Shanker, \$103,075) to the Food and Commercial Workers (William Wynn, \$164,358) and the Operating Engineers (J. Turner, \$161,008) are all

in this select club. There are at least 26 unions which pay their top officials, if expenses are included, over \$100,000.

There is only one union in this top level that appears serious about freezing upper level salaries. United Steelworkers' President Lloyd McBride (\$113,013 total compensation) found his salary, and that of other high officials, cut by 10.5 percent in April. This was indexed to recent wage cuts among union members. Not in the top 26, but also freezing presidential pay until June, 1985 is the United Auto Workers. This freeze sets head executive Owen Bieber's salary at a miserly \$74,894. All of this contrasts with the pay of United Farm Workers' head Cesar Chavez who drew \$7,445 in 1982.

The salaries of top union officials are but one more indication, as if another was

needed, of how out of touch many unions are with their own membership. Authorities who are in the same income bracket as the corporate executives they sit across from at bargaining time can be expected to have a lot in common with their supposed foes.

If unions are to recover the confidence that seems to have been ebbing away from them over the past decade this glaring contrast between members and officials will have to be eliminated. The salaries of trade union officials present an ever larger barrier to confidence in the union, and thus to an effective fight back against the plans of government and the corporations to reduce workers' standard of living.

The Adventures of a Picket

(continued from page one)

dressers without mirrors? Absent-minded drivers forgot where they were going. But the men working at Wright's warehouse just weren't interested.

"Tell ya what, fellows, if you sign up now I'll only ask a buck a piece. But if you hold out I'll see to it that every one of ya hasta pay the reg'lar initiation fee," Gus the Teamster representative told them.

"Aw, go organize the goldfish," they scoffed.

When we presented him with a sign that needed mending, Gus nonchalantly swaggered into Wright's warehouse, provided himself with hammer and thumbtacks and leisurely repaired it at company expense.

But somehow he just couldn't hammer

unionism into the heads and hearts of his own members. Gradually they began to scab on themselves. Deliverymen, observing their boss on the block, kept on going. But they later turned around and came back when he had left. More and more merchandise was arriving.

Gus' reaction: "Don't worry about anything. You pickets are being paid a good wage, aren't you? We'll take care of everything."

Weeks of sweat, frayed nerves, blistered heels. One day a man noted my placard with the utmost contempt.

"The nerve of those Teamsters to ask for a raise for themselves! They've been crossing my line for months. They're the biggest scabs in town!"

That said it all. I gave the union notice.

Literature

Practical and Informational:

- Organizing Manual \$2.00
- Collective Bargaining Manual75
- *Labor Law for the Rank and Filer 2.50
- Inflation, Cause and Cure25
- One Big Union (About the IWW) 1.00
- The General Strike, by Ralph Chaplin75
- Unions and Racism 1.00
- IWW Preamble and Constitution30
- Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job50
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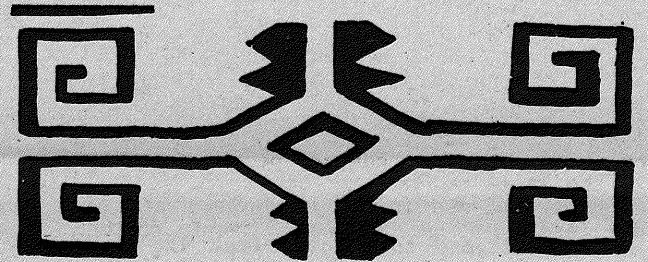
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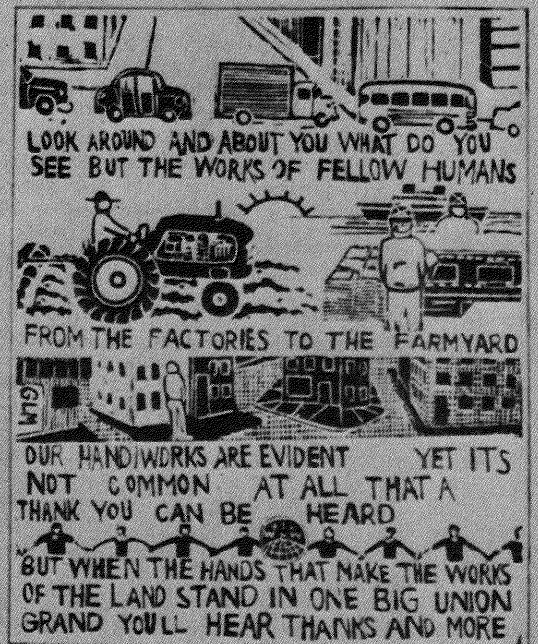
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Since we are a union, this offer is open only to those who work for wages or salary; but since we are building One Big Union, it is open to wage and salary workers whether they happen to bargain through other unions or not. Look at the directory on 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 Militancy to Moderation in Japan's Unions

by Eichi Itoh

(Editor's note: The following is the first in a four-part series on the labor control methods of Japanese management. Written by a rank-and-file postal worker in Japan, this series critiques a practice which is becoming more popular in the United States and other industrialized countries. Part one provides a brief history of labor conditions in Japan.)

Summer is the season of union annual conventions. Our union held one at the end of August, 1983, in Yokohama. At that convention it was decided that we would take a more moderate course to cope with difficulties. The swing to the right on the working floor was so strong that unionists failed to find the key to the counterattack.

A few years ago our union was considered one of the militant big unions in Japan. We thought that if we took this militant course, the Japanese labor movement would get stronger. But we were wrong.

In the big struggle of 1978 we were completely defeated. Many members left our union. After that the union leadership took a moderate course. The importance of organizing was stressed. "Reconciliation" became the keynote of union policy concerning labor-management relations. We abandoned the idea of class struggle.

At the workplace, management has become stronger and unions have lost more and more of their power. This is the basic tendency throughout Japan. Militant leaders stress the necessity of struggle for a better life, but many workers are indifferent to that. "I know we are poor, but why should we choose a dangerous way?"

In this situation the position of management is stable. However, the stable condition doesn't satisfy businessmen. They are trying to turn all workers into company people.

The labor control system through small groups is designed for that. Workers are divided into small groups and forced to compete with each other to improve efficiency. Here efficiency is not official orders of a supervisor, but it is veiled as each group's "autonomous" purpose.

These management policies have been introduced into factories one after another. If we look into the state of workers in big fac-

ories, it is clear that workers there are terribly controlled. They have lost even the freedom to think independently from their company. We don't want this.

Surprisingly enough, this labor control system labeled "Japanese management" is exported to foreign countries where unions are powerful at the workplace. Undoubtedly, it is aimed at undermining the unions' strength.

It is high time to investigate how workers are hypercontrolled under the so-called "Japanese management" and to think out how we can counter that to keep up union strength.

Workers in Japan experienced harsh living conditions in the modernization period. At that time (from late nineteenth century to early twentieth century) the majority of the work force were women who had been sold off by their families. They suffered terribly. "There was only sickness and death in factories," a woman worker once wrote.

Defections rose to an intolerable extent. Consequently, employers began to arrange a new system whereby they can keep workers. That was non-wage expenditure which led to familism and to a life employment system in Japanese industry. Nevertheless, the labor shortage continued because of bad working conditions. The trade union movement was severely suppressed and membership never exceeded 7 percent of the work force. The major change occurred in the post World War II period.

On the ashes and debris of World War II the cult of the Emperor was denied and Japanese militarism was destroyed. The Japanese working class became widely organized for the first time in its history. But the old organizational form of enterprise unions was maintained. Because of this system the Japanese labor movement was doomed to weakness.

Postal workers were well organized and their union became one of the key unions of postwar Japan. Postal workers formed their own order in the workplace. Seniority played a major role. Senior workers were respected and had authority over their work and other workers. They were skilled and often called "artisans" or "craftsmen."

Supervisors appointed by postal management played little role in the workplace. We might say that their presence was only formal. The senior workers set limits which determined the amount of work to be done. For them, hours of work were often long but they were their own

masters, working hard when busy and taking a rest when they felt they needed it. Supervisors had to rely on the senior workers' control of the workplace. More importantly, however, was that the strength of Postal Workers Union depended on the strength of senior workers.

That was common in many Japanese enterprises. Thus the management policy was focused on the problem of how to reorganize the order on the work floor in favor of the management, i.e. how to get senior workers to the side of management or how to eliminate their power. In many cases, especially in big factories, the reorganization of the working floor coincided with the mechanization of the assembly line. The assembly line broke the skilled workers' power.

The labor control system through small groups was introduced and skilled workers' control of the workplace was not abolished but officially institutionalized in favor of the management. In Japan that weakened the union's power. Trade unions lost their base in the workplace. Workers came to be entirely controlled by the management and they lost all authority over their work. The union movement disappeared on the working floor.

Theoretically, the labor control system through small groups is based not on the works of Taylor, Gilbreth, and Henry Ford, but on those of Mayo, Maslow and McGregor. The core of the latter theories is:

1. The atomistic view of society that the worker is studied as an isolated unit must be denied. Work is a group activity.

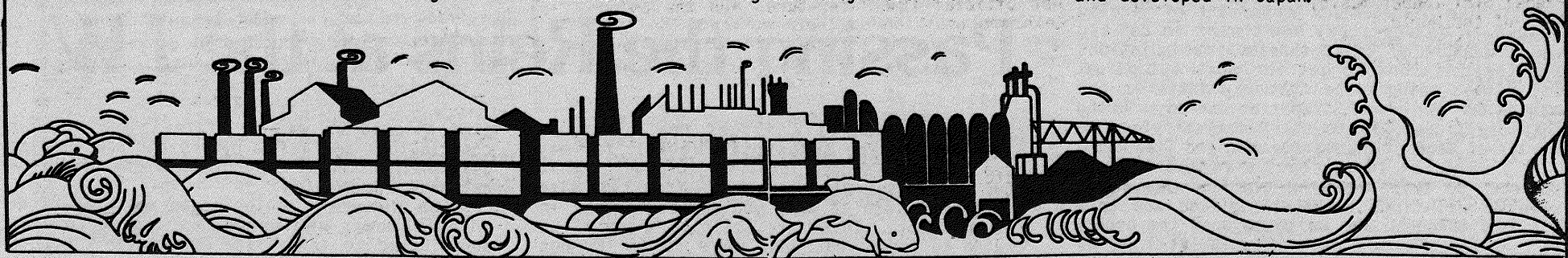
2. Informal groups within the work plant exercise strong social controls over the work habits and attitudes of the individual worker.

3. There is something far more important than hours, wages, or physical conditions of work. The need for recognition, security, and sense of belonging is more important in determining workers' morale and productivity.

4. Therefore it is needed to link the informal groups with the company's objective, the productivity increase.

This theory seems to be more humanistic than "modern times" management, but the realization of this theory led us to a hyper-controlled society.

Subsequent articles in this series will investigate how this theory has been planned and developed in Japan.



Politics, Racism Divide French Workers

(continued from page one)

have applauded. They raised the legal minimum wage, boosted substantially the family allowance and augmented other social benefits. They outlined plans for a gradual transition to a 35-hour workweek and for retirement with a full pension at age 60. The government also attempted, and was successful, at holding unemployment down to around two million—a level that, although high, was one of the lowest unemployment rates in Europe. All forecasts indicate, however, that this attempt will collapse this year.

Another reform initiated by the French Socialists has been to grant residence and labor permits to illegal immigrants. The impact of attempts toward progressive immigrant policies played a part in recent labor unrest at Peugeot, France's largest auto maker.

At a Peugeot plant strike in January, lines very clearly drawn between immigrant and non-immigrant laborers resulted in an extremely violent clash in which over 80 men were injured. (See *Industrial Worker*, March 1984.)

When Peugeot management took steps to implement the government-negotiated plan to lay off 1,900 workers, it selectively laid off unskilled, North African assembly line workers. White workers, thinking themselves secure in their jobs, scabbed on the immigrants' strike and violence between the two groups erupted.

Such racist actions by Peugeot management are in keeping with their past and present employee practices. According to Diana Johnstone, a correspondent for *In These Times*, Peugeot management preferentially hired veterans of the French colonial forces in Algeria to oversee unskilled North African workers. Workplace atmosphere was akin to a military prison.

This practice of acting out imperialistic foreign policy within the walls of a domestic factory produced just the divisive effects beneficial to management, as was evidenced in January's violence.

"Divide and conquer" was not the only familiar theme during recent labor strife in France. Variance between union leadership's demands and those of the rank and file workers was also evident. While the leaders of the truckers' association discussed restrictions on weekend driving and tax rebates on fuel, truckers on the road overwhelmingly placed priority on earlier retirement and consideration in the social security system for job-related ailments.

Twice truckers rejected calls from their leadership to lift the blockades. And when the blockade was finally lifted many workers thought they had been deceived by their leadership, whose main accomplishment was no more

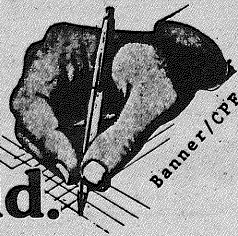
than getting the government to agree to examine all of the truckers' demands.

In fact the truckers' strike was unique in that not only were they not in the pocket of their leadership, but that they also were not in an political party pockets. Their strike was not wrought with the leftist political factionalism that other recent actions have been, and it did not represent nor was it represented by any political party. This is unique in a country where politics have played such a major role in distracting allegiance from fellow workers.

It is clear that Mitterand is losing his once dependable support from labor. Even the labor force that has most benefited from and has been the most supportive of the Socialist government—the public sector workers—let it be known by their one-day general strike that their support is not unconditional.

If the government's economic policies continue unabated, unions backing the government will begin losing votes in factory elections. Such may be the inevitable result of the Socialists' reluctance to antagonize business, and their resultant policies which do not fundamentally alter the relationship between workers and owners. The reformist left might not be able to cope in France. Let's hope the pendulum doesn't swing the other way.

Let me put you wise, kid.



Dear IW:

Enclosed is a contribution for your work. It's a good paper, with I think more potential than is being realized. Here's what I mean: Let me tell you a true tale about one of the first jobs I worked.

I was in a storage room of this outfit, given the menial task of stacking up some spare shelving. From the next room, which was called the "cage" because of its wire mesh divider, I could hear the shouts of "Kid! Kid! Get busy fast!" Without second thought, I was winging around shelves everywhere, bouncing them off the walls.

Out of the corner of my eye I noticed some heavy-duty looking cats with dark suits and thick black rimmed glasses go shuffling past, looking at everything and everyone. When they left the area, "The Old Pro" who was in the cage, and who sounded the warning, came over and gasped, "It's the auditors!" Now, this guy had two trademarks, a cigar and a folded-up New York Times under his arm.

His eyes darted around the room as he spoke, looking for the return of the Big Shots. He continued, "You know what that means?" This time my eyes darted around and I said no I didn't. He leaned towards me and said in hushed tones, "Let me put you wise to what goes on in this place, kid."

"You know when it's New Year's Eve, and you see Guy Lombardo on TV, you don't even have to be in the room to know what song he's going to play, right? Well, it's the same thing with these auditors, everytime you see them around here it's the same old song..." and taking his folded newspaper and placing it on his shoulder as an imaginary fiddle, and waving his cigar as an imaginary bow, he belted out a couple of bars of "We're losing money" to the tune of "We're in the money."

He went on, "You know what that means? 'Hey, move this out! Get rid of that! Fire him! Fire her! Out the window!' I'm telling you, kid, I been around this place for years, I know what I'm talking about!"

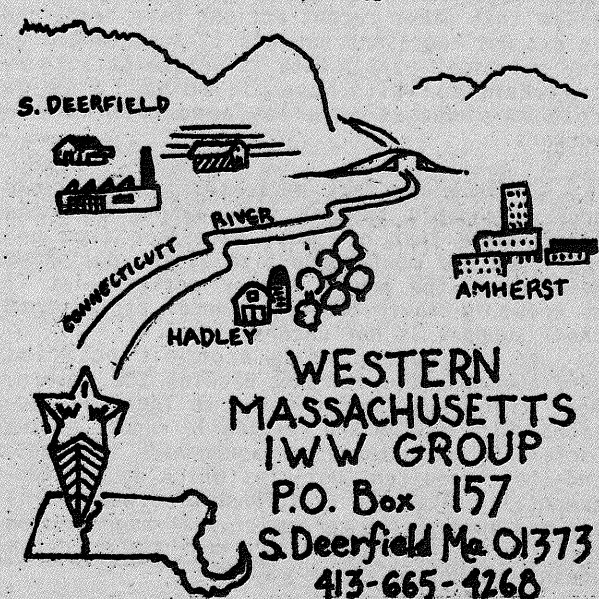
So I asked him how come "we" were losing money, and he told me "we" weren't. "Get a load of this, kid." And he unfolded his newspaper, and in the business section there was a report about the same company, whose stock was on the rise and was showing a nice profit. So what was happening? The Old Pro went on to show a ton of instances of mismanagement around the joint, and said because they couldn't run it right we would all end up losing our jobs and walking. And that's just what happened.

What I want to get out of you guys is this: I know of management people who say things like "Management is the art of getting people to do what they don't want to do" and use a mixture of lies, threats, manipulations and terminations to get the work out of us. It's always going to be that way until we can manage our own work. So what we can do to bring that day closer, is to start demystifying the worlds of accounting, management and finance.

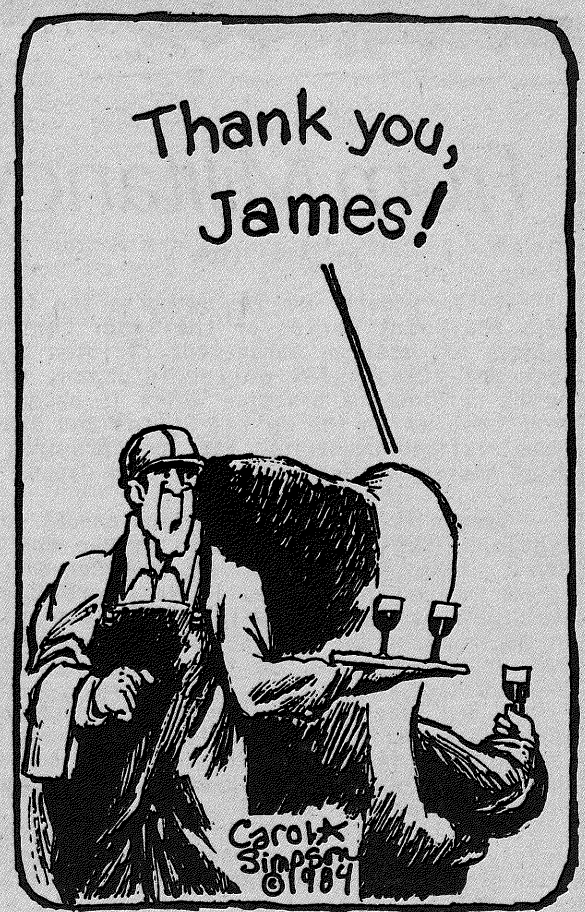
I want the IW to start a series on that subject, so that when the glorious day comes when we walk into the boss's office and tell him he's through, and we go to open the books, we can know what the hell we're looking at. We don't want him to sneer back and tell us we'll always need him and he'll always have the upper hand because we can't figure these things out.

Sincerely,
James T. DeAngelo

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO OUR FELLOW WORKERS EVERYWHERE



Views ...



Indignation and the Road to Justice

"Justice will not come until those who are not hurt feel just as indignant as those who are hurt." Those words were uttered by Solon of Athens going on 2500 years ago. I was 75 before I heard them. Slow learner. The words make sense. I think they are prophetic.

Present observation: Even those hurt are not sufficiently indignant. They shiver in the cold and warm themselves in the conventional cliché that "times will get better," not realizing that many have had their last jobs ever.

Establishment think tanks are today addressing themselves to the problem: how to support a permanent army of unemployed at the lowest subsistence that'll keep them from rebelling. An American version of the "bread and circuses" for the plebeians of the old Roman Empire.

The prophetic part will be triggered, I think, by a show of indignation from those hurt. It will be necessary for those unemployed and "unemployable" to organize into a force that can demand to be employed in useful social endeavor. Who, what portion of our society has the genius, the dream, the vision to initiate that organizing task? It will be monumental. You'll be facing, in part, prospective recruits from families where no member has ever held a "steady" job in his or her lifetime. You'll be challenging the nut and hub of capitalism, the government. And no guarantee that you'll succeed. The first time.

But some day you must, if justice is to come.

--Pervicacia

Passing the Reins at the I.W.

It has been six issues now since we started doing the *Industrial Worker*. You may have noticed a sudden inability to predict what your next issue will look like--from type size to column width to what you expect to find in the directory. These are telltale signs of us trying to figure out what we're doing. (Or not knowing what we're doing as the case may be.) Thanks for bearing with us through this period.

First for some logistical info. The paper moved to Washington, D.C. last September, where it is now edited and produced. It is still, however, printed and mailed out from Chicago. Please send your mail accordingly: editorial copy to us, address changes, bundle orders and other business affairs to Chicago.

Now on to some more specific "editorial" comments. Through a combination of making it up as we go along and a some skills fostered by past publication experience, we've been trying to modernize the paper visually as well as improve its content. We feel that there has been progress in these areas but that there is still a long way to go. One thing that has spurred the process, however, has been feedback from readers.

Feedback has been--whether positive or negative--both encouraging and helpful. It's great to see such an active interest in the paper. We try to act on all the input we get; some of you who have written have seen the results. In the case of conflicting opinions, we use our best judgment or, with more significant dilemmas, we pass the decision on to the General Executive Board of the IWW.

One topic that we have gotten feedback on that I would like to address is the March International Women's Day issue. Although the response to the finished issue has been positive, there was some controversy over its preparation. Because we decided to do the issue too late to include a notice in the paper before the deadline for the March issue, many who would have liked to contribute to the effort weren't able to. The only publicity that

time allowed us was to write to our regular contributors and a few others and ask them to gear their material towards the theme of International Women's Day.

We sincerely apologize to any readers or union members who would have liked to have contributed to this issue but couldn't due to lack of publicity. Any future thematic issues will be planned well enough ahead of time to notify all readers through the paper.

Along those lines, if you have any ideas for thematic issues or subjects in general that should be covered and aren't, please send them on to us. (Or better yet, send us articles on those topics!)

In addition to your ideas, we also appreciate hearing about your actions. There are several goals that we think the *Industrial Worker* should be accomplishing. One is to publicize what Wobblies are doing and why they are doing it. That is, to spread the ideas of industrial unionism and across-the-board working class solidarity through the example of membership activism.

Another goal is to provide readers with a feel for the movements and actions of the international working class. Unlike so many North American labor publications which demonstrate a working class consciousness limited to within their own trade or national borders (if that far), the *Industrial Worker* demonstrates a consciousness that extends to all continents of the world and recognizes the common struggle of all laboring classes. It is important to us to cover movements in Asia, South and Central America, Africa and Europe because the working class struggle is far, far more than the labor movement in North America.

To accomplish these goals alone, let alone many other legitimate goals that could be assigned to the paper, is a formidable task. It's a task that will take all of our efforts to accomplish. Thanks again for all the input, and please keep it coming.

Marriane McMullen

...and Reviews

The Latest Tyranny to Battle

Workrights by Robert Ellis Smith. E.P. Dutton, New York, 1983.

Just prior to a city referendum in Champaign last year, the University of Illinois employee newspaper printed an article favorable to its passage. The President of the University, Stanley Ikenberry, urged that the referendum, which would raise residential property taxes, be passed in order to better finance the local public schools. Since the University is the largest employer in Champaign, this support was a deciding factor in the successful campaign to increase local taxes.

This was not the only time the University employees had been subjected to their employer's political propaganda. A few months earlier, they had been bombarded with prophecies of the University's financial disaster unless Illinois state legislators could be persuaded to raise the state income taxes. Workers were told in departmental bulletins, the employee newspaper and by the local media, that if state income taxes were not increased, there would probably be a continuation of the wage freeze then in effect, as well as layoffs and revocation of faculty tenure. As a University worker I recall thinking how one-sided the propaganda was. No one was pointing out the real causes of public education's financial difficulties, such as the federal government's shift of tax dollars into an arms build-up.

In his book, *Workrights*, Robert Ellis Smith argues that freedom from this sort of employer propaganda is one of 14 workplace rights that need to be won by a new generation of workplace civil libertarians. Smith exposes the full gamut of authoritarian abuses that make up the "tyranny of the workplace": arbitrary hiring and firing, spying, safety and health hazards, sexual harassment, control over lifestyle and off-duty activities and insecurity about pensions and other benefits. Working class readers will recognize some familiar stories.

In the chapter about "Freedom of Trust," Smith tells how many employers accuse their workers of being dishonest and force the individual worker to take the scientifically unreliable polygraph or "lie detector" test. Smith gives us the following example: "A young woman working for a California food store...found herself accused of defrauding her employer. The store manager suggested that she submit to a polygraph examination. Reluctantly, she agreed. When asked by the examiner, "Did

you check out items to your mother at a discount?" the woman answered no. The examiner analyzed her answer as a deception. She was fired. Her union conducted an investigation in preparation for a grievance proceeding. It discovered that the employee's mother had died several years earlier.

As Smith points out, no court of law accepts the results of polygraph tests as a reliable evidence, yet employers often get away with abuses that government bureaucrats would envy. This is a central theme of *Workrights*, that the individual worker would have the same legal protections form arbitrary authority in the workplace as she has as a citizen. The author also argues that this is slowly coming about through laws like the Civil Rights Act or the Equal Pay Act, the establishment of OSHA and the EEOC, and through the hundreds of successful lawsuits establishing more favorable interpretations of worker rights.

Workrights is worthwhile reading. By giving us a broad overview of what employers can and cannot do to workers under the law, we get an understanding of what the government and the employing class have conceded to be your rights as workers. Such rights should not be taken lightly, as they represent concessions that previous generations of workers won through their sacrifices and their rebellions against authority.

On the other hand, neither should we take these legal rights for granted. The catch to the civil liberties approach to decreasing the tyranny of the workplace is that it leaves the protection of workers' freedoms in the hands of the courts and other governmental agencies. As long as the "larger social forces" at the moment are working in labor's favor, this may not seem to be a problem. During the last few years, however, the shift to high tech and the explosive growth of global industrialization has given capital the upper hand.

The tyranny of the workplace is an inevitable part of the wage system. Depending on the circumstances, some abuses can be temporarily stopped. Rather than through successful lawsuits, this will be because workers have once again organized themselves into a large social force. We can hope that the next time this happens, workers, will not be content to curb a few more abuses, but will replace workplace tyranny with self-management.

Jeff Stein

Socialism and the "Woman Question"

Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century by Barbara Taylor, Pantheon, New York, 1983. 394 pages. \$9.95, paper.

For women there is no such thing as progress. What women win for themselves in one generation can be lost in the next. Even dreams fade, if there is no way to transmit them.

The "Woman Question" has moved in and out of socialist politics, leaving in its wake a host of unmet demands and unresolved problems. *Eve and the New Jerusalem* is a study of women's role in the Owenite socialist movement, with its dream of a New Moral World of class and sex equality that captured the imaginations of thousands of British women and men between 1825 and 1845. The author explores the failure of the Owenite vision and the significance of that failure for feminist socialist politics today.

Faced with revolutionary France across the channel and home-grown radical opposition at the turn of the 19th century, the British landed aristocracy and industrial bourgeoisie buried their differences long enough to drastically restrict the rights of assembly, publication and free speech, and whipped up a nationwide heresy hunt against known Jacobins and suspected sympathizers. Under heavy oppression, attitudes toward social change polarized. On the left, the connection between the most intransigent feminists and the "ultra-reformers" tightened, to create the movement out of which many Owenites later emerged. On the right, conter-revolutionary panic expressed itself not only as government oppression but also in the rise of religious enthusiasm. Jacobinism was to be countered by a combination of godliness, clean living and patriotism.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century feminism was tied to an ideal of communist-feminist communities in which all adult members would participate in productive work, share in collectivized housework and child-rearing, and have equal access to educational and cultural facilities. The Owenite socialists

felt that the first step to these communities of the New Moral World would be to establish worker-owned shops and workplaces. Profits from these shops would be invested in land for the communities.

The 1830s--during which the Owenite economic strategy developed--was a time of rapid decline in the skilled trades from which most of its supporters were drawn. Industrial capitalism devastated the lives of workers in the domestic and workshop crafts.

Men, women and children were increasingly competing with each other for jobs, while factories and sweatshops lowered wages and increased hours of work. The possibility of a good worker rising from apprenticeship through journeymanhood to the independence of a master craftsman died. The workers' continuing hope for independence lay in collective, not individual, ownership of the means of production.

After 1845, sex oppression and class exploitation increasingly became viewed not as twin targets of a single strategy, but as separate objects of separate struggles. They were organized from different--and sometimes opposed--perspectives as Marxist socialism and Victorian feminism went their separate ways. But the fact that the Owenites' vision proved unrealizable under their historic conditions, neither invalidates that hope itself, nor makes its suppression within later socialist organizations any less tragic.

It was not the ambition for a New Moral World of loving equality between women and men which was "utopian" (in the pejorative sense) but how the early socialists sought to achieve it. And those who later abandoned that ambition in the name of scientific socialism and proletarian revolution did not thereby raise the socialist project onto a higher terrain, but contracted it around a narrow program which left little space for women's needs.

--P.L.P.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver IWW, Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, BC V6J 4P3 Canada; phone (604) 430-6605.

CALIFORNIA: Little River: Industrial Union 130, c/o Graham, PO Box 302, Little River, CA 95456. San Diego IWW, Sandra Dutky, delegate. 4472 Georgia, San Diego, CA 92116; phone (619) 296-9966. San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, CA 94140. Oakland: Richard Ellington, delegate. 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, CA 94609; phone (415) 658-0293.

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INDIANA: IWW Delegate, 520 West Smith, Bloomington, IN 47401.

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville IWW Group, c/o Long, 1841 Sherwood Ave., Apt. 2, Louisville, KY 40205; phone (502) 456-4377. Meetings 4th Sunday, 4 PM

LOUISIANA: Alexandria IWW Hall, 710 Bolton Ave., Alexandria, LA 71301; phone (318) 487-0044.

MANITOBA: "Haywire Brack," delegate. 486 Wardlaw, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3L 0M1, Canada; phone (204) 475-8824.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch PO Box 454, Cambridge, MA 02139. Meetings held the first Sunday of each month. Phone 522-7090 or 625-5107. Western Massachusetts: IWW Delegate, PO Box 157, Deerfield, MA 01373.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor/Detroit General Membership Branch, c/o Kaufmann, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. Copper County IWW, Robin Oye, delegate. 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock, MI 49930. Grand Rapids: IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids, MI 49506.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/St. Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, delegate. 1621 Marshall Ave. (3), St. Paul, Minnesota 55104.

MONTANA: Clark Fork Valley IWW, PO Box 8562, Missoula, Montana 59807; phone (406) 728-6053.

Thompson Falls: A.L. Nurse, delegate. Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, MT 59874; phone (406) 827-3238.

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

NEW YORK: Buffalo: Henry Pfaff, delegate. 77 Eckhart St., Buffalo, NY 14207; phone (716) 877-6073. Central New York General Membership Branch, c/o McKown, 1025 James St., #29, Syracuse, NY 13206. New York City Regional General Membership Branch, PO Box 183, New York, NY 10028.

OHIO: IWW, c/o PO Box 26381, Dayton, OH 45426.

ONTARIO: Brian Burch, delegate. 13 Kerr Rd., Station 30, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

OREGON: Eugene IWW Group, 316 Blair Blvd., Eugene, Oregon 97402.

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

RHODE ISLAND: IWW, c/o 1400 Broad St., Providence, RI 02905.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Harbinger Publications, I.U. 450 Job Shop, 18 Bluff Rd., Columbia, SC 29201; phone (803) 254-9398.

TEXAS: Austin: IWW delegate, 915 East 48 1/2 St., Austin, TX 78751; phone (512) 452-3722. Andrew Lee, delegate, Austin; phone 472-7854. Harlingen: IWW Delegate, PO Box 1968, Harlingen, TX 78550. Houston: Gilbert Mers, delegate. 7031 Kernel, Houston, TX 77087; phone (713) 921-0877.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham General Membership Branch, PO Box 1386, Bellingham, WA 98227; phone (206) 671-5209. Meetings 3rd Sunday at 6:30 PM. Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98144. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, WA 98405; phone (206) 272-8119.

WEST VIRGINIA: Michelle Wolford, delegate. 312 S. High St., Morgantown, WV 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 9, c/o 426 Cantwell Court, Madison, WI 53703.

PACIFIC

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

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

NEW ZEALAND LABOR HISTORY

Pat Hickey and the Red Fed

In 1913, the active unions in New Zealand reorganized as the United Federation of Labour with a constitution openly adopted from that of the Industrial Workers of the World. Pat Hickey, a leading spirit in the Federation's formation and its first secretary-treasurer, had visited the United States and for a time was a member of the Western Federation of Miners.

A defeated maritime strike crushed the New Zealand unions in 1890. With labor support, the liberals ousted the conservatives and set up the system of Arbitration Courts that for years made New Zealand a land of no strikes. For a time decisions tended to favor unions, and this experience gave the system a hold on unions long after it had become a drag.

When Hickey returned to New Zealand in 1908, he shocked his fellow miners when at his first meeting he moved that "the members cease work" until a certain grievance was settled. He was told that that was not the way things were handled there.

He soon got fired from that mine for agitating against the degradation and discrimination that physical examinations imposed, especially on the more elderly miners. At his next mine, management had cut the time allowed for lunch from 30 minutes to 15. At the union meeting his motion to take the full 30 carried, and the management was so notified.

Came lunch time and the mine manager came down to watch Hickey eat. At the end of 15 minutes, Hickey still had his pie left. The manager ordered him to resume work and he refused. He was taken to court and was fined 12 shillings plus 35 shillings costs, or a fortnight's imprisonment in lieu of payment. He started to urge the need for better sanitation

this small local union of 120 members the large sum of 75 pounds. At the hearing the union brought up its complaint about having only 15 minutes for lunch. "His Honor remarked with a frown that 15 minutes was ample. He then noticed that the time was 12:30 and stated the court would be adjourned for lunch until 2 p.m."

The strike continued with the court's ruling that it was one continuous offense, so

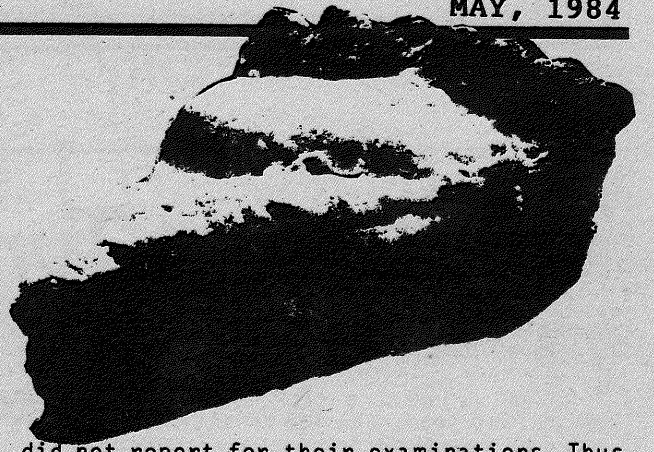
Came lunch time and the mine manager came down to watch Hickey eat. At the end of 15 minutes, Hickey still had his pie left...

the fine did not increase with the strike's duration. Hickey toured the country to raise funds for the strikers, but faced the opposition of "old time union officials who could not understand our attitude."

When he returned he was jailed for not having paid his fine for taking over 15 minutes to eat. While he was in jail the strike was called off, and some unknown person paid his fine. (Later he discovered this was the company lawyer.)

But the 75 pound fine for striking was still unpaid, and the bailiff went with a cart to the homes of union members to seize furniture to be sold to pay that fine. At the auction young miners deterred outsiders from bidding, so the items were sold for a few shillings and returned to their owners.

That fall the miners in scattered locals federated their 4200 members into one union with Hickey as secretary. During the Christmas holiday the mine companies all announced that before the men could return to work, they must all pass physical examinations because of a new law providing compensation for industrial diseases. The miners saw this as a way for management to weed out old-timers and militants, and



did not report for their examinations. Thus they were locked out. The union did not really mind, for the Australian miners were now on strike, and they didn't want their coal to go there. Their resistance was successful.

Unions were repeatedly finding that wage increases they had negotiated directly were pared down by I.C.A. machinery--set up by the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894. Unions that were registered under I.C.A. were committed to accept these terms and were not to strike; registered unions were recognized as legal entities and thus able to own and protect union assets.

Hickey's Federation of Labor modeled on the IWW was not registered, and "it was by no means an uncommon occurrence to find unions passing resolutions stating that unless the I.C.A. showed a greater consideration for the welfare of their members, they would feel compelled to join the "Red Fed." ("Red Fed" was the newspaper designation for the 1913 United Federation of Labour because of its resurrection of the right to strike.)

The Federation "was a club raised over the I.C.A. by unions not affiliated to it," and using this club "for their own selfish ends." The Federation, however, started to require that unions could affiliate with it only by a referendum of the affiliating union's members.

The government deterred unions from cancelling their I.C.A. registration and thus acquiring the right to strike, by registering unions formed by the minority who wanted to keep the old ways. So the Federation wanted to require majority votes for such decisions. The earlier federation that helped launch the 1913 body stayed alive as a paper organization for a couple of years, and stayed registered in order to protect its real estate until it gave this to its publication *The Maoriland Worker*.

While the new body had adopted the structural provisions of the IWW, the delegates decided not to adopt its Preamble, stating as its aim instead: "To organize systematically and scientifically upon an industrial union basis, in order to assist the overthrow of the capitalist system, and thus bring about a Co-operative Commonwealth based upon industrial democracy."

--F.T.



underground and along with a few other militants was fired a few days later.

The fired miners surprised all in this strike-free land by calling a strike for their reinstatement. No federation of local mine unions had been formed yet, and the court fined

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.

NOTICE? DID YOU NOTICE? DID YOU

Union Workers Got Lower Wages in '83

Average pay raises for nonunion workers exceeded those of union workers last year, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. In the manufacturing sector of the economy, excluding fringe benefits, the wages of union members rose 3.6 percent while the wages of nonunion people working in the same industries rose 4.7 percent. Union and nonunion workers in non-manufacturing sectors of the economy did equally well with a 5.5 percent increase in wages and salaries. Overall, the 3 million workers whose wages were negotiated by unions in 1983 accepted average first year pay hikes of 2.6 percent, the lowest settlements in 16 years.

Strike in India

Public transport came to a halt and nearly 2 million people stayed away from their jobs in Bombay on Feb. 1, to protest low prices paid to farmers for land acquired to build a new port. Most of the opposition parties and trade unions sponsored the 24-hour strike in India's burgeoning financial metropolis.

Chicken Feed in the Six Counties

In the six British-occupied counties of northeast Ireland, women working as poultry assistants for an agricultural research farm argued that they should get the same pay as a man working in the pig unit. Despite the institute's contention that the men's work involved calculations that the women's work did not and that the men deserved more because pigs are bigger than chickens, an industrial tribunal ruled against the institute, awarding the women raises of 1700 pounds (roughly \$3500) a year.

A Great Mind at Work

Speaking on ABC's "Good Morning America," President Reagan said, "One problem we've had in even the best of times (?) is the people who are sleeping on grates--the homeless who are homeless, you might say, by choice."

INDUSTRIAL WORKER
3435 N. Sheffield Avenue
Chicago, IL 60657, USA
ISSN: 0019-8870

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Throwaway World Short on Recycling

Despite decade-old pleas to recycle "trash," three-fourths of the world's paper, aluminum and steel is still being thrown away instead of being reused. Some countries do better than others, according to the Worldwatch Institute; Japan and the Netherlands now recycle half the paper they use, compared with 26 percent in the United States and a worldwide average of 24 percent. For all aluminum products, the recycling level is 28 percent both in the U.S. and worldwide, although Italy does better at 41 percent. For aluminum cans, only 15 percent in the U.S. were recycled in 1972, but more than half were recycled in 1981. Throwing away one aluminum can wastes as much energy as filling the can half full with gasoline and then pouring it on the ground.

Pacifists Go to School

The Chicago Board of Education must allow pacifists and anti-draft counselors to present their views to students if armed forces recruiters are allowed to hand out literature on school grounds and make recruiting pitches, a federal judge ruled February 24. School officials were debating appeal.