

STRIKES ROCK FRANCE

Following hard on the heels of massive strikes and demonstrations by French high-school and university students, forcing the Chirac Government to withdraw "reforms" which would have led to a hierarchization of France's higher-education system, railway workers at the Paris North Station wildcatted December 17th to back up their demands that the Government-owned railway system withdraw its plan to introduce "merit" into the determination of wage increases and promotions. The wildcat soon spread throughout the French railway system as well as the Paris subway, leaving the reformist unions falling all over themselves trying to catch up with the workers.

While the union bosses negotiated with management in the back rooms, workers took on the task of managing the strike. Rank-and-file strike committees, pushed for by the non-unionized workers, made up of elected and revocable delegates sprang up throughout the system. A national co-ordinating committee was also created to unify the struggle.

The actions on the railroads coincided with strikes by dockworkers and seamen protesting a Government decision to allow French ships to be registered in the Kerguelen Islands, a French possession in the Indian Ocean, enabling shipowners to hire cheaper crews. Workers at the Government-owned domestic airline, Air Inter,



also shut down operations for two days to oppose Government proposals to cut cockpit crews from three to two. Strikes by Paris bus drivers and gas and electricity workers also broke out during this same period, indicating French workers' growing anger at austerity. However, unlike the railway action, these strikes appeared to be under the firm control of the reformist unions.

Labor Briefs.....

IWA SETTLES LUMBER STRIKE

Some 20,000 British Columbia lumber workers ended a 140-day province-wide strike December 9th, after ratifying a two-year contract providing a 40-cent-an-hour wage increase starting this summer and improved pension benefits. The union is claiming "a complete victory" on the key strike issue: the replacement of union members through "contracting out".

Under the agreement, contracting out, "flexible scheduling", and "alternate compensation" are being referred to a Royal Commission which will make non-binding recommendations. Contracting and subcontracting are frozen at current levels until at least March 1988, when a three-person Royal Commission will submit recommendations on that issue and also on the question of flexible work schedules. Earlier agreements had prohibited replacement of existing union members through contracting out, but had offered no protection against employers' transferring jobs to non-union contractors as workers quit or retired: a loophole that employers were eager to exploit.

But any disputes arising out of the contracting-out issue are to be decided by an umpire appointed by the chief justice of the province. That decision will be legally binding, and Canada's courts have proven no more sympathetic to workers' interests than their colleagues south of the 48th Parallel. The *International Woodworker* reports that Weyerhaeuser workers at the Vavenby sawmill are faced with the problem of what to do with some lumber cut over a six-day period by supervisors and clerical workers before picket lines shut this scabbing down. Union members are refusing to handle the scab lumber, and have decided that the company will not be allowed to sell it.

A separate strike at Mitchell Island's Goldwood Industries mill was settled in November, after management agreed to pay \$150,000 in unpaid wages to workers, turn over \$3,255 in union dues deducted from workers' paychecks through dues checkoff but not paid over to the union, bring its pension premiums up to date, and post a 50,000-dollar bond against future infractions of the contract. The plant employs 35 IWA members, who had put up with violations of their contract for several years (though keeping a detailed record of them) before finally deciding to strike last July.



Mainland, Terminal Sawmill, and Terminal Planer crews celebrate their employers' decision to sign an agreement with the IWA.

Exploitation Knows No Boundaries

MEXICAN WORKERS PAY THE PRICE

The purchasing power of Mexican workers has fallen by 40% in the last four years, as the Government struggles to pay the interest on its 100-billion-dollar foreign debt. Inflation continues at high levels even as many workers are being thrown out of work in a deep recession largely triggered by the collapse of oil prices.

Prices doubled in 1986, and some 15% of Mexico's domestic product is siphoned off to pay for the debt. Farmworkers in Baja California's agricultural region (which specializes in vegetables for export to the US market) are exposed to constant spraying of often-toxic pesticides without any protections whatever. These workers pick half the tomatoes consumed in the US during the winter months (and a major share of other produce as well), for a few dollars a day, a spot in a crowded shanty, and an early grave.

All this has somewhat predictably led to widespread unrest, with Mexico's traditionally-quiet unions demanding pay hikes and action to reduce the impact of the foreign debt. In response to these pressures the Government has re-negotiated the debt—but all this does is delay the crisis and prolong the austerity.

Debate is now under way within Mexico over the desirability of simply defaulting on much of the debt, so that new lending can be used for productive investments rather than for interest payments to foreign banks.

IWW ELECTS NEW OFFICERS

Fellow Worker Penny Pixler has been elected to serve as IWW General Secretary-Treasurer during 1987. The 1987 General Executive Board will consist of Fellow Workers Allan Anger (Tacoma), Stan Anderson (Seattle), David Bostock (Vancouver), Nancy Arthur Collins (Saint Paul), Frank Devore (San Francisco), Rochelle Semel (New York), and David Tucker (Bellingham). FW Tim Wong (Madison) is First Alternate.

SUBCONTRACTING

More and more companies are subcontracting work to outside suppliers, including non-union and overseas sources, eliminating relatively high-paid jobs in favor of low-wage workers with no job security or benefits. Subcontracting has been key to many recent strikes—in the US and around the world.

A strike settled two months ago at a General Motors subsidiary in Kokomo, Indiana involved a dispute over the transfer of work to a Mexican plant. This sort of subcontracting has long been common, even though the prevailing high unemployment levels have made it a matter of increasing concern. But in recent years, subcontracting has spread to white-collar workers.

Yet subcontracting battles continue to be fought mainly in the relatively-organized manufacturing sector. One of the major issues at stake in the USX lockout of steelworkers is the company's desire for unlimited subcontracting. With the growing internationalization of auto production, subcontracting has become a major issue for the Auto Workers as well. It is estimated that nearly half of the average US automobile is now produced by domestic or foreign subcontractors.

Similarly, in Japan companies have been subverting the much-ballyhooed lifetime job security by transferring a large volume of work to smaller subcontractors whose workers earn low wages and enjoy no job security. In England, there have been several disputes over the subcontracting of janitorial and maintenance work.

Employers are quite understandably going to continue to seek out the lowest possible wages and most-miserable working conditions as long as we allow them to. But a working class that was organized right could put a stop to these practices quite simply, by organizing the unorganized and refusing to handle products not produced under union conditions.

ORGANIZING HIGH TECH

Computer and electronics companies around the world are vigorously anti-union and tend to be unorganized. This is especially true of US and Japanese transnational corporations, although union activist Rand Wilson (in an interview published in the October 1986 *Dollars & Sense*) reports, based on his visits to 13 countries where he met with union organizers and support groups, that organizing by high-tech workers is more advanced overseas.

The prevailing lack of organization, combined with the ease of moving operations, makes it extremely difficult to organize. A company like IBM employs workers in dozens of countries, and does not hesitate to shift work from plants where it experiences labor difficulties (though IBM workers have formed international links which have enabled them to win some battles).

Notes Wilson: "There is no question that workers have to think more globally to catch up with the companies.... We have a great stake in these struggles: the extent to which companies repress unions overseas undermines our ability to improve conditions here."

But workers in places like Hong Kong, Malaysia, and the Philippines are organizing, and they need our concrete support.



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Around Our Union

Left Side



It's a sad day when workers are accused of blowing up their own workplaces, and it's every bit as sad when transportation workers are accused of accidents due to drug addiction. The employing class wants to pass a federal law whereby employees would have to submit a sample of their urine as a condition of employment. Of course this is supposed to affect only government workers for the time being, but we know that a government, as an arm of the employing class, sets the tone for the rest of us mortal stiffs.

While we are being fed horror stories about pyromaniac hotel workers and drug-crazed transport workers, our naive little minds are being kept off the reality of the maniacs who have their fingers on the nuclear buttons, play ecological checkers with the World's precious resources, and are always ready to play their war games because they have an inexhaustible supply of cannon fodder.

How come there was no urine testing or psychoanalysis for those in managerial positions at Bhopal, Chernobyl, and many less-notorious places in recent history? There is not enough space in this column to list the various boards of directors here in Freedomland who are badly in need of a security check.

Security checks, on the surface, seem like a logical precaution, but unfortunately those who most need to be checked for security are the ones who conduct the security checks. Even the most unschooled farmer knows better than to lock a fox in a chicken coop to guard the chickens.

But unfortunately, dear reader, we succulent chickens elect ravenous foxes to provide for our security, and we allow those ravenous foxes the unchallenged privilege of licking their chops at us.

How else can we explain the spate of economic cutbacks and rising cost of living in the richest country on Earth? We are told this is the best place on Earth, but every day our streets are becoming more dangerous to walk on and our air is getting more hazardous to breathe.

To top it off, our naive little minds are being further diverted from harsh reality by the moralists who cry so loudly about the inroads being made by pornography on our mass media. There is a great hue and cry over the increasing exposure of exterior human anatomy on the boob tube, though we are continually saturated with graphic descriptions of the President's interior anatomy every time his nether regions are worked over by the surgeon. Unfortunately, the average denizen of Freedomland is far better acquainted with Ronnie's erstwhile reproductive organs than with his dealings with other heads of state. Where the Hell are the anti-pornography crusaders when we need them?

When we are not being regaled with illuminated diagrams of the President's bowel movements, we are being treated to the latest tantrums of some overpaid luminary in the sports industry. Between all that and the commercials, we occasionally hear some news of what's happening in the World and what tomorrow's weather might be. But the most important things in those news broadcasts, and all our other television "entertainment", are the commercials. We may not have too much pocket money anymore, but those babies are out to get what's left.

If one can manage to hold on to one's sanity, the commercials can be the most entertaining of all, in a perverted sense. Where else but in Freedomland could you watch a documentary of the Nazi concentration camps in which a picture of one of the crematoria is followed by a commercial for oven cleaner?

One can see newsreels of starving children in Africa interrupted by a commercial showing a well-fed family gorging themselves at McDunghill's or some other plastic food emporium, and wonder about the emotional stability of those who choose our TV entertainment. The Roman rulers had bread and circuses for their masses, but our democratically-elected representatives know better than to let us congregate in arenas when they can isolate us behind our individual TV sets.

Though the Constitution guarantees the right of free assembly, if more than three of us are walking down the street together, some cop is bound to be eyeing us suspiciously, ready to quote the statute maintaining that any more than three is unlawful assembly. Freedom of assembly is indeed a guaranteed right, but only if those on top can have firm control of any assembling. Hitler was notorious for orchestrating his crowds, but here in Freedomland you can go to any ballpark and hear the organist on the public-address system cueing the crowd when to chant for their favorite team. Even Andy Frain calls it crowd control, and good old Andy is by no means the innovator of that hallowed institution.

It's high time we thought about crowding out those who have been controlling us for too damn long.

C. C. Redcloud

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: The closing months of 1986 saw increased Wobbly activity in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois. In September local IWW members participated in a peace festival sponsored by a local student group. A leaflet, "The Wobbly Road to Peace", was produced for the occasion. In November the local group sponsored a showing of *The Wobblies* and attended the Labor Notes conference in Detroit, where over \$100 of IWW literature was sold and the group spoke to many dissident rank-and-file unionists about the IWW. A leaflet on "Revolutionary Unions: Labor's Next Move" was distributed there. In December the video ... *All Our Lives*, about the *Mujeres Libres*, was shown to an enthusiastic audience. The group has also met with some young workers to discuss a possible workplace organizing campaign. Interest in the IWW is increasing in Champaign-Urbana, and the local IWW group welcomes hearing from other union members about ideas for building a branch.

SPOKANE: The Spokane IWW Group is continuing its organizing efforts, and recently produced two fliers to help reach the local wage slaves. The first is a four-by-five appeal for workers interested in getting a better slice of the pie in the short run, and making a better world for all in the long, to contact the local Wobs, who have been passing them out at bus stops and other gathering spots. The second is a short introduction to the IWW's purpose and structure, in an 8½-by-11 trifold format. FWs interested in looking this material over to see if they'd like to try something similar might drop a donation to PO Box 1273, Spokane, Washington 99210.

SOUTHEAST MICHIGAN: The GMB has been investigating the use of the IWW's name by UAW Local 599 (Buick City) in peddling raffle tickets. Apparently, these business unionists felt they'd get a better response from old-timers in the industry if they advertised the event as a Wobbly raffle, rather than using their own

name. The story handed out to our FWs was that the funds raised were split between the local and its caucuses, although the UAW local had claimed earlier that the proceeds would go to outfits like the NAACP. A pretty slimy racket all around, from the sound of things.

CHICAGO: Chicago Wobs have elected a new Branch Secretary and GDC Local Chairperson, and are re-starting a series of monthly educationals. The first of these met January 17th, following a Branch picnic, and featured a discussion of the IWW manifesto.

CHECK YOUR ADDRESS, FELLOW WORKERS

Next to your name in the address box (or on the label if you get a bundle or live outside the US) is a number. That number indicates the issue with which your subscription expires. So if there's a 1485 by your name, your subscription—according to our records—expires with this issue. If the number is larger (1486 on top) you have a few issues to run; if it reads 1484 or less you are in arrears.

In the past we've been somewhat lenient about cutting off expired subscriptions, in the (often justified) hope that you'd be renewing expired subscriptions soon and would want to get every issue of the *IWW*. But rising postal costs are forcing us to stop mailing to subscribers shortly after their subscriptions expire. So if your sub has expired, please renew now.

Also, we're in the process of transferring our subscription records to computer, so we can phase out our aged addressing system (part of which was bought by Big Bill Haywood 70 years ago). If there's an error in your address please let us know, so we can get it fixed. And please be sure to include information on when you last renewed your subscription with any corrections, so we can check our records.

Thanks.



AT&T HIT FOR ILLEGAL SUBCONTRACTING

The Communications Workers of America have announced a settlement with AT&T restoring jobs and back pay to some 1,000 Pennsylvania Bell workers who were laid off or transferred and demoted when the Bell System broke up in 1984.

The union filed 109 grievances alleging that contract provisions prohibiting the company from subcontracting work had been violated during the move. The company agreed to the settlement, which includes nearly six million dollars in back-pay awards, after an arbitrator ruled in the union's favor in one of the 109 pending cases. Workers are to be offered their previous jobs and wage levels, along with back pay.

The CWA is touting the agreement as one of the largest union-negotiated grievance and arbitration settlements ever. And it is no doubt a great relief to affected workers to get their jobs back, and to get compensated for the two years they were on the street. But one suspects that many of the workers will have found new jobs or been forced to move from the area in the interim.

Is a system that takes so long to resolve our disputes with the employers really in workers' interests, or might we do better to return to industrial action?

AT&T LAYS OFF 27,000 WORKERS

In mid-December, AT&T announced the impending layoff of more than 27,000 workers (some 8.5% of its workforce) as the latest move in a wave of layoffs at AT&T and local phone companies that have eliminated more than 140,000 jobs in the last three years. The Communications Workers of America, the largest union representing AT&T workers, has publicly made job security its major priority, yet did little in response to the AT&T announcement but express its disappointment.

BOYCOTT HARPER & ROW

The AFL-CIO is asking workers to boycott products of Harper & Row Publishing. The company has refused to bargain with the United Auto Workers (which represents Harper & Row workers) on union security, fair wages, and affirmative action. Harper & Row is one of the largest US publishers of trade books.

GRAPE BOYCOTT

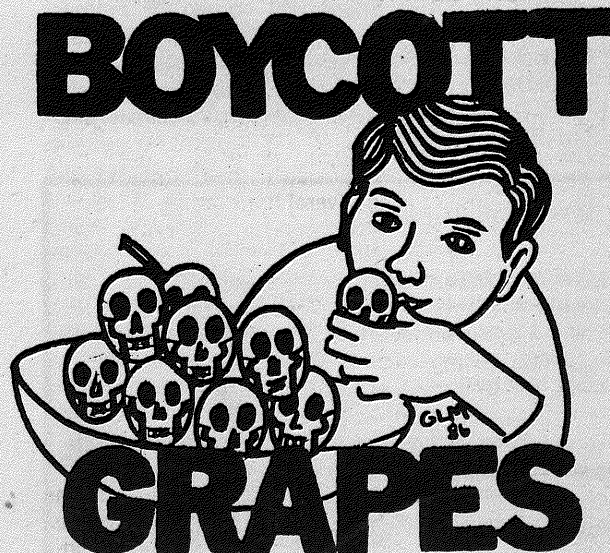
The current United Farm Workers boycott of fresh table grapes is picking up steam around the country. Unlike past UFW boycotts, the current one is also supporting the consumer, since pesticides being used on grapes are proven hazardous to health.

A statement by Cesar Chavez clearly states the risk: "Our children are at risk as never before. Pesticides are in our fields, in the air above their schoolyards, in the water they drink and in the food they eat. Our families are frightened because of the recent and tragic increase in cancer and birth defects.

"For our children... for all children, please join our fight to end the irresponsible use of dangerous pesticides. Please take the Grape Boycott Pledge today."

Also new in this boycott is the distribution, free of charge, of a video, "The Wrath of Grapes", which documents not only the use of pesticides, but also the illegal actions of politicians and growers against farmworkers. This video is free for the asking, and any donations given go to producing more copies. Contact Wrath of Grapes, PO Box 62, Keene, California 93531-9989.

GLM



EXPERIMENT IN WORKERS' CONTROL ENDS?

On Christmas eve, the University Cellar Bookstore closed its doors "forever", as the sign in the window announced to would-be customers. Many who read the sign as they passed by were visibly saddened. Within a few days the 75 workers who constituted the largest IWW job branch in recent times began another chapter in their education as workers: standing in the unemployment line.

The Cellar was established as a non-profit bookstore in 1969 in response to widespread student protests and sit-ins on the University of Michigan campus over price gouging by private bookstores in Ann Arbor. During its 17-year existence the Cellar captured 45% of the student market, reaching annual sales of over six million dollars and providing temporary employment to thousands in the process. The store led the market in determining textbook prices by discounting new books 5%. Numerous local stores which wouldn't match the Cellar's prices fell by the wayside.

The store also provided a unique ambience and working conditions which made it a pleasant place to work and shop. While decision-making technically rested with management in the early years, workers maintained a high degree of self-determination. There was no dress code. A product would not be carried by the store if a significant number of workers found it offensive. Firings were few and far between, generally only in the rare instances of theft.

People with non-traditional lifestyles found a home at the Cellar, and rewarded it with dedicated labor. Parents brought children to work, and found among their co-workers an extended family ready to assist with child care during the workday. While other stores in town had a well-compensated management, the Cellar had the best starting wage and best average non-management wage of all the bookstores in town. Management wages, while higher than those of workers in what eventually became the bargaining unit, were lower than those of competitors, in recognition of the fact that the workers made many of the decisions and undertook many of the tasks normally reserved for management. It was generally considered a good place to work, and intense loyalty to the organization developed.

In 1978, worker control seemed threatened by the introduction of a new manager who wanted to establish a more-traditional hierarchical structure. Two-thirds of the workers opted to join the IWW to maintain and enhance the conditions which made employment at the Cellar desirable. They chose the IWW because of our emphasis on self-management and because of the IWW's democratic organizational structure. One worker commented at the time: "Why should we choose the IWW? Because it's cheap, it's democratic, and it's us."

In early 1979, just after an IWW branch had been established in the shop, management posted a chart on the bulletin board describing a new organizational structure with managers for each department and two assistant managers for the store in addition to the existing general manager. Bargaining-unit members were encouraged to apply for the new positions, complete with titles and higher wages. There were few applicants, and most of the workers developed a case of book-dust flu and called in sick. When the proposed structure remained posted after the one-day sickout, another sickout occurred, whereupon the proposed structure was withdrawn.

The first contract established a store council including representatives from each department which made most day-to-day decisions. But it didn't provide much in the way of improved wages and benefits until workers undertook a two-and-a-half-day strike. Through its initial actions, the Union established a reputation for militancy in the face of unreasonableness—and for delivering warnings rather than idle threats—which stood it in good stead through the years. While occasional shop-



floor actions were necessary to remind management and the board of directors of the balance of power, five more contracts were negotiated over the years, each providing improvements in wages, benefits, and working conditions without need for any further strikes.

In 1982 the new management of the Michigan Union, the Cellar's home since its inception, decided to impose a drastic rent increase and a lease which prohibited the store from selling such higher-profit items as Michigan sweatshirts and mugs, which made the discounting of textbooks possible. The Cellar then had no choice but to move to a location three blocks away from the heart of the campus. While a large degree of customer loyalty kept sales from collapsing, the new location did hurt, and the Cellar managed to make a profit only once following the move.

The store's equity dwindled over its final years. Attempts to turn things around were showing success, but not fast enough to satisfy the Cellar's banker. A 700,000-dollar line of credit that had been granted in the spring and paid on time was not renewed in the fall. A renovation loan of over \$140,000 was suddenly withdrawn from the store's account without any advance notice. (There has been speculation that the Cellar may have fallen victim to internal difficulties at the bank that kept it from continuing to carry marginal loans.) Efforts were made to contact other lenders, but all of them seemed to fall in line behind the first. A last-minute attempt by a local bookstore owner to purchase the Cellar fell through because he could not come to terms with the landlord.

The Cellar was still viable, but with no one willing to grant a loan it was compelled to liquidate to avoid being forced into bankruptcy by its creditors. In retrospect it seems, judging by the huge outpouring of support from customers and even many creditors when the closing was announced, that a public appeal for aid a few months earlier might have led to funding through re-structuring as a co-operative, or to the store's purchase by a private investor (which would at least have preserved the 75 jobs and the Union branch). But that approach was rejected, mainly out of concern that publicizing the store's problems might lead creditors to force the Cellar into bankruptcy while the possibility of obtaining a bank loan still remained open.

Pinpointing a villain in the situation isn't easy. It's a little tough to blame management, when workers had a significant role in decision-making. There were some bad business decisions along the way, and many decisions weren't made quickly enough. The organizational structure didn't lend itself to speed, though it did generally

lead to wise, or at least necessary, decisions. Bankers and prospective buyers made it clear that they found both the presence of the Union and the organizational structure it promoted disconcerting. At the last minute a consortium of banks were willing to grant the Cellar a loan if it would adopt a traditional management structure and the University would guarantee the loan. But the University refused.

No love was lost between the University and the Cellar over the years. The disruption when the store was founded, and the unwillingness of the Cellar to pay an exorbitant rent in a University building, had left some University officials with little interest in the Cellar's survival. This was compounded by the fact that Barnes and Noble Bookstores were willing to move into the space vacated by the Cellar, and to pay the rent the Cellar couldn't. And the Cellar's landlord found himself in the catbird seat when a building which had stood vacant for a long while before the Cellar moved in was suddenly a hot property desired by Barnes and Noble, Nebraska Book Company (which recently bought Ulrich's Books, the Cellar's main competitor), and the prospective local buyer. The machinations were extensive. Pinpointing who did what to whom would provide a classic model of how to eliminate a viable alternative business in capitalist society.

The Board meeting at which the decision to liquidate was made was well attended by Cellar workers. As the vote was taken, tears appeared on the faces of several workers. The board accepted Barnes and Noble's bid to buy the Cellar's inventory. In addition, B&N agreed to interview Cellar workers for positions with their company. But two weeks later they backed out on the deal, leaving the impression that B&N had had some part in the Cellar's demise.

Local and campus newspapers carry stories of overcrowding and overpricing in Ann Arbor's two remaining textbook stores. A core of unemployed former Cellar workers are meeting to explore the possibility of developing a new co-operative worker-managed bookstore to resolve those complaints come next fall, while avoiding the pitfalls that destroyed the Cellar. Chances that such a project will be an IWW affiliate seem good. The Cellar Branch continues to meet on a weekly basis to maintain ties between workers, and to co-ordinate social activities and mutual aid for a bunch of people with time on their hands and little money. When the former Cellar workers find employment elsewhere, in situations with few of the Cellar's amenities, the IWW will be ready to help them turn things around.

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Revolutionary Union News

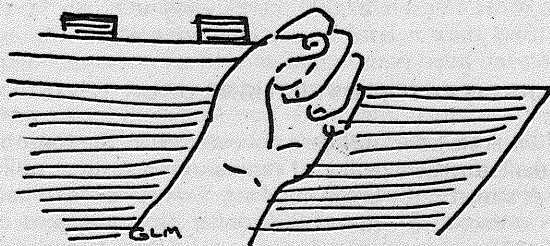
BRITISH FELLOW WORKERS IN ACTION

Our friends in Hull Syndicalists turned over the IWW Chicago Branch's petitions in support of amnesty for British miners sacked or imprisoned in connection with the 1984-85 coal strike to the Hull Trades Council. After a battle with local Trotskyites who opposed their proposal, our fellow workers persuaded the Council to present the petitions, bearing several hundred signatures, to Sam Thompson, president of the Yorkshire-area National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), at the Hull and District Trades Council's annual general meeting on January 31st. The local press have been notified, and Hull Syndicalists have promised us photos and an update on the meeting.

As of this writing, 10 miners remain in jail and 468 on the blacklist. One place you can get information or send solidarity contributions and greetings is the Northeast Justice for Mineworkers Campaign, 26, The Avenue, Durham, Great Britain.

Our Hull comrades have also initiated, along with the Tyneside Revolutionary Syndicalists, York Syndicalists, and Anarchist Communist Federation, a solidarity campaign in support of six members of the Confederacion

Nacional del Trabajo de Euzcadi (an affiliate of the CNT-Unificado, which broke from the CNT-AIT some years ago) who face a total of 107 years in prison on charges of membership in armed groups and participation in *attentats* carried out in 1980 against officials of the Michelin tire company in connection with a hard struggle at the Michelin plant in Vitoria. For more information on this blatant frame-up, designed to criminalize revolutionary unionism in Spain, read the June 1985 and July 1986 issues of the *Industrial Worker* and write to the Vitoria Six Solidarity Campaign, PO Box 102, Hull, Great Britain.



SPANISH DOCKERS UPDATE

On October 28th, the Spanish Government Administration called for a meeting between the employers and employees' unions in an attempt to impose a settlement of the long-standing conflict on the Spanish waterfronts. (See the December *IW* for the latest strike news.) While

the employers and the "majority" unions appeared willing to go along with the Government's proposals, the Coordinadora representative (the only dockworker present at the Madrid meeting) refused to sign the agreement. (Coordinadora represents 80% of the dockworkers.) After many hours of debate the meeting adjourned at 3 am, to be reconvened November 3rd, when Coordinadora again refused to sign and the strikes continued despite increasing repression.

On November 10th, the Communist Party-controlled Workers' Commissions (CC.OO.) formally signed the Government's proposal, joining the Socialist Party's UGT in stabbing the dockworkers in the back.

Strikers responded by escalating their actions, putting the torch to cargo containers in Cadiz, Las Palmas, and Tenerife, where dockers' wives barricaded themselves in a church to show their support for the strike.

To better co-ordinate international worker solidarity, delegates representing dockworkers in Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, and Spain got together to discuss the Spanish Government's plan in light of the general plan of Capital for the restructuring of the marine-transport industry worldwide.

On November 17th, Coordinadora called for a referendum of all dockworkers to give them a chance to decide whether to accept the Government's proposals.

Follow the *Industrial Worker* for further updates on the Spanish dockers' fight.

FILIPINOS FAR FROM FINISHED!

Popular Front governments don't last long. Poised between the insurgent working class and the boss class determined to hang on to its power, governments like Kerensky's in Russia and Allende's in Chile get swept away. How much longer Corazon Aquino can tread water amid the Philippine cross currents remains to be seen.

In her May Day address, Aquino promised significant labor reforms that would at least end the abuses of the Marcos regime. The labor movement is still waiting for the executive orders that would effect the promised reforms, thereby raising the minimum wages for many workers, curbing military and police attacks against strikers, and allowing workers in government-owned or -run industries to join unions. The month before, Aquino called on the Military to respect the basic human rights of the people in their counter-insurgency campaign. In particular she called for a halt to the practice of illegal arrests and arbitrary detentions. But the Military has continued its standard operating procedures, including torture, hamletting, and summary executions, despite the censures of the judiciary and the Presidential Commission on Human Rights.

Peasants, who account for over 80% of the Philippine population, have been pressing for genuine land reform, but so far nothing genuine has been done. The land "re-distribution" ordered by the Government on the island of Negros was actually a post-facto recognition that the sugar-farm workers and peasants had already seized the idle surplus lands in question. The Military is now in-

creasing its forces in that area and harassing the farm-workers; moreover, it seems to be arming paramilitary religious anti-communist groups. These "kill a commie for Christ" groups are known to have committed atrocities, and are regarded by various human-rights organizations as pawns in a deliberate attempt to thwart the growing demand of marginal farmers for social change. The landlords (many of them US agribusinesses) are also increasing their private armies of goons.

As of mid-October, the number of new strikes in the Philippines had reached a record high of over 500. Many of the strikes took place in companies employing fewer than a hundred workers, and three out of four involved unfair labor practices such as maintaining substandard working conditions, paying less than the starvation minimum wage, and firing union activists. At least 15 workers were killed while exercising their labor-union rights in the first seven months of 1986.

On November 13th, the mutilated bodies of Kilusang May Uno (KMU) president Rolando Olalia and his driver Leonor Alay-ay were found. Though the assailants were not identified, workers blamed supporters of notoriously anti-labor Defense Minister Enrile or supporters of former president Marcos, and shut down public transportation and factories in Manila. The day-long funeral procession through the streets of Manila was the largest rally of the Philippine Left in memory, with 200,000 marchers. Within a week Aquino signed the long-stalled 60-day cease-fire with the New People's Army, the military wing of the Philippine Communist Party, ending (on paper) a

17-year war. She also fired Enrile.

But with or without Enrile, the strength of the Left as a whole and of the Communist Party in particular means that the thrust of US policy toward the Philippines is going to be away from liberals like Aquino and toward the Military. If Aquino cannot be co-opted into a Duarte-like role fronting a full-scale counter-insurgency campaign, someone else can surely be found.

In the forefront of US policy toward the Philippines is the need to hold on to US bases there. The US Military is obsessed with the Subic Bay and Clark bases in Northern Manila after losing its former Cam Ranh Bay base in Vietnam. Much of the financial aid the US has given Aquino thus far has been aimed at insuring the renewal of the leases of those bases rather than at helping the Filipino people.

As the keystone to US military strategy in the Asian Sector, the bases make the threat of nuclear retaliation directly against the Philippines a very real possibility in the event of a US war. The bases have also traditionally been used as launching pads for US intervention in the country's internal affairs. "Civic actions" designed to "win the hearts and minds" of Filipinos in rural areas have been carried out, and the US reportedly intends to send a hospital ship around the islands in March to try to win support for the bases. Concrete military support has been provided to Filipino forces in counter-insurgent operations. The bases serve as breeding grounds for corruption, especially drug trafficking, prostitution, and smuggling of arms and PX goods. All the left groups in the Philippines have made the removal of the bases part of their long-term demands, but getting rid of them will be like pulling teeth. (Cuba still hasn't succeeded in ousting the US naval base at Guantanamo Bay.)

The only question is what method the US will use to protect its investment in the Philippines. Observers have suggested that the murder of Olalia might be the opening shot in an El Salvador-style "low-intensity conflict" wherein grass-roots organizations would be decimated by death squads while the Government continued to attack the rural populations thought to be supporting the New People's Army.

Among the more-important grass-roots organizations is the 600,000-member KMU, or May 1st union. In February 1984, the 45,000-member Kilusan mga Manggagawang Kababaihan (KMK: Women Workers' Movement) was formed, reflecting the importance of Filipina workers. Though they compose only a third of the country's workforce of 20 million, most of them work for multinationals in the Export Processing Zones. In the countryside, the Philippine Peasants' Movement (KMP) is trying to organize farmworkers, and both it and the KMU are members of Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN: New Patriotic Alliance), the largest coalition of cause-oriented organizations in the Philippines. A new political party, established in August 1985, is the Partido ng Bayan (People's Party), which seems to have a lot of support inside the KMU.

GABRIELA (the General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership, and Action) is the largest coalition of women's groups in the country. Founded primarily to mobilize women against the Marcos regime, it now works against militarization, prostitution, and the mail-order-bride trade, and with the KMK against work discrimination. The National Democratic Front (NDF), which represented the Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) and the New People's Army (NPA) at the cease-fire talks, is an umbrella organization, but this writer is unable to dig out any more information on it.

To say that the situation in the Philippines is poorly covered in the US boss press is the understatement of the year. *IW* readers are particularly encouraged to contribute articles on workers' organizing efforts in the Philippines, and US readers in particular should seek ways to oppose our Government's intervention there.

plp



BILL PLYMPTON, SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

DAYA BAY: SEEDING THE CLOUDS OF DESTRUCTION

The four-billion-dollar Daya Bay nuclear plant, located 50 kilometers from Hong Kong, is China's largest joint foreign venture, in which the huge construction and operational costs are to be financed with foreign exchange generated by selling 70% of the plant's electricity to Hong Kong's consumers.

The Guangdong Nuclear Power Joint Venture Company, the vehicle for the venture, is owned 75% by the Guangdong Nuclear Investment Company and 25% by the Hong Kong Nuclear Investment Company (an affiliate of China Light and Power), which will take 70% of the electricity output.

Framatome, the nuclear giant of France, is expected to provide two 900-megawatt pressurized water reactors (PWRs) valued at 295 million dollars. Production of the PWRs by Framatome will be under license by Westinghouse of the United States. The formal contract with China is scheduled to be signed in October.

The project is divided into four stages. The first was site selection and the second is site development, to be followed by the actual building of the power station.

Since the Chernobyl disaster, 117 labor organizations, youth groups, social-welfare organizations, unions, and district boards have joined the anti-nuclear movement

in Hong Kong, and a major petition campaign has collected over 700,000 signatures.

The following facts only serve to enforce the suspicions of the people of Hong Kong, who would like to see a more-responsible attitude toward the project from the authorities concerned.

-No contingency plan has been formulated for evacuating the Hong Kong population in the event of a disaster at Daya Bay.

-At least 24,000 Chinese villagers and residents of rural townships face almost-certain death should there be any disaster at Daya Bay, and the whole of Hong Kong's population face the risk of radiation-induced cancer.

-China has no operational nuclear power stations, and no experience in managing such facilities.

-The Chinese authorities have not yet decided where nuclear waste from Daya Bay will be disposed of.

-In a bid to meet an agreement on the price of the plant, it was decided that China would provide certain parts of the plant rather than import them. However Framatome has refused to guarantee the quality of the parts produced in China.

-Mere rumors of a nuclear accident would be an economic disaster for Hong Kong, as people would turn away from Hong Kong products.

Until the Chinese and Hong Kong authorities can answer questions on safety and contingency measures together with those of commercial viability, the public call for the shelving of the controversial Daya Bay nuclear power plant must be heeded.

Sahabat Alam Malaysia

CHILD-CARE WORKERS GET ROCK-BOTTOM WAGES

A new report on wages and benefits paid to child-care workers in New York State found that the average annual wage for child-care workers was a mere \$7,893 in 1982. Many teachers earned far less than clerical workers, and a high percentage earned only minimum wage.

ARBITRATOR OVERTURNS DRUG TESTS

Two arbitration rulings have overturned the National Football League's policy of random drug testing, ruling that it violated the union contract. Five NFL teams have been ordered to return 1,000-dollar fines imposed on some 200 players who refused to take drug tests during a post-season physical last January. The NFL Players Association, by the way, is affiliated with the AFL-CIO's Maritime Trades Department.

WAR IS THE HEALTH OF THE STATE

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, THUS 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 FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

*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

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reader's soapbox

PRISONER ORGANIZING UPDATE

It has been nearly two years since the first Ohio prisoners signed on with the OBU and began organizing their fellow prisoner-workers at Ohio's only maximum-security facility, the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville. Although the numbers involved here are not tremendous (12), there is a trend present in the Prisoner Organizing Project (POP) that is extremely significant. The fact that there has been virtually *no turnover* in prison membership is something seldom seen but always cherished by IWW organizers of recent times. Those prisoners who first contacted IWW members in Ohio and wanted to be members continue to not only hold red cards but also actively organize their fellow prisoners under the IWW banner. The contacts had by these Wobblies and others have spread the presence of the IWW to at least three other Ohio institutions and to one Federal facility. Prisoners in several other states have also made contact with POP.

And all is not just the taking out of memberships. Recently, a fellow worker in the state facility at Chillicothe reported that he and 12 others, engaged in a furniture-manufacturing operation whose product is sold on the "open" (not just for state use) market, conducted a work stoppage. There are those who claim that such tactics are unavailable to prison laborers, that direct economic action is simply not a viable tactic. But in the face of direct evidence to the contrary, it must be agreed that prisoner-workers *can and do* engage in concerted economic actions.

The price these fellow workers have to pay does seem to be different from what the "outside" direct-actionist might have to pay in a similar situation—thrown in the "hole" (isolation) versus loss of employment. But the difference is only a matter of degree. As long as workers are willing to suffer the consequences of their direct action, as those in Chillicothe were and are, we must support their efforts in any way we can. We must *never* consider the plight of *any* worker, no matter how difficult the circumstance, to be unworthy of the IWW's help merely because of the possibility of failing to help them organize. To do so is to abandon a revolutionary attitude.

POP has suffered a long string of abuses, from both within and without. Prison administrations have held back union materials, refused IWW members visitation rights on the grounds that they were "bad influences" and "security risks", refused prisoners the right to send dues payments to delegates, and opened, read, and censored the incoming mail of IWW members to prisoners on the grounds that there was sufficient reason to suspect it merely because it came from an IWW member and to withhold it from the prisoner because it mentioned the IWW and prisoner memberships. POP can endure and win these issues from prison administrations given the current level of support it has.

But what is so draining on this project is the continued harassment and blatant attempts to hinder POP's work within the OBU, particularly by our current and previous GSTs. From the refusal to disburse funds voted to GDC Local 1 by the 1985 GEB to this most-recent attempt by our 1986 GST (as read about in last month's *Industrial Worker*) to interfere with POP's efforts, claiming a constitutional ambiguity in the permissibility of prisoner membership, the GSTs of 1985 and 1986 have created a trend of open violation of all our organizational rights. Unfortunately, IWW procedures make formal actions difficult and ineffectual against this type of abuse. Yet something must be done to stop such abuses. To paraphrase Engels, when the gauntlet is thrown down to us from within our own organization, we must fight the battle whether we like it or not.

Is there any credence to this most-recent argument put forth by our "constitutionally"-minded GST, that the rights of prisoners to membership in this union are unclear given the IWW's constitutional ambiguity? Is it really ambiguous? Clearly, we all agree that those who are employed and those who are unemployed workers are permitted into the IWW. And prisoners, who are nearly all from working-class origins, must either be employed, which is a necessary condition to be in the general population at an Ohio prison, or unemployed, as those who engaged in a work stoppage in Chillicothe now are. GST Kauffman has openly proclaimed that a prisoner must produce evidence of gainful employment to gain entry to our One Big Union. Are those who claim to be unemployed and are *outside* of prison afforded the same scrutiny? Of course not, and this is exactly where the discrimination against prisoners by our GST and others in the union becomes hideously obvious. In effect, this discrimination against prisoners by our GST and others is a discrimination against minorities, particularly people of color. Given that the vast majority of those incarcerated not only in Ohio but all over the US are social minorities, the GST's attitude and actions take on a completely new dimension—one that is racist and that shows no solidarity for our brothers and sisters.

It has been suggested that there needs to be a referendum to make it explicitly clear what the status of prisoners is to be within the IWW. POP, while welcoming any show of hands concerning prisoners' memberships, feels that there is absolutely *no need* to make such special provisions for prisoners constitutionally, any more than there is a need to make provisions for any other special-interest group of employed or unemployed mem-

bers of the working class. To do so would be to single out prisoners in an unfair and unnecessary manner.

GST Kauffman has also failed to designate an assessment stamp for POP, as voted to us by the GEB in early September. With at least four months transpired since the GEB's directive, it appears as if GST Kauffman is following that same trend mentioned earlier of illegal and unconstitutional actions against POP and against us all. If you are offended by this cavalier behavior, please send letters of protest to GST Kauffman c/o the Southeast Michigan GMB. We all must stand up for everyone's rights or our rights will all be considered violable.

POP's most-successful activity, aside from outright organizing, is the Prisoner Education Program (PEP), which is running full speed ahead. In PEP, prisoners are paired one-to-one with a non-prisoner for an exchange

of letters on a topic or reading selection chosen by each individual pairing. Topics currently discussed range from revolutionary political ideas to logic and metaphysics. Many strong bonds have been formed by PEP, not only within Ohio but also involving IWW members around the country. If you are interested in more info about POP or PEP, or would like to get involved in some fashion, please feel free to write us at PO Box 26381, Dayton, Ohio 45426, or at 99-12 65th Road, Apartment 5-J, Rego Park, New York 11374.

We must remember the words of Uncle Ho Chi Minh: "People who come out of prison can build up the country. When the prison doors are open, the real dragon will fly out." We in the IWW must make sure the dragon's flame is aimed at the employing class and the heat is not misdirected!

The Prisoner Organizing Project

The Protectionism Racket

Responding to the 11th straight year of mounting US trade deficits, the Reagan Administration has unleashed a new barrage of protectionist measures aimed at reducing imports from the European Economic Community, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, and Taiwan. The AFL-CIO and the Democrats, meanwhile, are pushing for even more draconian protectionist measures, with House Speaker Jim Wright organizing a summit meeting to bring together "leaders" from business and labor to draft a joint trade program.

The 1986 trade deficit is estimated at 175 billion dollars, up from 1985's record 148.5 billion. This deficit has been blamed on everything from an overvalued US currency to foreign subsidies and protection (though the protectionists never discuss the comparable policies of the US). But in fact, the whopping imbalance in trade is due to multinational corporations' seeking the fastest way to a buck (or, more accurately, a few million bucks) and to the impoverished conditions to which our fellow workers in other countries have been reduced. And the solution lies not in closing ranks with the bosses against the rest of the world, but in international worker solidarity.

On January 2nd of this year, the Reagan Administration raised tariffs on 290 products from countries running large trade surpluses with the US, primarily Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, and Taiwan. The new tariffs, after being offset by adjustments to tariffs on products from several other countries, will affect some 2.1 billion dollars in imports. That same day, the Administration terminated duty-free status for all products from Nicaragua, Panama, and Romania, citing these countries' poor records on workers' rights. Trade with all three countries is minimal, however, and while the Nicaraguan Government's poor record on workers' rights has been the subject of criticism in these pages, its record is far superior to those of countries like El Salvador or South Korea, where union membership alone is often sufficient to warrant imprisonment or death.

These actions followed the December 30th decision to slap a 200% tariff on selected European foods and spirits, which targeted low-price items consumed by workers while leaving the high-ticket items intended for wealthier palates untouched. This tariff is expected to cost the EEC 400 million dollars in US trade, and could touch off a series of retaliatory measures.

PROTECTIONISM CAN'T WORK

Already the US has in place a wide array of protectionist measures affecting most imports, ranging from "voluntary" restraints to preferences for domestic producers to quotas and tariffs. The free-trade rhetoric of the Reagan Administration notwithstanding, these protectionist barriers have increased dramatically in the last six years, even as the trade deficit has spiraled ever higher.

It would, of course, be possible to shut the borders to all imports (although partial measures must inevitably fail, as they lead to counter-measures against US exports and to evasive maneuvers through third countries). But such action would touch off world economic collapse. Not only would other countries be forced to default on their massive loans to US banks, but US industry would find itself suddenly deprived of essential raw materials and spare parts, many of which cannot be obtained from domestic suppliers.

We live in a world economy, and national boundaries have long since become economically obsolete. The economy of virtually every country in the world (with the exception of Albania) depends on foreign trade both to sustain capitalist markets (a matter that need not concern us) and to meet basic human needs.

Moreover, protectionism is morally bankrupt as a strategy. It is based on class collaboration: on workers joining with their employers in common cause against the rest of the world's workers. The logic of protectionism inevitably leads to an increasingly-narrow vision of unionism, to shop-floor co-operative schemes with management, to reliance on the political arena, and to a demobilized working class.

The United Auto Workers' campaign for "domestic content" legislation is a good example. This campaign has led the UAW and its locals to sponsor racist and xenophobic demonstrations, leaflets, and bumper stickers, and to joint political and shop-floor initiatives with management. The UAW has even broken solidarity with

its fellow business unions in the textile and steel industries, opposing their protectionist campaigns while it pursues its own.

Instead of joining with our fellow workers to improve all of our conditions, the logic of protectionism leads us to fight to protect "our" industry or "our" company, to ensure that the bosses' profits from our labor remain high enough that they won't be tempted to shift production abroad. And where does this logic end? The Saint Louis *Labor Tribune* has already gone beyond the Buy American posturing of the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters to call on workers to Buy Missouri!

The costs of protectionism are paid by the poor, in higher prices here and starvation abroad. The profits go to the corporations that exploit us all. It's a fine deal for the bosses, but no way to run a labor movement.

NEEDED: WORLD LABOR SOLIDARITY

Workers the whole world over face common problems, and a common enemy. We work, by and large, for the same employers, and are compelled either to cooperate with our fellow workers to improve conditions for all, or to compete against each other to see who will work on the terms most advantageous to the employing class. Our fellow workers in other countries accept wages barely adequate to sustain life not by choice, but because economic conditions—and often brutally-repressive governments propped up by the US—compel them to. The anti-labor regimes that enforce miserable pay and working conditions and prevent real unions from functioning are almost invariably propped up by the US Government (though a handful are maintained by State "communist" regimes), generally with the active assistance of the AFL-CIO's Institute for "Free" Labor Development.

Cutting off US military intervention and "assistance" around the world and ending the AFL-CIO's program of assistance to union busters the world over would be an important step in enabling our fellow workers to improve their conditions. Direct action by workers in the transportation and communications industries would be a means of showing concrete solidarity, and of preventing the movement of scab goods. US workers must do all in our power to prevent the repression of our fellow workers not only because it is right, but because an injury to one really is an injury to all.

The labor movement should organize concrete assistance (such as strike funds and organizing funds) for workers who have been working for a mere pittance and are fighting to improve their conditions. Such assistance (which would be quite cheap at the prevailing wages in many countries), combined with a firm understanding that no unionists will scab on each other's struggles or haul scab goods—and communications networks to ensure that this is so—would lead to improved conditions for all workers. By helping our fellow workers, no matter where they live, to attain decent conditions, we are also helping ourselves.

We seek to ignore, or to wall ourselves off from, the plight of our fellow workers only at our own cost. Protectionism *may* be capable of protecting the profit system for a time, but it cannot protect our jobs, our lives, or our working conditions. Only revolutionary industrial unionism and world labor solidarity can do that.

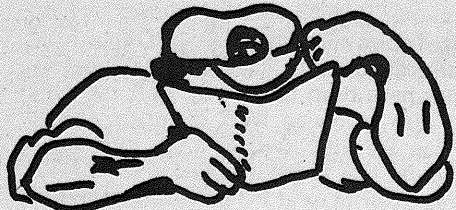
Jon Bekken

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Books for Union People



Inside Job: Essay on the New Work Writing, by Tom Wayman, Harbour Publishing, British Columbia, 1983, 101 pages

One powerful taboo still remains in English-language literature today: the taboo against discussing our most central daily experience: working for a living. Most writing today is escapist in one sense or another, designed to take people away from their troubles for a while. On the other hand, writing about jobs is too often associated with socialist realism, also known as "praising the party and state in terms even they can understand". Writing the truth about our working hours, Wayman argues, is something else entirely, and only we workers can do it. And in writing the truth about our jobs, we will be taking the first step toward changing them and our entire society.

FW Wayman is the author of several books of poetry and the editor of two anthologies of job poetry. His best-known poem may be "A Cursing Poem", wherein he hopes his bosses may someday live like their employees do now.

A review of *Welty's Book of Procedures for Meetings, Boards, Committees & Officers*, by Joel David Welty, Caroline House Publishers, 920 West Industrial Drive, Aurora, Illinois 60506, 1982, 278 pages, \$9.95

Despite its dull-seeming title, this is a vitally-important book. We want to organize a lot of people with a lot of different viewpoints to achieve common goals without a lot of bickering, and this book gives ways to do it.

Welty argues that traditional parliamentary procedure is undemocratic and leads to bad decisions. Traditional procedure starts with a motion or proposal and rushes into debate.

This is about midpoint in the actual decision-making process. Before the proposal is formally presented, there has been much preparation that is not covered by traditional rules of order. Certain members of the body have (1) perceived a problem and defined it, (2) examined the facts, (3) created a number of alternatives for consideration, (4) interpreted the probable effects of those alternatives, and (5) selected one particular alternative.

They may also have obtained commitments from other members before the meeting, handed them speeches to give in support of the proposal, and wrung commit-

ments from others to vote in favor of it. Sad to say, some even arrange to detain probable opponents to prevent their attendance at the meeting. Some people interpret the rules of debate as a kind of warfare, in which all means of eliminating opponents are deemed fair.

These preparatory steps of decision-making in debate are not taken in open meeting, where all may participate, but are taken in private among those who share the same prejudices and the same narrow fund of information, and who are unlikely to put their thoughts to the test of critical discussion in most cases. Oddly enough, those who operate this way do not feel deprived or limited by the lack of balancing points of view.

The assumption underlying the debate process is that each subsequent speaker will either favor or oppose the proposal. Members who speak are expected to have already made up their minds, even though they have had only a few moments to consider the proposal. Tender egos become attached to the victory or defeat of the proposal. Who the proposal's sponsor is becomes more important than the proposal's merits. Parliamentary maneuvering is usually intended not to build agreement among the members, but to crush the opposition. By its nature, the process puts stresses on the organization that it may not be able to survive. (Pages 204-206)

Sound familiar?

Welty's solution is to provide structured methods for doing the things traditional procedures neglect: defining problems, looking for alternatives, and the like. (These methods include brainstorming, hearings, "solipsists' meetings", and a variety of other techniques based on the practical psychology of problem-solving.) This gets people working together instead of fighting each other. Disagreements are not eliminated, but become more sensible and less destructive. People are more involved in the decision-making processes and understand them more clearly, so they are more democratic. Facts are gathered more systematically, ideas are produced more creatively, so the group can make better decisions.

Besides the problem-solving methods, which are his most-important contribution, Welty gives a lot of useful suggestions on the practical problems of running an organization (things like how to handle money safely and how to write a constitution that people can understand). He is writing mainly for community organizations and co-ops, not for labor unions, and he accepts the capitalist economic system, so not all of his suggestions would make sense for us. In particular, he favors giving entirely too much power to a board of directors.

But most of his ideas are excellent. I am convinced

that any group that uses them will be more successful, and will have a much happier membership, than any group that uses Roberts' Rules. We need to think about these methods and find ways to use them ourselves.

X331479

(While it is true that there are many bureaucratic organizations that manipulate parliamentary procedure to their own advantage, they do so mostly because of the rank-and-file's unfamiliarity with such procedure. Arguments have been made pro and con regarding parliamentary procedure, but the reality is that most of us belong to labor unions or other organizations which adhere to a certain established parliamentary procedure. Therefore it behooves us as rank-and-file activists to thoroughly acquaint ourselves and our fellow workers with the various checks and balances found in these procedures, so we can always remain one step ahead of the manipulators.—Editor)

Surplus Powerlessness, by Michael Lerner, Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 5100 Leona, Oakland, California 94619, 1986, \$10

This book contains excellent ideas, but too many words. It contends that "Surplus Powerlessness... is the new form by which people are enslaved" (Page 4) and that "stress is the way in which people experience their powerlessness... a direct product of the way in which society is organized" (Page 22). People's life and work experiences, caused by the economic system, create feelings and ideas which bind them to the system while causing great pain in their personal lives. To get out of this bind we need to meet emotional needs that traditional leftism ignores.

The author's style is uneven—sometimes clear and precise, other times bogging down in wordy, mushy psychological jargon. He goes into long digressions on history and politics, some of which are on the mark, but most of which show that he doesn't understand these subjects very well. Skip over this stuff and concentrate on what he does understand: the psychology of everyday oppression.

Lerner's analysis of why people accept the system is full of insights. He applies it to his own experiences as a '60s radical to show how the same psychology of powerlessness contributed to the downfall of the "New Left". But here he bogs down again, expounding political notions of a New Deal sort—more stuff to skip over while looking for genuinely-valuable ideas.

The methods he proposes to deal with powerlessness are a mixture of group therapy and working-class solidarity. These methods have been put into practice in occupational-stress groups and family-support groups sponsored by California labor unions. He gives evidence that people in these groups become healthier, more self-confident, and less willing to accept the system. These are important accomplishments that we should find out more about.

Read this book for its important ideas, skip over the bullshit, and think about how we might apply these ideas in our own lives.

Autobiography of Florence Kelley, Charles H. Kerr Company, 1986, 116 pages

Florence Kelley (1859-1932) pioneered labor legislation, especially on behalf of women and children, and was active in Hull House and other settlement work. That and the way she tells it are enough to make this small book of interest to our readers; but there are extras.

As appendix is an essay she wrote at age 27, and thus before Marx's *Capital* had been published in English, giving the central thought of that massive work to young women who planned careers in her chosen field: "The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Social Work". She felt that to cope with the ills of capitalism, it is best to know what creates those ills. She had been a student in Zurich, absorbing Marxism there, and also enough law so that years later, when she could not get district attorneys to enforce the restrictions on child labor that she had gotten enacted, she acquired her own law degree and fought her court battles herself, with some help from Governor Altgeld. This edition has informative notes and introduction by Kathryn Kish Sklar.

Sound of a Distant Drum

This is the time of year when we all paw the pages of the national press to see if we have been included in the Queen's New Year's Honours List. The life peerages are handed out to political hacks, property speculators, fashionable lip-moueing West End actors, and renegade left-wing politicians, but we are not booked for the ermine and a seat in the House of Lords. So with a wave of the hand and one foot on the steps leading up to the barricade, we will cry defiance and berate the faithful that the Queen can keep her tawdry trinkets of State. But maybe next year the bended knee, the attendance allowance, and the devotion of visiting American tourists to this green and sceptered isle.

It has been a rough year (or has it?) for the British Communist Party, for in one of their masochistic love-hate purges the British Eurocommunists have flapped their felt-tipped pen-pushing muscles and taken over the British Communist Party in favor of the European middle way (which means if not winning the hearts of the masses, at least winning their small number of votes at elections), while the metaphysically gun-toting Stalinists of the "Party's" paper suffered a mass expulsion, probably for dropping an *h* and using a split infinitive in an editorial. From a distance of 3,000 wet miles, the unimportance of the British Communist Party may be self-evident to Americans; but while the BCP have left the rule of the streets to the Trotskyists, they have a dominant hold on the British trade-union movement.

Three ex elder statesmen of Britain's Communist Party cashed in their rubles by dying in 1986 and joining Joe Stalin's shooting gallery in the sky. One was Hamish Fraser, who served on the brigade staff of the Servicio de Investigacion Militar during the Spanish Civil War, when it was regarded as the military wing of the KGB. Fraser wrote and defended the Nazi-Soviet Pact and created CP cells in industrial Clydeside during the 1939-45 war, but his finest sick joke was to give the ideological raspberry to the Communist Party and join the Roman Catholic Church. Ever the busy little mouse, he "discovered" communist infiltration in various Catholic Church organizations and various old CP comrades kneeling before the altars. He finally blew his cool and developed a Freudian fixation on the Virgin Mary and the rosary, or as the Soho sex-shop salesmen say: "It's good solid bondage,

man. Put it under the coat."

"Jock" Haston kicked off after a full life on the revolutionary Left that ranged from active membership in the CP, through the Trotskyists' Revolutionary Communist Party and the Workers' Revolutionary League, to giving political training to IRA members in Eire until the inevitable move to the right (or is it inevitable?), when he became an influential and pension-paid employee of a powerful right-wing union and the friend of the knighted right-wing union boss.

Last to follow into that card-carrying paradise (in 1986) was Professor Arnold Kettle, the stereotype lovable ol' prof who spent a lifetime in the bosom of the British Communist Party and never resigned or ratted (if that be a virtue), but as an accepted Marxist literary critic lived out a placid radical life. But let us think of him with affection in that in 1976, when called upon to do an outraged investigation into a course wherein students made "bottom" prints with their bare asses, the ol' prof rejected all criticism of the course and the students.

Yet bear this in mind, comrades: that the power of the British Communist Party for good or ill is its strength within the British trade unions. So if you have a sentimental tear to shed, shed it not over "Tiny Tim" or Dickens's "Little Nell", but over the end of the Jewcase and Jewelry Display Makers Union. For this month, after an active 92 years in existence, they have agreed by mutual consent to dissolve their union, as it now consists of only two fully-paid-up members. Once it boasted 75 members, but now it is just Charles Evans, the 62-year-old General Secretary, and Fergus McCormack, aged 37. Charlie will tell you that their only strike, which they won, took place while he was on his holidays, and he knew nothing about it. The two men are to merge with the 3,000-strong NUOGSAAT, and Fergus and Charlie are seeking matey legal advice as to whether they can use the \$1500 in their union kitty for a final good piss-up, and my advice is to do it and worry after. But lads, you should not have dissolved your two-man union, for two workers united is a union. But enjoy the piss-up and the memory of that one strike—that one winning strike—in 92 glorious years.

Arthur Moyses, London



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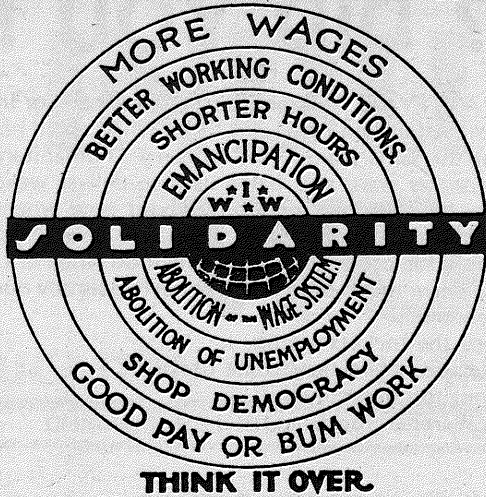
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ONLY 28% OF UNEMPLOYED GET BENEFITS

According to an AFL-CIO report, only 28% of jobless workers receive any kind of unemployment compensation, with unemployed workers often stymied by arbitrary restrictions and filing requirements. In 35 states less than a third of the unemployed receive jobless benefits, while in only three states—Alaska, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island—do more than half of the jobless receive unemployment compensation.

In 1986 only 100,000 of Illinois's 466,000 unemployed received benefits. In Connecticut, Hawaii, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, only about a third of unemployed workers got benefits last year. And only 20% of the jobless in Michigan and Ten-

MINUTES AVAILABLE

Minutes of the 1986 General Convention of the IWW are now available for \$1 per copy from the IWW General Administration, as are copies of minutes for 1985. Send all orders to IWW, 3435 North Sheffield (202), Chicago, Illinois 60657.

IW SUSTAINING FUND

(Received April 1986 Through December 1986)

Due to technical difficulties and other factors, it has been some time since a listing of donors to the Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund has appeared. We wish to thank the following Fellow Workers for their generous support:

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We appreciate the generous contributions of the above Fellow Workers, but we need contributions (and bundle orders) from more of you to bring Industrial Worker losses down to manageable levels.

GIVE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND!

nessee received unemployment benefits.

While 72% of unemployed workers are thrown on the streets without even the minimal, short-term assistance provided by unemployment benefits, those few jobless workers who actually receive benefits are seeing them eroded by inflation. Only 12 states increased benefit levels last year, and few of those increases matched the inflation rate.

PHONE UNION BLASTS MCI GOON TACTICS

MCI has laid off 450 workers and closed its Southfield, Michigan office in apparent retaliation for workers' seeking union representation, the *Detroit Labor News* reports. The Communications Workers of America, which filed for an NLRB election shortly before the layoffs were announced, has filed unfair-labor-practice charges, accusing the company of shutting down the facility rather than negotiate with the union.

The layoffs were part of a nationwide slashing of 2400 workers from MCI payrolls. Workers were told to report to nearby hotels, where they were divided into groups and told in the presence of armed guards that they no longer worked for MCI.

IWW DIRECTORY

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

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GUAM: Shelby Shapiro, Box 864, Agana 96910.

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.

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DID YOU NOTICE? DID YOU NOTICE? DID YOU

THEY DON'T NEED ENCOURAGEMENT: "Management must also indicate a willingness to undertake surveillance of problem areas such as locker rooms, parking lots, shipping and mailing areas, and nearby taverns if necessary." (US Attorney General Edwin Meese on the drug problem in October 1986) The American Civil Liberties Union is circulating petitions calling for Meese's ouster as an enemy of civil liberty.

NATIVE AMERICAN SITUATION WORSENING: A recent Department of the Interior study found that 41% of Native Americans living on reservations were below the poverty level, as against 12% of the US population as a whole. (This writer thinks both percentages are too low, but that is what the study said.) The study found that total employment among males 20 to 64 on reservations, including "discouraged workers" who are no longer seeking work, was 58%. According to 1980 census figures, about 25% of the 1.37 million Native Americans in the US live on reservations.

MORE LOW-PAYING JOBS: More than half the eight million net new jobs created in the US from 1979 to 1984 paid less than \$7,000 a year, while the number of jobs paying \$28,000 a year decreased, according to a new study by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. The poverty level, as currently defined, is \$10,989 for a family of four.

DOWN ON THE FARM: The Reagan farm program, which so far has cost more than the combined farm expenditures of every President from Roosevelt to Carter, has driven tens of thousands of families off the land and reduced US agriculture to such a state that last summer, for the first time since 1957, the US imported more food than it exported over a three-month period.

RECENT OZONE STUDIES indicate that ozone may harm human health at half the levels previously thought. And more than a third of all Americans live in areas that exceed even the current standard.

SAVING THE FARM: Across rural America, increasing numbers of farm wives, estimated by the Census Bureau at 48.7 in 1985, were taking jobs off the farm so the family could keep farming. Like their urban counterparts, women working off the farm faced problems finding child care; they also face the problem of up to 50-mile commutes to small towns where jobs are scarce.

FEELING A DRAFT? A lot of liberals seem to think that people owe a hunk of their lives to the State. We may be hearing a lot more about conscription as we approach 1988 and Democrats decide that endorsing the draft is a cheap way to shake the perception that their party is weak on defense.

DRUG DEATHS: In 1985, 613 people in the US died in cocaine-related deaths. Alcohol was responsible for 100,000 deaths, and tobacco for 350,000.

LABOR DEPARTMENT JOINS AIDS HYSTERIA: Following the Defense Department's decision to screen military recruits for the AIDS virus, and a State Department proposal to screen Foreign Service applicants and employees, the Labor Department has announced its intention to test new members of the Job Corps for exposure to the AIDS virus. Yet all medical evidence indicates that the disease cannot be spread by casual workplace contact.

27,000 HOMELESS PERSONS are now being sheltered in New York City alone, including 4500 families. Half of those in shelters are children in families headed by single women.

DON'T LET THE WORLD SEE THEM: The day before Christmas, the report came in that a UN film about projects that aid the homeless would not include two New York programs. Why? Because the US Mission at the UN objected that no other Western country was having its homeless shown, and that the film did not mention the "individual-rights element" of American homelessness. If they should do it, said one US diplomat, "they should bring the individual-rights element into the film: the fact that there are people who in some cases wish to stay in the streets roaming around not solely because they have no place to go."

TAX REFORM: Between 1980 and 1987, Ron and Nancy have seen their personal tax rate fall from 70% to 28%.

SHELTER NOT A RIGHT IN JERSEY: A Superior Court appellate panel has ruled that there is no constitutional guarantee of shelter in New Jersey. The decision upheld the State Department of Human Services' "fault standard", which allows welfare departments to deny aid to those who are judged partly to blame for their situation. The plaintiffs in the case, 12 single men receiving general-assistance grants of \$93 a month, were denied emergency assistance after the shelter they were living in closed for the summer.

ANOTHER BLOW AGAINST the Freedom of Information Act: Caught up in the anti-drug hysteria, who noticed that Senator Hatch added an amendment to the anti-drug bill that exempts some records of law-enforcement agencies, including certain FBI files pertaining to foreign intelligence, counter-intelligence, and "international terrorism", from release under the FOIA? Even the ACLU seems to have nodded.

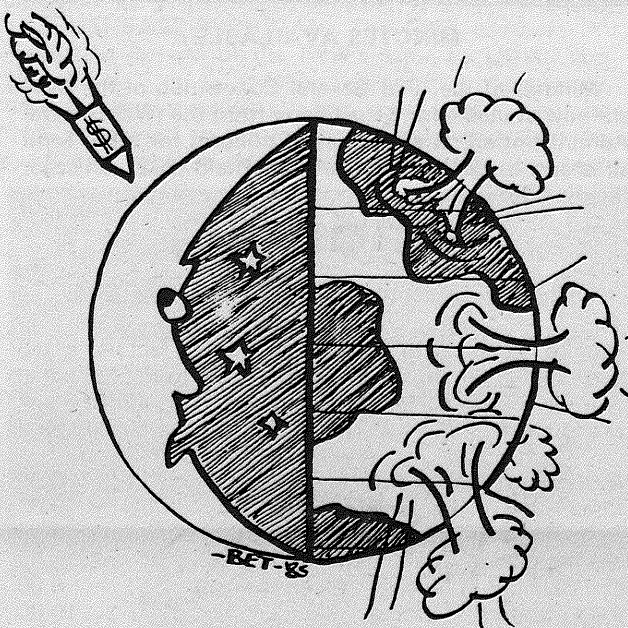
IT'S A PITY the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs isn't a poetry lover. When asked how it was that the same planes used to carry "humanitarian" aid to *contras* were also being used to deliver weapons to them, he stuttered something about how when the State Department contracts a plane and crew it is not responsible for other work they might do while in Latin America. How much better if the man had simply quoted Tom Lehrer:

"Once the rockets are up,
Who cares where they come down?
It's not my department,"
Says Wernher von Braun.

SOME 3% OF US ADULT MALES were in prison or under prison supervision at the end of 1985, according to Government statistics. Of 2.9 million adults under supervision, nearly 87% were male, and 65% were white.

A GOVERNMENT COMPUTER in Texas is enabling employers to verify the Social Security numbers and legal status of workers applying for jobs, in a six-month pilot aimed at determining whether a national program to check prospective employees against government records would be effective.

A BLACK BABY IN THE US has a 12.3% chance of having a clinically-low birth weight, compared to a 5.6% chance for a white baby.



**CAPITALISM:
IT CAN PUT A MAN ON THE MOON,
BUT IT CAN'T PUT PEACE ON EARTH.**

Glance Around the Globe

POLAND: The Polish Government has stepped up its attacks on underground papers, many of them issued by the outlawed Solidarnosc union. Six distributors have had their cars confiscated (a major blow in a country where the smallest car costs three years' wages). Solidarnosc has also established a watchdog group to monitor legal abuses.

SOUTH KOREA: A survey by the Korea Employers Federation reports that South Korea has the world's longest workweek, at an average of 54.4 hours. More than 1700 workers died on the job in 1985, while more than 140,000 suffered on-the-job injuries. Efforts to organize to improve these conditions continue, in the face of Government repression. In November 14 unions were ordered to dissolve, because the Government views them as adversarial.

IMF CAUSES FOOD RIOTS IN ZAMBIA: At least three persons were killed in the two days of food riots in the copper-mining towns of North Central Zambia, as angry crowds sacked Government buildings, looted shops, and burned cars. The disturbances were touched off by a sharp rise in the price of corn meal, one of Zambia's staple foods, several days earlier. The increase followed a Government decision to abolish corn subsidies as part of an economic austerity program ordered by the International Monetary Fund.

DUBLIN DUNNES STRIKERS BACK TO WORK: On July 19th, 1984, workers in Dublin's Dunnes Stores refused to handle South African-grown fruits and vegetables, and faced with their boss's refusal to respect their decision, went on strike. (See the March 1985 *IW*.) Now they're back at their jobs, as the Irish Government has banned South African food products. The support given the Dunnes strikers played no small part in forcing the Government to take this step.

TORTURERS AMNESTIED: The Uruguayan Government has approved a sweeping amnesty for military personnel implicated in human-rights violations during the recent 12 years of military rule, prompting demonstrations that were dispersed by riot police. The amnesty was prompted by fears of a military uprising.

SOUTH AFRICA ARRESTED 13 young white anti-

WHY SCHOOLS? A recent study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress project mandated by Congress found that 57% of the 4th-grade students studied reported that they liked to write, but only 39% of the 11th-graders did. On the other hand, the project found that on the average, young adults between 21 and 25 read better than 17-year-olds. This indicates that whatever happens to people after they leave school does more for their reading ability than 12 years of formal education.

REFORM SCHOOL now costs about \$30,000 a year to keep a juvenile offender inside, about twice as much as sending a student to an Ivy League college.

NO WONDER THE POPE DOESN'T LIKE IT: As Gustavo Gutierrez, the Peruvian theologian whose 1971 book gave liberation theology its name, pointed out: "To deny the fact of class struggle was really to put oneself on the side of the dominant sectors."

ANYTHING FOR STAR WARS: A study by the Aspen Strategy Group, co-chaired by William Perry, Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Development in the Carter Administration, and Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor to President Ford, states that the US has conducted Strategic Defense Initiative experiments "whose consistency with the anti-ballistic-missile treaty (1972) is measured by criteria we would probably reject if the Soviets used them to justify their programs".

THE WORLD'S LARGEST centrally-managed economy, outside the Soviet Union, is run by the US Defense Department.

SIDE EFFECTS: A Purdue University study of alcohol-related auto accidents in Ohio found that counties with higher unemployment rates had more drunken-driving accidents than counties with lower jobless-rates. Before 1983, the accident rates had been about the same for all counties in the state. Another finding of the study was that while Ohio's new anti-drunken-driving law induced a nearly 20% drop in the number of alcohol-related accidents, the number of hit-and-run accidents rose 8%.

LOUISIANA JOBLESS RATES, at 12.9%, were the nation's highest at the end of 1986.

WHY BIG GRANTS are easier to get than small ones: Why do international banks persist in funding large-scale capital-intensive projects like hydro-power dams and roads, in the face of mounting evidence that these projects are often counter-productive? In the World Bank, as in other major financing organizations, management time is in shorter supply than money. Thus a 5-million- or 50-million-dollar project is more likely to receive a favorable appraisal than one of only \$500,000, as bank officers are evaluated in terms of the efficiency with which large sums of money are "moved".

ARMANDO VALLADARES is probably not the most reliable witness of Cuba's violations of the human rights of many of its citizens.

draft campaigners, and restricted the activity of 12 others, in early December as part of a crackdown on white dissent. 60 members of the End Conscription Campaign had already been detained without charges before the recent raids. Government statistics report that 7,589 whites failed to respond to military callup in 1984, compared with 1600 for the previous year.

SHELL HIRES BOYCOTT BUSTER: Feeling some pressure from the international boycott campaign to force it out of South Africa, Royal Dutch/Shell has hired public-relations consultants who helped Nestle and Campbell Soup fight boycotts of their products. The PR firm, Pagan International, helps corporations with research, tactical advice, and implementation of counter-boycott strategies. Pagan International is staffed by former Nestle employees, including director Rafael Pagan. One of the reasons Shell was targeted for an all-out boycott effort is the practice by its South African subsidiaries of paying the companies' white male employees to serve in the country's military. The South African Government pays draftees a token wage, with Shell making up the rest of their normal income.

FRENCH RACIST IMMIGRANT BILL STALLED: Among the accomplishments of the recent French student protest was the stalling of a bill sought by the reactionary Government that would make it harder for children of immigrants to become French citizens. The bill was of course aimed at North African immigrants, and as the student killed in the protests was of Algerian origin, the Government decided to wait until things cool down to re-introduce its racist policy.

SOVIET UNION: Several workers died in a Ukrainian coal mine in late December when a methane-gas explosion rocked the mine. New mining equipment was being installed in the mine at the same time that miners were extracting coal. The number of casualties was reported heavy, but no details have been released.

7500 US TROOPS and National Guardsmen are in Honduras, carrying out military exercises and helping refurbish airstrips reportedly used by US-backed *contras* seeking to overthrow Nicaragua's Sandinista Government.