

# STALEMATE IN STEEL SHOWS NEED FOR NEW STRATEGY IN INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

Although the lockout of 22,000 steelworkers by USX has become the longest work stoppage in the history of the US steel industry, it has had little impact on the nation's economy, indicating the sorry state of the industry and its workers. Prior to the USX dispute, the US steel industry was running at 60% capacity. That figure dropped to around 51% after the first week of the lockout, but was back up to 57% by mid-November. This means that steel consumers, such as auto makers, appliance manufacturers, and construction companies, have had no trouble obtaining steel supplies, not only from USX's competitors but from USX as well, which stockpiled tons of steel in anticipation of a shutdown.

While the loss of some business to competitors, and the prospect of losing even more in the first quarter of 1987, has prompted USX to modify its earlier demands for concessions (lowering its initial demand for pay and benefit cuts of \$3.27 an hour to \$1.15 an hour, plus the elimination of 1500 jobs and greater "flexibility"), this did not prevent negotiations from breaking off in mid-November. USX's diversified holdings (in particular Marathon Oil, which is providing USX with enough cash flow to help it weather the dispute), plus the USWA's passive attitude toward the lockout, has given USX little incentive to come to terms with the union.

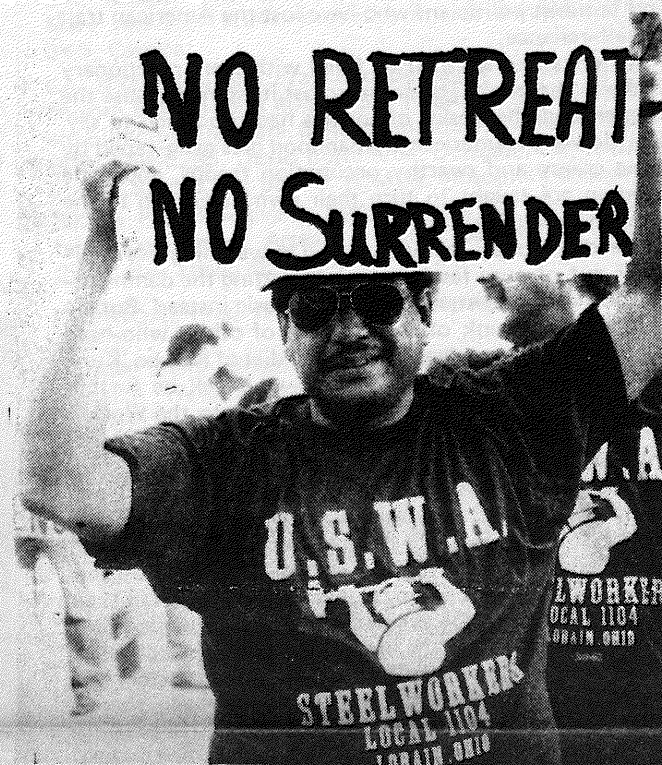
The attitude of the steelworkers' union leadership seems to be to sit tight, relying on unemployment insurance, now being collected by 21,000 steelworkers, and "solidarity" contributions from other AFL-CIO unions to allow its USX members to outlast the company in a test of endurance. They have refused to call for a boycott of Marathon Oil, due to fear of breaking the laws against secondary boycotts, and of course in-

dustrial action on the part of other steelworkers has not even occurred to them. Indeed, it was the USWA leadership—backed up, unfortunately, by a confused rank and file—that set the stage for the USX attack by its policy of tying wages and benefits to each steel company's profitability. USX says it needs to cut labor costs to stay competitive.

If USX were not profitable, the USWA would undoubtedly have granted pay cuts instead of offering to freeze wages. (The USWA has since changed its position and has offered to accept a 25-cent cut, but is apparently standing firm on the issue of outsourcing, which has cost steelworkers over 11,000 jobs at USX since 1982.) Steelworkers' hands are tied by their acceptance of the logic of capital.

If steelworkers are going to defeat the USX lockout, they are going to have to change tactics. If the steel industry is going to be saved, a change in strategy will also be needed. An industry-wide strike would force other steel companies, and steel consumers, to put pressure on USX to settle its dispute with its workforce. It could also force the other steel companies to restore the cuts in wages and benefits already imposed on the workers. If they refuse, as they almost certainly would, steelworkers have the option of occupying steel works, declaring their socialization under worker management.

This of course would require a very different sort of unionism from what we have now. It would require a unionism that bases itself on the class struggle and refuses to be bound by capitalist laws. Such a revolutionary union movement will not arise entirely spontaneously; it must be built stone-by-stone by those who wish to see its realization. We in the IWW want to build such a movement. Won't you join us?



**Rank-and-file Steelworkers need to organize themselves for victory.**

## California Health Workers Settle

### STOP PRESS

As of presstime, this strike has been settled with no great gains for labor. A new contract, ratified by a three-to-one majority, includes a two-tier wage system with a 31% differential and new employees starting off at 15% less. The working class continues to be pushed back to ground zero.

On October 27th, 9400 workers of SEIU Local 250 walked out on strike against Kaiser Northern California. They included licensed vocational nurses, nurse's aides, housekeepers, respiratory therapists, pharmacists and central-supply workers, medical-records personnel, clinic assistants, and ward and appointment clerks. Later in the week they were joined in their strike by the locals representing laboratory technicians, engineers, painters, and carpenters.

Kaiser has proposed a three-year wage freeze and a two-tier wage system whereby current employees would be selling out those newly hired by having them enter at 30% below the current starting wage outside the San Francisco-Oakland area, and 5% below that of the Bay Area. No provision is made for a "catch-up" to current levels after a given number of years. In the future, workers who have seniority can readily be fired and replaced by lower-paid new hires. Instead of a modest wage increase, current employees will receive only a small yearly bonus, at the discretion of their managers. For those

who do receive bonuses, the taxes taken out of these one-time payments will make them skimpier. And since they will not be salary increases, pensions will not reflect raises once the workers retire.

Kaiser is the largest health-maintenance organization (HMO) in the world—seven times larger than its nearest competitor. Nationwide, some of the Kaisers are in Colorado, Georgia, Hawaii, Ohio, Oregon, and Washington. The Northern California Region had a gross income of 4.95 billion dollars last year. Its net profit was in excess of 200 million—after paying over 13 million in bonuses to the MDs. The smallest of these yearly bonuses was \$10,000 in addition to an already-generous salary.

There are 5600 RNs in the Northern California region represented by the California Nurses Association (CNA). We have a "no strike" clause in our contract. But as a matter of individual conscience and principle, 80% of the RNs refused to cross the picket line the first day of the strike to show support for our fellow workers. In San Francisco, Oakland, and Martinez, this percentage prevailed the first week of the strike. Some who tried to return during the first week and after were locked out. Others had to sign a document repudiating their earlier support of Local 250.

Although financial necessity and fear of reprisals have caused most RNs to return to work, 20% of us region-wide are still honoring the picket line and actively supporting the strike. We have formed our own group for support and action called "RN's for Quality Care". We are committed to each other and to the issues facing Local 250. We know we are next! If Local 250 accepts cutbacks, the same will be expected of us in our next contract talks.

Our greatest strength is in sticking together. We are acting in concert so that if one is fired the hospital will be obliged to fire us all, and there are not enough trained nurses out there to fill all our shoes. The CNA have been served with an injunction by the NLRB forcing them to formally disavow us, yet they continue to privately support our right to follow our conscience in not crossing our co-workers' picket line.

We are grateful to Marc Janowitz of the SF area IWW, who has helped us interpret and understand our legal situation.

Diana Dolgoff Corbin

## HELP!!!

### WOES, FINANCIAL AND OTHERWISE

As you notice, our stalwart little periodical is a bit smaller this issue. This reflects two major problems with us. For one thing, the current deficit of the *Industrial Worker* is several thousand dollars. Paper, ink, typesetting, and printing haven't gotten any cheaper. It is ironic that your mailbox can be surfeited with all sorts of multi-colored glossy-printed junk mail promoting everything from cabbages to VCR consoles, while you the gentle reader may wonder why we who only have to put out eight pages a month have such a hard time of it.

The simple fact is money. It takes a lot of that stuff to put out this rag, and we are not raking in the millions selling cabbages and VCR consoles. So give a good remember to the sustaining fund, and dig into your pockets a little deeper.

The other problem is the editorial staff being overworked here in Chicago. Many times the whole paper is written here in Big Windy, which can be quite a strain on those who are already overworked taking care of the daily routine tasks of keeping General Headquarters in shape, not to mention editing this paper every month. We need more input from all you Fellow Workers out there in the far-flung to send us "news" and commentary from your part of the world.

Next month's issue we hope to be back to our regular-size edition, but that will depend on circumstances between now and then.

The Editorial Staff

## National Guard Called Out In Nebraska

### LATE BULLETIN

According to the scant news available, the National Guard has been called out to Dakota City, Nebraska, where 3,000 IBP meatpackers who rejected the company's proposal of a wage freeze till 1990 have been locked out.

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According to some articles your humble scribe has been reading, us boob-toob addicts here in Freedomland are in for a special treat this February. A new mini-series called "Amerika" will be an epic about the United States under Russian occupation, and it will be brought to us by the same nice people who brought us "The Day After", a depiction of what would happen if a nuclear device were dropped on the American Heartland.

"Amerika" (the Russian spelling for Freedomland) projects the occupation of the US by United Nations security forces coming mainly from "Greater Cuba". Greater Cuba includes all of Central America, which by virtue of the domino theory is now part of Cuba. The US, of course, has fallen into Kremlin hands not through military conquest, but by being handed over by liberal and feminist politicians who have lost the American trait of self-reliance.

It looks like we shall be feted with every reactionary cliché in the book. The country lost its spine because the women and the pesky minorities had too much to say. The flower of American womanhood gets gang-raped by some greasy and swarthy occupation troops, and little children are taught to turn their own parents in to the occupation authorities.

Needless to say, many of us will be watching this mini-series out of pure fascination, or shutting the damn stupid box off and listening to some music instead. But we have only to think of the millions of others who have been gorging themselves on a steady diet of Rambo, Kung Fu, and John Wayne movies, and who will be further persuaded that war is the only solution to the World's problems, to realize that we are faced with the ugly prospect of another full-scale war in the making.

This new epic is a far cry from "The Day After", and it appears that the television network is anxiously doing its best to get back in the good graces of the powers that be by coming out with a hundred percent true-blue, full-blooded Americanism. But it's amusing that in their intense patriotism the producers did most of their filming in Canada, where the production costs were cheaper. That's because there were more unemployed actors and extras who were desperate for work, and even though many of them found the theme of the story line repugnant, it was a case of acting unscrupulous or going hungry. The ironic facet is that the top producers of this epic have long identified themselves as liberals, one of them having been deeply involved in the anti-Vietnam War protest movement. The star of this film, Kris Kristofferson, plays the fiercely-independent holdout who has not capitulated to the occupation and is the shining hope. Old Kris has made many recordings expressing his anti-war sentiments, and has long been regarded as one of the brave young voices against the Establishment. He is still making his anti-war recordings, and feels he has done his part in the production by persuading the producers not to portray the Russians as overt brutes; but the sad fact is that many more people are going to see his televised right-wing propaganda than ever hear his records.

I am reminded of the socialists who joined the British Labour Party in order to change it, but succeeded only in changing themselves. Some of us old-timers can recall erstwhile Fellow Workers who thought that by joining a political party or accepting a bureaucratic role in some business union, they could do some good, but the only good they have done is for themselves.

Unfortunately, this gives vindication to the cynic's remark that everyone has a price. While your scribe is not going to agree wholeheartedly with that cynic, he is well aware of the sad fact that the sellouts far outnumber the holdouts.

That, of course, is the inevitable result of a society and economic system where people are placed in a position to sell out. I don't know what kind of mini-series the Russians may be filming about Freedomland, but for their public-relations purposes they shouldn't even bother. They can just sit back and let Uncle Schlemiel put both feet into his mouth. Outside of some conspicuous superficial differences, Uncle Schlemiel and the Kremlin Gremlins have more in common than in opposition, in that they both have a well-entrenched class structure.

As for those who are horrified by the possibility of Freedomland's being under foreign occupation, I shall merely refer them to my Great Uncle Hornplanter, who has become quite inured to living with the reality of being occupied.

C. C. Redcloud

AROUND OUR UNION

MINNEAPOLIS-SAINT PAUL: On November 15th the local branch held an "In November We Remember" tribute to working people in a nearby coffeehouse. Fellow Workers Bob Bovee, Jeff Cahill, JB Freeman, and Harry and Sharon Muir sang IWW and political satirical songs, and Harry added some magic tricks to remind workers of the tricks they can use in dealing with employers. By all reports, a most moving and appropriate occasion.

# WHAT IS REVOLUTION ?

The idea is rife that revolution must be attended by violence, that it must occur overnight, that it must be instigated by political rebels. These are not necessary concomitants. Violence, a spurious militancy, a popular slogan, a dominant and aggressive stance by leaders of the hour are, as often as not, the meretricious accessories of reactionaries determined to lead us backward.

Revolution is a complete turning, in social institutions as well as in mechanics. The violence and abruptness sometimes accompanying this change are peripheral occurrences, not essential elements of revolution. Demonstrations may be the impetus, even the vehicle of change. They are not the core.

Economic revolution, for instance, may consist of disparate parts, each one of which may be a minor revolution in the economy, the sum total of which, over a period of time, constitutes a fundamental break with the past. The Industrial Revolution was composed of numerous nuts, bolts, and screws—a series of commonplace developments that took vast time to wreak economic upheaval. Nor was it a self-conscious, organized development. But it was responsible for setting in motion many wheels within wheels, many subsidiary social and economic innovations such as the rise of the industrial proletariat, the freeing of the black slaves, the emancipation of women, the stimulation of popular education.

A note on Marxism: Karl Marx was a nimble-witted theoretician who delighted in solving abstract mathematical problems just for relaxation. Karl's mother worried about her brilliant son who was "all head and no heart". Marx's *Capital* was a scholarly work rivaling in erudition any orthodox college text on economics. His life, though beset by chronic poverty and indebtedness, never touched the proletariat he sought to radicalize. Arrogant and bellicose, he was Mr. Right, quarreling in voluminous letters with all who disagreed with him. But there was no deceit, no cruelty in his nature.

Russia had a long history of ruthlessness at home and craftiness abroad. Entirely lacking was the tradition, however blurred, of liberalism that Western countries claimed. When Marxism came to Russia, pompously overlaid with dialectics, it adapted to the traditional harshness of the country. A wretched inheritance, which left the people neither worse nor better off. But don't

blame Karl for all of this.

One snag that causes us to trip over our feet is the distinction between evolution and revolution. Uneasy people contend with all the fierceness their fastidious natures permit that evolution is *natural*, but revolution belongs in the devil's corner.

There is no clash between these terms. Evolution is an unfolding from within outward, a continuous development of form and emergence of energy out of the life force permeating the universe. Revolution, on the other hand, is planted firmly in the soil. It is impelled by civic pressures—economic, social, industrial, psychological—that dominate the solid world *out there*. In no way does either world of reality impinge upon or obstruct the workings of the other.

Dorice McDaniels

\*EDUCATION \*ORGANIZATION \*EMANCIPATION

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

**Industrial Worker**

P. Ames, R. Christopher, C. Cortez, J. Garland  
M. Hargis, P. Pixler, F. Thompson

General Secretary-Treasurer: Mark Kaufmann

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## THE RIGHT OF DISSENT NOT EXTENDED TO THE LEFT

The Socialist Workers Party ("Trotskyists") sued the Government for 40 million dollars in damages for the harassment received from 1939 to 1976. During these years the FBI had 300 of its agents in the Party, stealing documents, tapping members' phone calls, opening their mail, and generally doing their best to disrupt the Party. Despite all this covert activity, the Government found no grounds for any case against the SWP, outside of their open opposition to the draft during the Second World War. The SWP was only awarded \$264,000, and the FBI is expected to appeal that. That doesn't even make a fraction of what they must have paid all their professional stool pigeons during those years.

## WHITE-COLLAR CRIMINALS GET PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Those convicted of "white-collar" crimes, such as counterfeiting, fraud, and embezzlement, are unlikely to spend much time behind bars, according to a Federal Government report. A study of those crimes in the eight states that contain over a third of the country's population disclosed that 60% of those convicted of white-collar crimes were sentenced to prison terms, but only

18% were put behind bars for more than 12 months. This disclosure does not reveal the actual time served out of these sentences, as many of the prisoners received early paroles for "good behavior".

There was the old wag in the last century who said that if you steal a loaf of bread you can go to jail, but if you steal a railroad or bank you can get nominated for office.

## AIFLD IN GUATEMALA

By 1983 the Guatemalan labor movement was in shambles, with most of its leaders either in exile or in their graves—victims of Government-sponsored death squads. President Rios Montt and his predecessor, General Lucas Garcia, had succeeded in silencing almost all signs of a popular movement via massacres, assassinations, and "disappearances".

To improve Guatemala's image abroad, Montt encouraged the founding of a labor federation. Back in the States, the AFL-CIO was glad to be of help. Via its American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO shipped money and organizers to Guatemala to found the Confederation of Union Unity (CUSG). Montt himself spoke at the CUSG's May 1st founding convention, addressing the delegates as *companeros*. The US ambassador also honored the spectacle with his presence. Rios Montt was thrown out a couple of coups back, but the CUSG is still there, busily undercutting the establishment of militant worker and peasant organizations.

"The boss isn't necessarily our enemy," says Edgar Flores, head of the CUSG's municipal workers' federation. "We must be civilized."

## HUNGER AMIDST PLENTY

Since 1950 Europe has trebled its wheat production and Asia has doubled its rice output. Indonesia, which used to import its rice, now has a large stored surplus. Yet according to the World Health Organization, 700 million people are malnourished, and 35 million, mostly children, die each year from hunger-caused diseases.

## DRUGS AND GLOBAL POLITICS

The opium habit was forced on China by England in an attempt to colonize the Chinese as they did the people of India. Under Chiang Kai-shek, China became the world's largest producer of opium. Later the CIA forced Burma into the opium trade, and a US-sponsored guerrilla in Nicaragua was caught flying cocaine into Costa Rica. In Colombia, according to the *New York Times*, liberal politicians who had intercepted a shipment of drugs to Miami were shot down by rightist forces supported by the US State Department.

Things are a little different from the days when Marie Antoinette suggested giving cake to those who had no bread. Today's satraps no longer rely wholly on what Lenin referred to as the "opium of the people".

**Preamble 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 INTO 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 INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD 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 A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR 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 EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORGING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.



reader's soapbox

Dear IW Collective:

This letter is in response to FW Poulos's allegations re Fellow Worker Bekken's Convention article. As one of the final proofreaders of the article, I am personally offended by his remarks. I find it difficult to believe he has become so confused about what actually took place.

At the Convention FW Poulos gave a soapbox speech on how his proxies should be cast because he had gone to nursing homes to get some old-timers to sign them. And since they had been in the union for years, we had the responsibility to see that "their wishes" are carried out. FW Poulos also went on to say that they all believe prisoners should have all rights due them as IWW members. It is true that his speech was emotional, vigorous, and convincing for some, but what we actually voted for was whether the Michigan resolution should be passed, not whether prisoners should be IWW members. This issue was never directly addressed.

The Michigan resolution stated that the General Defense Committee, individual branches, and members should assist prisoners in setting up an autonomous prisoners' organization. This organization should exist because prisoners are in desperate need of an organization that promotes and defends their civil and human rights. Such an organization, to be effective, must be democratically controlled by the prisoners involved. This resolution was defeated, because of the 42 bound proxies FW Poulos brought to the Convention. This caused much heated debate, because his proxies actually spoke to the Chicago resolution, which stated that prisoners should not be allowed to join the IWW. The Chicago resolution was withdrawn before the Convention.

I do recall that when FW Poulos gave his speech he mentioned how prisoners should have all the rights due them, as any other IWW member would. And that any prisoners who identify with the aims and goals of the IWW are entitled to become members. However, this was used as an argument to defeat the Michigan resolution, which had nothing to do with Poulos's arguments. The Convention purely and simply did not consider the question of whether prisoners are eligible for membership. So, as FW Bekken stated in his article in the IW, "no decision was reached on the matter". Thus what FW Bekken states is true, and if FW Poulos wants the prisoners issue to be resolved, I suggest he put a resolution together.

I also would like to question the judgment of the IW Collective for its editorial response. The Collective had asked FW Bekken to write the article on the Convention, and they had proofed it for errors prior to its printing. Perhaps it was an emotional decision in response to FW Poulos's letter. However, I cannot see its validity, because what FW Poulos said is not correct. I would like to see a retraction.

For Getting the Story Straight

Mi Mi Rivera



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To the Industrial Worker Collective:

The letter from Paul Poulos in the recent *Industrial Worker* is a misrepresentation of the facts of what happened at the IWW Convention. There was no determination made at the Convention as to the status of prisoners who have been signed up in the IWW. The union as a whole, neither through an Executive Board decision, a Convention resolution, nor a referendum, has ever made a commitment to recruiting prisoners into the IWW. The prisoners who have been signed up were signed up according to the judgment of INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES ACTING COMPLETELY ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE.

It is true that the "status quo" was maintained at the Convention, but that status quo is not what Poulos claims it is. There was no "mandate" given to prisoner organizing at the Convention. In fact, a resolution to support any effort by prisoners to organize their own independent prisoner-rights organization, while leaving the status of prisoner members undecided, was DEFEATED. So one could just as easily argue that the defeat of this resolution put the IWW on record as opposing prisoner organizing entirely, whether within or outside the IWW. Apparently that is a "mandate" Fellow Worker Poulos prefers not to think about.

The *Industrial Worker* has an obligation to report what happens at IWW Conventions accurately. There was no "mandate" giving the go-ahead to recruiting prisoners into the IWW. By failing to stand behind the article it ran about the IWW Convention, an article that it had asked Fellow Worker Bekken to write and had looked over before it was run, the *Industrial Worker* is not only doing damage to its own credibility, but also helping to spread confusion and factionalism within the union. I feel that the *Industrial Worker* must retract its response to the Poulos letter, which lent credence to his distortion of the Convention, and stand behind the accuracy of its original reporting of the facts.

For One Big Union



WORKERS AND THE LAW

**WORKERS WIN SUIT:** On December 10th, a federal judge approved a .26-million-dollar settlement for 86 workers who contend that their Michigan plant was shut down 11 years ago because many of the employees were about to draw retirement benefits. The settlement was the result of a 1976 lawsuit filed by former employees of Doehler-Jarvis of Grand Rapids, then a division of NL Industries of New York.

**DRUG TESTS LOSING IN COURT:** Random drug testing of Government employees has been losing in court (in 13 out of 17 cases), with most judges deciding that the testing violates workers' rights against unreasonable search and seizure and their right to privacy. But the Government is appealing some of the cases it lost in lower courts, and higher courts may be more susceptible to Reaganite arguments. At least Government employees can look to the courts. Employees of private companies cannot claim constitutional protections unless some Government agency is involved.

**AIDS FIRING REVERSED:** A Florida worker diagnosed as an AIDS victim in 1984 and dismissed from his job as budget-policy analyst with Broward County was ordered re-instated by a Florida court December 10th. The settlement included \$190,000 covering Todd Shuttleworth's back pay, medical bills, and legal fees. Though the US Justice Department maintains that federal law does not prohibit refusing to hire people with AIDS if employers cite fear of contagion, several states have adopted policies prohibiting discrimination against people with AIDS, and several court decisions have ruled that AIDS cases must be treated like other diseases, such as TB.

AVAILABLE RESOURCES

Looking for a good movie to show? In November, a couple members of the IWW's Chicago Branch viewed *The Global Assembly Line* at a benefit for Women Organized for Reproductive Choice, and they can recommend it. The film shows how the garment and electronics industries pit the workers of Mexico, the Philippines, and the US against each other. It starts out explaining that if US minimum wages were equal to 19 chickens, minimum wages in the Philippines would equal only half a chicken, and ends up calling for international labor organizing.

Directed by Lorraine Gray, this 16-millimeter color film, 56 minutes long, is available for \$100 per showing from New Day Films, 22 Riverview Drive, Wayne, New Jersey 07470-3191, telephone (201) 633-0212.



IWW DIRECTORY.....

**ALASKA:** Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage 99508. Barry Roderick, Delegate, Box 748, Douglas 99824.

**AUSTRALIA:** IWW Delegate, 417 King Street (1st Floor), Newtown, Sydney.

**BRITISH COLUMBIA:** Vancouver General Membership Branch, Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver V6J 4P3, Canada, (604) 876-8438. West Kootenay IWW Group, Box 941, Nelson V1L 6A5, Canada. J.B. McAndrew, 7216 Mary Avenue (1204), Burnaby, British Columbia V5E 3K5, Canada.

**CALIFORNIA:** San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, Box 40485, San Francisco 94140. Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609 (415) 658-0293. David Bernreuter, Delegate, 718 Cayuga Street, Santa Cruz 95062. R.M.R. Kroopkin, Delegate, 3924 1/2 Park Boulevard, San Diego 92103. General Defense Committee, Arthur J. Miller, Secretary, PO Box 2576, San Diego 92112.

**FLORIDA:** Fred Hansen, Box 824, New Port Richey 33552.

**GUAM:** Shelby Shapiro, Box 864, Agana 96910.

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

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 2, 3435 North Sheffield (Suite 202), Chicago 60657, (312) 549-5045. Meetings first Sunday of each month at 1 pm. Champaign-Urbana IWW Group, Jeff Stein, Delegate, Box 2824, Station A, Champaign 61820.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 40204.

**LOUISIANA:** IWW Group, Box 16725, Baton Rouge 70893. Ben Trant, 2825 Westover Road, Shreveport 71108.

**MANITOBA:** Winnipeg IWW Group, "Haywire Brack", Delegate, Box 161, Station C, Winnipeg R3M 3S7, Canada.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston General Membership Branch Box 454, Cambridge 02139. Meetings first Monday of each month, 522-7090. Western Massachusetts IWW Group, Box 465, Hadley 01035.

**MICHIGAN:** Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197, (313) 483-3478. Meetings second Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. University Cellar IU 660 Job Branch, 341 East Liberty, Ann Arbor 48104. People's Warehouse IU 660 Job Branch, c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids 49506.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-Saint Paul General Membership Branch, PO Box 2245, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102. Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate. Meetings third Wednesday of each month, (612) 871-1209.

**MONTANA:** Clark Fork Valley IWW Group, Box 8562, Missoula 59807, (406) 728-6053. A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls 59874, (406) 827-3238

**NEW YORK:** New York General Membership Branch, Box 183, New York City 10028. Delegates: Robert Young, Box 920, Wingdale 12594. Joe O'Shea, Winklers Farm, Towners Road, Carmel 10512. Rochelle Semel, 788 Columbus Avenue (16D), New York 10025, (212) 662-8801. John Hansen, 302 Avenue C, Brooklyn 11218. Henry Pfaff, 77 Eckhert, Buffalo 14207, (716) 877-6073. Jackie Panish, 99-12 65th Road (5-J), Rego Park 11374, (212) 868-1121.

**OHIO:** Southwest Ohio General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 1, c/o Prison Education Project, Box 56, West Elkton, Ohio 45070. General Defense Committee Local 3, c/o John Steward, Number 158-903, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699-0001.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Tom Hill, Delegate, Box 41928, Philadelphia 19101.

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** Harbinger Publications IU 450, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia 29201, (803) 254-9398.

**TEXAS:** Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087, (713) 921-0877. Andrew Lee, Delegate, 3402 Enfield (Apartment B), Austin 78703, (512) 472-7854.

**VIRGINIA:** IWW Delegate, 18 Boxwood Lane, Newport News 23602.

**WASHINGTON:** Bellingham General Membership Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle 98144. Spokane IWW, N10109 Wesley, Spokane 99218, Bill Turnmire, Delegate, (509) 466-9503. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma 98405, (206) 272-8119. IWW Group, Box 392, Walla Walla 99362.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison General Membership Branch, c/o 1846 Jenifer, Madison 53704, (608) 251-1937 or 249-4287.



## UPDATE: SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR

Despite fierce repression, South Africans are continuing their struggles on the job floor and in their communities—against apartheid and against the bosses. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—South Africa's largest and most-militant union center, which organizes workers of all races—continues to grow, and is now well on the way to accomplishing its goal of reorganizing itself along industrial-union lines. In recent months COSATU unions have reached out to organize farmworkers and the unemployed, mounted a national campaign against the new passbooks, begun a struggle to win a living wage for all of South Africa's workers, and launched new industrial unions for food, construction, and transport workers.

In the most-recent issue of *COSATU News*, the union announced its determination to make workplace safety a major issue. A full-page article in the November 1986 issue notes that more than 2,000 workers die on the job from industrial "accidents" each year in South Africa, with millions more being injured and thousands of others dying from occupational diseases. An editorial notes that "workers' needs and workers' safety come first—no matter what it costs. It is not bosses who are dying underground or in the factories. It is workers...."

Not only are workers fighting for safer working conditions and better wages, but a recent study by labor consultants Andrew Levy and Associates reports an increasing tendency to "challenge management over the frontier of control" through strikes and direct action on the shop floor. In the mining industry, the National Union of Mineworkers has come out strongly against a Government proposal to deport mineworkers suspected of carrying the AIDS virus, insisting that the 130 affected workers be kept on.

## DETAINEES

Scores of union activists continue to be detained by the South African Government. The independent Labour Monitoring Group reports that some 3,000 union activists have been detained in the last year, about 79% of whom are from COSATU unions. COSATU has not only demanded the release of all detainees, but also insisted that employers hold their jobs open and continue their wages. Several employers have acceded to these demands—in some cases paying only partial wages to detainees' families—and most major employers' federations have agreed not to discharge detained workers. Among employers agreeing to partial wages to detainees' families are General Motors.

Other employers have fired detained workers, or have refused to support their families during detention. The COSATU-affiliated Paper, Wood, and Allied Workers Union has declared two formal disputes against employers who have refused to guarantee full wages and job security for detained workers. PWAU Secretary Siphon Kubekha is among the detained, as is Metal and Allied Workers Union General Secretary Moses Mayekiso.

While the Government reports that black mineworkers at the bottom of the pay scale earn from \$220 to \$265 a month, a study by the International Labor Organization found that black mineworkers were paid only \$166 on average, 20% of the amount paid to their white counterparts for equivalent work. ("Coloured" and Indian workers fall between the two, but are much closer to black pay scales than to white.) Whatever the precise figures, it seems clear that employers are taking full advantage of the apartheid system to pay starvation wages to the majority of their workforce, though the massive gap between black and white wage scales does seem to have narrowed in the better-organized industries.

Hundreds of workers have been dismissed or deported in recent weeks for union activity, including 166 workers (of an original 325) dismissed by the Clover dairy when they protested management's firing of a union activist and moved to reach a sweetheart agreement with Buthe-

# I.W.W. WORLD LABOR NEWS

lezi's pro-Government United Workers Union of South Africa (which is headed by a small-business man). In addition, management fingered three union supporters to police for detention. A national boycott of Clover products has been declared, despite a court ruling that it is illegal (subversive) to promote a boycott under the country's "emergency" regulations.

## TUCSA COLLAPSES

A shaking-out process is under way in the labor movement. The long-dominant Trade Union Council of South Africa (a conservative union center that admitted black workers into segregated locals) recently dissolved after several of its affiliates withdrew. Membership had fallen from 500,000 in 1983 to some 120,000 when the decision to dissolve was taken. Meanwhile, the Azanian Council of Trade Unions (AZACTU), a radical black-nationalist union center, is merging with the more-moderate Council of Unions of South Africa. The new center will admit non-blacks to membership, but will bar them from union office. Other policies to be pursued by the new union center remain unclear. CUSA had been a major recipient of AFL-CIO foreign "aid", and was affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Thus there are now four union centers in South Africa. The largest is COSATU, followed by CUSA/AZACTU and the two pro-Government unions: UWUSA and the white, racist South African Confederation of Labor.

## WAGE GAP

COSATU is currently spearheading a drive to win a national minimum wage adequate to support a worker and his or her family. Most affiliates are pressing for industry minimum wages ranging from \$2 to \$2.40 an hour (in US dollars), a demand rejected by management as wildly inflationary. A recent Government study confirmed that dramatic pay differentials based on race persist. Average monthly earnings for wholesale trade workers, for example, were \$1062 for white workers, \$199.50 for blacks.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Australian dockworkers have imposed 24-hour bans on handling ships carrying cargo to or from South Africa, and are reportedly considering stronger actions against South African shipping lines. Meanwhile, last August Finnish transport workers decided to extend their nine-month ban on handling trade with South Africa to countries and companies that have been helping South Africa circumvent the ban. And 700 delegates at an August congress of the International Transport Workers Federation unanimously backed a resolution calling on members "to ensure, if necessary by industrial action, the international embargo on the export of oil and arms to South Africa".

COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo notes that "COSATU supports all forms of pressure on the Botha Government.... Starvation wages, mass unemployment, suffering, and hunger—these are not caused by sanctions. We know these things already. They are caused by the policies of Botha and the bosses. Whether sanctions make

scrubbed Masterpieces of World Art, stands the National Portrait Gallery. It is what it says, for within its winding walls hang the portraits of the famous, sad sacks and martyrs, yesterday's heroes and villains who made it to the big time. It is a pleasant place to hive off an hour, and on press day the wine is free and the staff are beautiful, and I lay down the law. Its exhibitions are invariably given over to the honored dead and pleasing to the eye, but for the next three months the gallery has mounted, at my behest, a major exhibition given over to the General Strike of 1926. It is a good, well-balanced exhibition, the wine is for the drinking, and on invitation I have babbled my opinions into the hand-held mike of the BBC radio "man".

There are brief periods in working-class history that are of monumental importance to an understanding of contemporary issues, and the 1926 General Strike explained the anger and the bitterness of Britain's striking coal miners. After the First World War, British miners had a sense of material well-being; but when the State handed the mines over to private speculators, the inevitable fall in living standards and mine safety took place. In 1919 the miners' claim for a wage increase in line with inflation and a shorter workday had been accepted by the Government, but not honored. In 1921 the miners were forced into a three-month lockout when the railway and transport union refused to implement their promise of strike action.

In 1924 the mine owners felt that they could break the British miners, and demanded a massive cut in wages and longer working hours. The following year the miners were prepared to do industrial battle, and the Tory Gov-

ernment played their cards well by giving the mine owners a nine-month reprieve and a handout of State money to ward off industrial action while the State prepared to break the mining strike it was about to instigate. The State organized its use of transport and its military, and recruited 100,000 middle-class-goon strikebreakers, ending up with an unpaid middle-class army of 250,000.

The stench of betrayal was always in the air for the miners. On May 1st, 1926 the mine owners, with Tory Government support, posted notices at every mining pit demanding cuts in pay and longer working hours. The miners refused to accept this, and their long, tragic lockout began. By May 4th 2,000,000 British workers had come out on strike in sympathy with the locked-out miners, and for the nine days of Britain's historic General Strike the British Tory Government and middle class took over with baton and driving wheel; for they policed the streets and drove the transport—from university students to clubland retired generals—and had a wonderful time. They did everything but dig the coal.

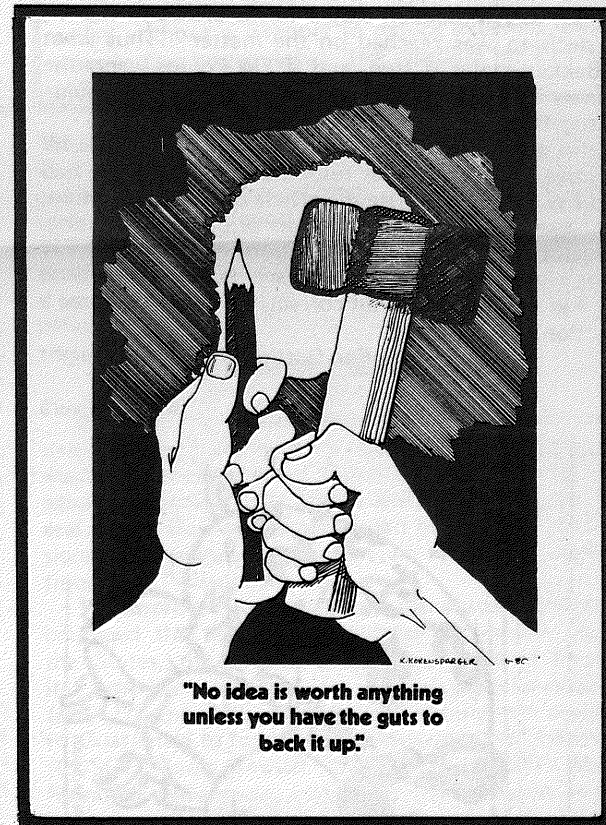
It was left to the godfathers of Britain's Trade Union Council to turn white with fear and call off the strike after only nine days, thereby betraying the British miners as they would again a half-century later. Because the godfathers were evil men? No, because they were frightened men. Like elderly peacetime generals forced into a major war, they could not face the situation that had been forced on them. The miners were broken as they would be a half-century later through betrayal, but they survived to stand and fight another day.

## A FINAL NOTE

Over the last year COSATU has become increasingly active in struggles outside the workplace, while simultaneously building its presence at the point of production. But in recent months there have been significant moves toward alliances with non-working-class organizations such as the UDF and ANC. While it is easy to understand the concerns that propel workers into such alliances, workers must be vigilant to ensure that their interests do not become subordinated to a spurious "national liberation" or to the schemes and programs of politicians. There have been too many struggles in which our fellow workers have fought heroically, only to see a new clique of bosses come to power. The emancipation of the working class can be won only by an organized working class relying on its own strength and committed to the task of building a new world.

JB

## TIME FOR THE FOUR-HOUR DAY



## \* sound of a \* distant drum

When the peril of war, plague, or revolution has become no more than a historical footnote for the high-school thesis or the story line for a Broadway musical, then one knows that the Establishment of the hour feel that that particular threat to their social system—be it bomb, bacteria, or barricade—has been crushed and is but fit meat for that ol' nostalgia. This is the time at the Take Away Pizza Parlor or the After Dinner Mints private party to talk of the grandam's union card before she made with the money, or to point with pride to the 1968 student-protest poster from the street riot of the time, and to muse on the price one had to pay the art gallery for it as it hangs enchaind upon the subtle pastel-shaded Hockney wallpaper. When the threat to one's way of life has passed, then those who feared it can in Time's hindsight pass from the persecutor to the persecuted, and with nary a scar or loss of a dollar.

Betwixt Trafalgar Square and Leicester Square, haunt of the American Hamburger Takeaways that American tourists shyly enter to be robbed; betwixt the Church of Saint Martin's in the Fields, within whose stone crypt London's hungry and homeless sought a brief night's shelter in Britain's own personal 1930s Great Depression, and the National Gallery, hanging halls of the well-

ernment played their cards well by giving the mine owners a nine-month reprieve and a handout of State money to ward off industrial action while the State prepared to break the mining strike it was about to instigate. The State organized its use of transport and its military, and recruited 100,000 middle-class-goon strikebreakers, ending up with an unpaid middle-class army of 250,000.

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## GIVE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND