

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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STEEL SETTLEMENT SETTLES NOTHING

The longest work stoppage in the history of the US steel industry came to a close at the end of January as the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) voted to accept a four-year concessionary agreement with the USX Corporation, the nation's largest steel "producer".

While the union obtained what it called "strong language" on contracting out and a profit-sharing plan of dubious value, this pact cannot in any way be considered a victory for labor. If it is any kind of "victory" at all, it is for the defeatist strategy imposed on the steelworkers by the USWA leadership.

Faced with a seemingly-insurmountable crisis in the steel industry (the elimination of over 240,000 jobs since 1960-190,000 in the last decade; the closing of 20% of American steel mills in the same period; and a projected loss of another 30,000 to 35,000 jobs in the next five years regardless of governmental action or union concessions), and the refusal of the steel companies to engage in the traditional joint bargaining of a Basic Steel Agreement, the USWA leadership decided to help the steel industry survive by granting concessions to each individual company based on each company's "need". Thus the union granted LTV (the weakest company financially) \$3.60 an hour in wage and benefit cuts in March 1968, but they went bankrupt anyway. In April the steelworkers' union gave away \$1.51 an hour to National Steel, followed by \$2.35 an hour to Bethlehem Steel in May, and 40¢ an hour to relatively-healthy Inland Steel in June. In November the USWA went completely off the deep end, granting separate concessionary agreements to each of Armco Steel's five plants.

It was only against profitable USX that the USWA decided to "draw the line", demanding a wage freeze. But USX wasn't buying. The company demanded concessions parallel to those granted the other steel makers, citing its need to remain competitive in the marketplace. The battle lines were drawn, but one side in the dispute (the union) took a decidedly passive (and therefore defeatist) posture.

Although the union rank-and-file voted overwhelmingly to strike, the union leadership opted to continue to work under the old agreement. USX wouldn't accept this

deal, and locked the doors on 22,000 workers August 1st. This "lockout" allowed steelworkers in several states to collect unemployment compensation during the dispute. However, even though this maneuver took some of the strain off the union's strike funds and permitted steelworkers to hold out longer, it also made the workers look like hapless victims of corporate greed in need of charity, rather than fighters worthy of solidarity.

The union also failed to call for a boycott of Marathon Oil, a major source of income for USX during the dispute, and allowed one USX steel operation in California to continue to function under a separate agreement on the spurious grounds that (1) the company in question was a separate entity, being a joint venture with a Korean firm, and (2) the company had promised that it would not be supplied by USX suppliers. This led to bloody picket-line confrontations in Pennsylvania and Ohio when USX tried to ship stockpiled steel coil to the West Coast.

In the end, with unemployment insurance running out and a no-win strategy, the USWA rank-and-file—allowed to vote on their contracts for the first time—were obliged to accept deep cuts in wages and benefits (\$2.45 an hour), the immediate loss of 1346 jobs, and cuts in health and welfare benefits, holidays, and vacations. In addition, the agreement is for four years, while the agreements granted the other companies cover three years—thus signaling the definitive end of industry-wide solidarity in steel.

Throughout the bargaining in steel this last year, the goal of the USWA leadership was to help the US steel industry remain competitive in the world market. In doing so, they have tacitly accepted the proposition that American steelworkers are overpaid and must bear the cost of saving the industry. But driving the standards of US workers down to the levels imposed on workers in the so-called Third World will not benefit anyone but the steel capitalists in the end.

As a reward for ratifying the agreement, 3700 steelworkers were granted an indefinite "vacation" as USX announced its decision to close four plants (two in the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania area and one each in Baytown,



Texas and Orem, Utah). The decision, announced four days after contract ratification, was denounced by the USWA's chief pie-card, Lynn Williams, as "callous and insensitive".

The long-run solution to the crisis in steel, as well as in all the other basic goods-producing industries, lies in the *socialization* of the industry under workers' management and the suppression of the world market. The production of steel, as with all goods and services should be based on its usefulness, not on its profitability. If the steel industry in the US and worldwide is to be preserved at all, it must be based on a rational plan, drawn up by the working class through its own economic organizations, for the allocation of materials, facilities, and the like that is consistent with the well-being of the workers engaged in steel production and the human communities affected by that production. This is a revolutionary solution that only the world's working class can implement through its self-organization and struggle.

Mike Hargis

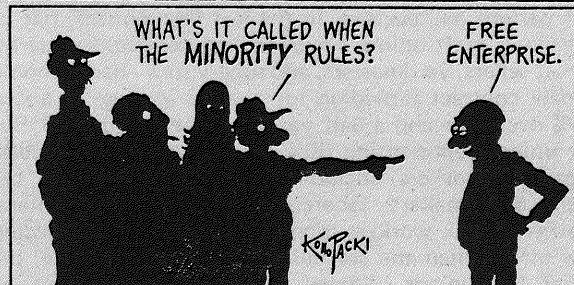
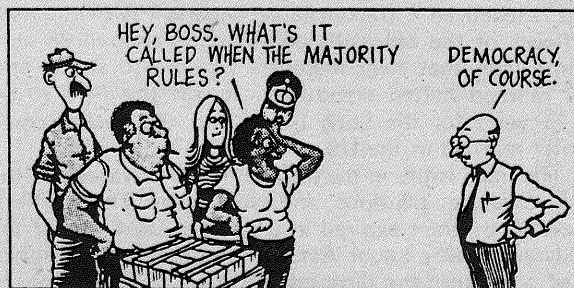
Solidarity in Watsonville

While much attention has been focused on the historic battle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota an equally-heroic struggle has been going on in Watsonville, California for over 500 days.

In September 1985 a thousand Chicana workers struck the Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Company in opposition to a Company-implemented contract that imposed a 30% pay cut on workers already earning less than \$7 an hour.

Since then the workers have been surviving on \$55 a week in strike pay from the Teamsters Union and meals of rice and beans. Yet despite the hardships, scabs, and police assaults, not one striker has crossed the picket line to return to work. Indeed, the strikers' solidarity has been so strong that some workers who had returned to Mexico came back to Watsonville to vote in a Company-inspired de-certification election, defeating this attempt to break the union.

The staunchness of the workers has also forced Mort Console, owner of Watsonville Canning, to the brink of



financial collapse amid lawsuits from growers and allegations that the Company was processing contaminated vegetables and had perpetrated fraudulent insurance claims. In September 1986, the situation was so grim that Console was forced to temporarily shut down operations, laying off management and scabs alike. However Wells Fargo Bank came to the rescue with a loan, but only after acquiring mortgages and rewriting loans so that if the Company does eventually go under, they'll be first in line to divide up its assets.

Toward the end of January, there were informal talks between union and management that Company spokesman Smiley Verduzco believed would "lead to a resolution" of the conflict. Workers on the picket line, on the other hand, believe that Console would rather go out of business than deal fairly with the workers. They are, however, determined to protect their dignity.

Caterpillar Occupied

In mid-February, Caterpillar Incorporated confirmed its intention to close its Davenport, Iowa plant, throwing 1300 workers into the streets. The plant is scheduled to close in 1988 along with plants in Dallas, Oregon, and Glasgow, Scotland, with production to be shifted to other Caterpillar plants in Aurora, East Peoria, and Mossville, Illinois.

While Caterpillar workers in Dallas and Davenport are thinking about what to do in response to the shutdown, they would do well to take a look at what their Scottish counterparts in the town of Uddington, near Glasgow, are doing.

When the decision came to close their plant, the 1221 workers decided to occupy the plant and hold a work-in.

After locking out plant management, workers proceeded to set up production committees to resume building tractors. Workers decided to paint the first tractor pink (rather than Caterpillar's traditional yellow), and to donate the 112,000-dollar machine to Live-Aid for use in a developing nation.

Ian Toal, one of the workers occupying the plant, explained: "We're not building it for Caterpillar, we're building it for our own use." Workers have vowed to keep the plant until Caterpillar reverses its closure decision, and to maintain production as long as parts hold out.

The company had announced its intention to invest some \$90 million in the 30-year-old plant just two weeks before deciding to shut it down, throwing 1200 workers onto the streets in an area already ravaged by enormous unemployment.

By their creative action, our Scottish fellow workers are showing that workers faced with plant shutdowns are not obliged to roll over and accept whatever is done to them.

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TOUGH TIMES ----- RIPPLE EFFECTS

THE CONCESSIONS BEAT

Many workers at Eagle Foods' 105 Midwestern stores have rejected the parent company's bid for a 7% pay cut. While four of the five unions representing Eagle workers went along with the company several locals of the United Food and Commercial Workers refused to accept the cuts, which would have taken several workers down to minimum wage.

The owners have insisted that all of the union's locals accept the pay cuts, threatening to sell the chain if they refuse. It remains to be seen whether the company will settle for the generous offer of those workers so enamored of their current employers that they accepted this mid-contract pay cut.

The chain, owned by California-based Lucky Stores, employs some 7500 workers in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. Workers took pay cuts of as much as 23% in 1984, bringing starting wages down to \$3.46 an hour.

NEW CONCESSIONS AT GREYHOUND

Three years after Greyhound workers took heavy contract concessions after a bitter strike, Amalgamated Transit Unions have recommended deep new concessions. The new agreement, which has not yet been ratified by ATU members, sets up a complex system of differential pay scales. Current workers will take pay cuts of 20 to 25%, with deeper cuts for new hires.

The concessions are coming little more than a month after ATU members rejected by a 3-2 margin a smaller concessions proposal demanded by the Greyhound Corporation. Greyhound then announced the sale of its bus division to BusLease Incorporated, a Dallas-based company, which announced that it would not recognize the union unless it agreed to satisfactory concessions, and began a national driver-hiring program.



RUTGERS CAMPUS STRIKE

About 2800 non-teaching employees at three Rutgers University campuses in New Jersey walked out on strike January 19th. The strike, by Locals 1761 and 888 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, began when University administrators demanded that annual increments for longevity be made a matter of negotiation rather than automatic, as they had been previously. Both sides agree on salary increases of 6% in the first year of a three-year contract and 5% in each of the remaining two years. According to University officials, strikers' salaries range from \$10,896 (not far over the poverty line for a family of four) to \$25,110 and average \$16,000.

BACK TO THE DARK AGES

When the Port East Transfor Company of Rosedale, Maryland imposed a drug-testing program on its truck drivers, one of the workers wrote "Damn right we need a union!" on a bathroom wall. Intent on discovering the culprit, the company took *handwriting samples* to identify the graffiti writer, who was promptly fired.

The National Labor Relations Board, however, upheld the ruling of an administrative-law judge that the worker had been fired illegally. The judge ruled that the driver had been fired for the content of his statement—a violation of his free-speech rights—and not for defacing company property.

(stolen from the newsletter of the American Federation of Teachers)

TEACHERS' STRIKE ENTERS FIFTH MONTH

Twenty-six teachers have been on strike in Homer, Illinois since October 17th, battling a school district that has refused to pay a wage hike approved in their previous contract, or grant any new pay increase whatever (even when the state offered to provide the necessary funds), and has re-opened the schools with scabs paid more than the teachers they have replaced.

The Illinois Education Association announced an adopt-a-striker program in mid-February, after the Homer School Board began hiring permanent replacements for the teachers. But other Homer workers organized by the IEA during the strike have been crossing picket lines, though the union did recently file the 60-day notice of intent to strike required under Illinois law.

State education authorities are investigating the school district in response to complaints from many parents that scabs aren't qualified. The state has threatened to cut off state aid to the district if educational quality is not improved. The Homer district has also sent 21 special-education students to another school district, and appealed to other school districts in the state for funds

to help it pay for its union-busting drive.

Testimony in unfair-labor-practice hearings has revealed that the Homer School Board falsified their books to convince teachers that they could not afford a pay hike, and laid plans for dealing with a strike before negotiations even began.

An unfortunate outcome of the strike is that the state of Illinois is considering passing legislation outlawing strikes, instead forcing teachers to submit to binding arbitration if they are unwilling to work on their school boards' terms.

The Homer strike points up the need for education workers to adopt new tactics. Not only are bus drivers and other school workers continuing to work, but the disruption of children's education has alienated many parents and community members. Teachers would be much better served by operating strike schools during disputes, teaching labor history, workers' economics, and similar subjects. The bosses would be quick to intervene and force school boards to settle to regain control of the curriculum. If this is too radical for the business unions, perhaps they might consider actually shutting down the schools they strike.

POVERTY-LEVEL JOBS DOMINATE 1986 EMPLOYMENT PICTURE

Job creation in the US economy was concentrated overwhelmingly in the service sector in 1986, according to a study released last month by the Council on International and Public Affairs. The net increase of 2.4 million jobs reflected continued growth of low-wage employment in the service sector.

"The gain in service-sector employment would not be cause for concern in itself," noted Council president Ward Morehouse, co-author of the study, "were it not that most of the increase is in the two lowest-paying categories of the service sector."

The study reported that jobs in retail trade and health and business services accounted for 67% of the net increase in employment during 1986. Morehouse added that "Average weekly wages for these jobs are below or only slightly above the poverty line."

The study stresses another continuing trend toward fewer and fewer hours worked in these two categories aggravating the impact of low hourly wages. Average weekly hours in retail trade and health and business services have declined by 21% and 10% respectively over the last 20 years. By the end of 1986, the average work-week had dropped to only 28.8 hours in retail trade and 32.4 hours in health and business services. In December average weekly wages were only \$177 in retail trade and \$269 in health and business services, compared with \$411 in manufacturing.

GOVERNMENT ENDS LONG ISLAND RAIL STRIKE

Striking New York railroad workers returned to work the first week in February after President Reagan signed a bill requiring a 60-day cooling off of the two-week-old strike against the Long Island Railroad. The strike began January 18th, when after several days of round-the-clock negotiations, the chairperson of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, one of the 11 unions attempting to negotiate a new contract, declared that he had reached an "irreconcilable impasse" with the line. Officials of the railroad's police union announced moments later that their members would also strike, and the railroad halted operations. It was the fifth strike in 15 years for the Long Island line, the busiest commuter railroad in the US.

The main issues in the dispute included wages, health-care coverage, pensions, and work rules. The workers' previous contract expired in December 1984. Under the Federal Railway Labor Act, two Presidential panels had tried to resolve the disputes, and two 120-day cooling-off periods had elapsed. In the last few months, five of the line's craft unions—representing conductors, clerks, ticket sellers, yardmasters, and supervisors—had accepted a new contract providing for a wage increase of about 20% over four and a half years retroactive to 1985. But six unions representing 60% of the Long Island's 6600 organized workers—including engineers, machinists, carmen, boilermakers, laborers, electricians, sheet-metal workers, truck workers, signalmen, and police—rejected the offer. When the six unions went out on strike, the other five unions honored their picket lines, shutting down the railroad.

Even though the craft unions honored each other's picket lines, the rivalries between them make collective bargaining difficult, as some unions seek to maintain the traditional pay differentials between crafts, while others seek pay parity. By January 25th, 80% of the striking unions had either accepted new contracts or agreed to accept binding arbitration. Most of the contracts had the same pay hikes negotiated before the strike, but accepted "containment" on health-care benefits and establishment of a new, "less costly" pension plan for new employees.

After the three previous strikes by the commuter-railroad unions, the New York Transportation Authority tried through Congress and the courts to have the lines' unionized employees removed from the federal statutes and placed under a state law barring strikes by public employees, but failed in this union-curbing ploy.

MORE TRAINING MANDATED FOR TOXIC-WASTE WORKERS

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration has issued new regulations covering the nearly 170,000 workers at toxic-waste sites. The new rules require periodic medical examinations and a minimum of 40 hours of safety and health training for workers both at cleanup operations of abandoned sites and at currently-operating dumps that handle hazardous materials.

Also covered indirectly by the regulations are from 4,000 to 40,000 emergency fire, police, ambulance, and other workers who might be called on to respond to spills or leaks of hazardous material in railroad and highway accidents. The regulations also require cleanup and dump operators to provide employees with suitable protective equipment, perform extensive air monitoring at sites, issue detailed reports to employees on expected exposures before they enter a dangerous area, and develop emergency response and contamination programs.

All of this sounds very good, but active pressure will be required from below to ensure compliance with even minimal standards.



IOWA PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS GET BACK-PAY SETTLEMENT

In late January, 270 former employees of Land O' Lakes packing in Spencer, Iowa won a nine-million-dollar back-pay settlement. If the settlement is approved by the National Labor Relations Board, it would conclude a suit in which the United Food and Commercial Workers charged Land O' Lakes with failure to recognize the union and failure to rehire union workers after the company purchased the closed Spencer packing plant—and re-opened it under its own name in 1979.

UFCW lawyer Peggy Hillman pointed out that closing union plants and re-opening them as non-union under new ownership has been fairly common in recent years. Omaha-based ConAgra Incorporated closed the 13 Armour Food Company packing plants it bought from the Greyhound Corporation in 1983, then re-opened them with "new" workforces after 1700 union workers refused a \$2.69-an-hour reduction that would have lowered their hourly wages to \$8.

UFCW officials said the Spencer settlement is a significant victory because it could influence similar cases still pending in the courts and could influence the way owners treat workers in similar circumstances.

(Thanks to L. Wigan for calling this to our attention.)

AT&T BANS PREGNANT CHIP WORKERS

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has banned all pregnant women from its semiconductor production lines, in response to a University of Massachusetts study that found sharply-higher incidences of miscarriage among workers who produce computer chips. Reports have been circulating for some time of the dangers of chip production (last year an account appeared in *MS*), but until now companies have been insisting that their medical and insurance data showed nothing out of the ordinary. Instead of changing the work process so that all chip-production workers will face less exposure to nitric and sulfuric acid and arsine gas, however, AT&T just tries to remove the most sensitive workers.

EASTERN AIR PROFITS UP

Eastern Airlines reported a six-million-dollar profit for the fourth quarter of 1986, and at the end of January 1987 Eastern president Phil Baker set the goal of keeping profits up by cutting labor costs by 490 million dollars this year, with most of the reductions coming from pay cuts. The leaders of the three unions—the Air Line Pilots Association, the Machinists and Aerospace Workers and the Transport Workers Union, which represents flight attendants—have agreed to pay cuts in the past, but these were often traded for giving employees stock in the company and a token say in managing the airline. But with Eastern's acquisition by the Texas Air Corporation, union leaders have lost their positions on the airline's board of directors, and may be willing to fight Baker's demand for 69 million dollars in concessions from the flight attendants, 265 million from the machinists, and 114 million from the pilots.

HORMEL-----

Although the United Food and Commercial Workers have settled with the Hormel Company, put Austin Local P-9 in receivership, cut off strike pay to those workers who have refused to give up the strike and boycott, and locked strikers out of their own union hall, Hormel strikers are continuing their battle to win their jobs back with decent working conditions. Part of this battle is the effort to replace the UFCW with the North American Meatpackers Union, organized by Hormel strikers after the UFCW stepped in to scuttle their strike.

Following are excerpts from an interview with two charter members of the North American Meatpackers Union, Pete Kennedy and Merrill Evans, conducted by fellow workers MiMi Rivera and Jeff Stein and broadcast on WEFT radio:

Our experience throughout the P-9 struggle has shown that the structure of organized labor at this time in this country needs revamping. We have felt that the UFCW's approach toward P-9 was rubber-stamped by the AFL-CIO due to their membership as the largest affiliate of that body. There was no consideration for the interests of the local that actually called the strike, voted on the strike, and, ultimately, are the people that have to work under any contract that is agreed upon by an employer, those actually faced with dealing with the everyday working conditions of that contract. We feel that possibly the AFL-CIO's involvement in this has been very unhealthy for the labor movement as a whole. There has to be a situation where the rank and file takes back control of the unions. If we're going to get into trouble with the AFL-CIO for saying that the rank and file should control the union, then I guess we'll have to get in trouble with them. It's clear that some of the interests being protected by the AFL-CIO aren't in the best interests of the rank and file. Turning the union back to the rank and file is what we're about.

When the strike first started we asked the UFCW for their support, what we got was a trusteeship. It's become apparent that the UFCW is not on the side of the workers, they care more about the solicitation of dues—that seems to be their primary concern, and they don't seem to care who they collect from. We've tried over and over again to get the UFCW to act like a union in Austin, and they don't seem to care about it. They care about maximizing profits for themselves and running the thing like a business, and it's not a business—it should be a union.

The rank and file has to be in control of any union that's going to benefit the members. The rank and file has to be put back into control in the packing industry, and that's what the North American Meatpackers is trying to do. We believe in two basic principles: that the rank and file control the union, and that union democracy is something that has to be protected at all costs. Union democracy is not working in the UFCW, and it has to in order to benefit the people that belong to the union.

... The success of the Hormel boycott is largely due to the feeling by people across the nation that we have a valid complaint. ... When we started this, we set out to get an honorable contract from the Hormel Company. Our contract was up, and they were demanding huge concessions which we thought the most profitable company in the packing industry was not entitled to. We set about to stop the downward concessionary spiral in the packing industry which seems to be promoted by the UFCW—concessions seems to be what they're selling—and for the most part they're not necessary. Most of the packers are profitable packers, contrary to things that have been said in the press. The Hormel Company is very profitable, and we were expected to take a huge concession while Management, in the person of Mr. Knowlton, got a 230,000-dollar-a-year raise in the middle of the strike. He also got a golden parachute which

BOYCOTT HORMEL PRODUCTS

amounts to wages for three years if he leaves the company for any reason, which would amount to 1.6 million million dollars. We set out to get an honorable contract from the Hormel Company and a safe workplace, and we didn't realize that we were going to have to organize the whole packing industry to do it.

The UFCW came here, put us in trusteeship, negotiated a contract with the Hormel Company that guaranteed that not one striker has been called back to work; they have limited the recall, they have negotiated a contract for the people in the plant, the scabs. Anybody who was not willing to cross the picket line was left out of the bargaining agreement and was sent withdrawal cards, and their callback to the company has been limited to two years. It's happened before: It's happened at Safeway; it's happened at ConAgra; it happened at Britt, Iowa; it's happened at FTL, it happened at Oscar Mayer. These are the things that the rank and file is starting to get tired of: People willing to honor a picket line are being punished by the United Food and Commercial Workers.

One of the things that's absolutely atrocious as far as I'm concerned is that the UFCW came to town and negotiated a contract with the Hormel Company that allows a 200% injury rate. We had a 202% injury rate in the Austin plant at the time we went out on strike, and the projections for '85 were going to be even higher. I don't

AUSTIN MEATPACKERS TALKING DEMOCRACY

know what kind of union could possibly negotiate a four-year agreement with a company and allow a climbing injury rate that's already at 202%.

[What progress have you made so far in organizing NAMPU?]

We do have a recognition election pending in Austin. We've also been in contact with other meatpacking workers. There is a lot of support for what we're doing. The rank and file is speaking to us about what they see wrong with the industry. This is not something that happens overnight. We're trying to start up a union here that's going to address the needs of the packing industry, and there's a lot of support there for it. The rank and file is not happy with what's going on.

The UFCW has been trumping up bogus charges from the very beginning. They continue to file them with the National Labor Relations Board to stall this election. They have tried to starve people out here: The union hall here is full of food donated by unions from all over the country—they decided not to give anything out for Christmas at all. The food they had on hand was kept from us and they gave it away to the Iowa beef strikers who'd been out for two weeks. I'm not complaining about the fact that they're giving them the food, I'm just saying that this was food that was donated to Local P-9, that Local P-9 had gone out and raised themselves, and it was sent to the UFCW for distribution, and the UFCW gave it away to other people. And that seems to be the problem: There's a union-sponsored lockout go-

workers anymore, they're not union people anymore. They become part of what we have to fight against in order to come up with a decent contract. The federation of locals would be a support group that would help a local union in any way that they could in their negotiations, and that's about the only way we're going to stop this downward spiral of concessions

We have seen through our experiences that the needs of the average worker are not being met. ... People are aware enough of their own situation in the workplace to control their own destiny, and should be given that opportunity.

The rank and file has to take control of their unions again, because the erosion of packinghouse work ... you know in '79 or '78 the packinghouses had one of the best contracts of all organized labor, and now we probably have some of the worst. That erosion has happened, by what the UFCW says, from corporate spinoffs and all that stuff, and to a certain degree that might be true; but when you allow those types of things to happen and when there is a bureaucracy that is not willing to address the needs of the people ... change has to come for packinghouse workers and other workers. This is not just a packinghouse problem, it's a problem of all workers everywhere. There's concessions being asked of everyone, and what we're saying is that the concessions have to stop, and we're willing to fight, and I know that there's a lot of people out there who are willing to help us, and that's what we're about.



ing here, they're trying to starve people out, and they're making it just as difficult as they possibly can.

[How will NAMPU be different from the UFCW?]

We'll be a rank-and-file union, that's how we'll be different. That is the key, that's the thing that everyone has to understand. We're looking for an industry-wide union that knows what the needs are of the packing industry. The only thing that is going to stop the concessionary bargaining in this is a union that is concerned with packing, and also, the packing industry has to have common expiration dates, and the union has to be controlled by the rank and file, that's the key to everything, and union democracy—the rank and file in control.

In 1978 nearly every packinghouse organized in this country had a contract which expired on the same day. What we have now is several hundred packinghouses where if there is more than one expiration date that occurs the same in any two locations it's merely by accident.

[In some of your literature, you talked about the new union operating as a federation of locals which sounds to me like you're talking about some changes in the way which unions have traditionally operated. Are we talking about a situation where each local controls its own strike funds and has absolute control over its bargaining situation?]

Each local would be autonomous, and each local would have control of its strike funds. It would be more or less a "one plant, one local" philosophy that builds the union. That's the way the packing industry used to be. That's one of the things that has to come back to the packing industry. Local people can take care of local problems, what we need is a national support effort, and a federation of locals that are willing to support each other is what would do the most good. International unions have become unions of bureaucrats that are not worried about the rank and file, the working person, anymore. When you've got union officials that make two and three hundred thousand dollars a year in annual salaries, with unlimited expense accounts and corporate jets and limousines, stuff like that, they're not

AUSTIN ----- ----- RALLY

On March 14th, 1986, the United Food and Commercial Workers ordered Austin, Minnesota Local P-9 back to work despite an overwhelming vote by the membership to continue their strike against Hormel. Trusteeship was the UFCW answer to the concept of union democracy. Let's be there this year to let them know how we feel about that answer and about the sandblasting of the P-9 mural.

On March 14th, 1987, a rally will be held in Austin to turn up the heat on the battle to force the Hormel-First Bank-UFCW Corporation to realize that the 1400 locked-out strikers and their international network of supporters will not rest until all these workers have their jobs back under conditions they will accept.

The action will begin with a parade through the city at noon, followed by entertainers and speakers at the National Guard Armory from 2 pm until Austin vibrates with energy. Leading the bill of entertainers will be our own Utah Phillips singing Wobbly favorites.

We will meet for the parade 11:30 am Saturday, March 14th, in front of the Austin United Support Group at 711 4th Avenue Northeast, (507) 437-4110. The rally will begin at 2 pm at the Armory.

In 1933 a Wobbly by the name of Frank Ellis organized Local P-9, and now they need IWW support again. Bring your little red songbooks and let's join with Utah Phillips in returning the music of the "singing union" to Austin once again.

If you can't make it because you're near death, send a check to the Support Group while you can still hold a pen.

The production of the Hormel-UFCW Corporation is reported to be down by about 50%. Let's twist the knife: BOYCOTT HORMEL!

Gary Cox

CLASS WAR AROUND THE WORLD-----

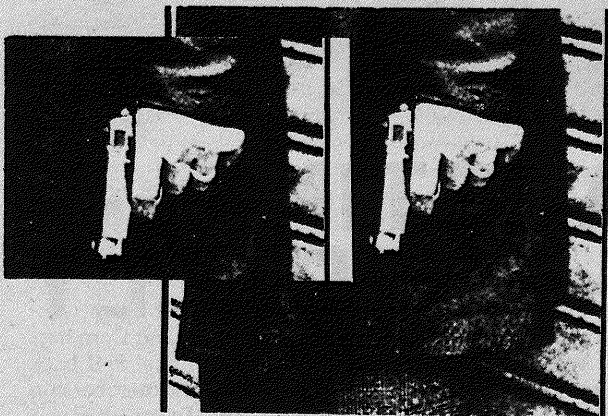
BOLIVIAN UNIONISTS JAILED: The Bolivian Government arrested 20 union leaders February 10th, threatening "tough action" to break the latest wave of strikes sweeping the country. In recent months, Government troops have broken up strikes and protest demonstrations, and hundreds of unionists have been jailed for fighting Government-imposed austerity schemes that have slashed real wages. Oil workers struck February 6th, demanding wage hikes to compensate for some of the effects of Bolivia's raging inflation, and were joined four days later by health-service workers. Teachers have also joined the strike, refusing to prepare for the school year, which begins in March.

Interior Minister Fernando Berthelemy ordered the arrest of 18 leaders of the oil workers' union and two teachers-union leaders, on charges of inciting workers to strike and insulting the authorities. Readers are urged to write the Bolivian Embassy (3014 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest, Washington DC 20008), urging an end to the repression of Bolivia's labor movement and the release of these fellow workers.



CNT-AIT WINS ONE: Last summer, the Santa Coloma branch of the CNT (Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union) was approached by 26 workers from the local HIPER supermarket (part of the huge Mare Nostrum chain). Workers were being forced to work unpaid overtime, weren't getting proper breaks, and weren't getting legally-required benefits. As the HIPER workers had to go to work to avoid getting sacked, CNT militants stood outside the shop, leafletting and explaining the situation to potential customers. Workers, meanwhile, got their breaks at the tills—as sales dropped to nearly nothing. When police efforts to stop picketing proved unsuccessful, the company threatened to close down the store.

Other CNT branches around Barcelona then began picketing various Mare Nostrum branches explaining the situation through megaphones to shoppers. Management hired thugs to clear pickets away from a supermarket in Sant Joan Despi, but neighbors formed a line in front of picketers, refusing to let the thugs through. The company was forced to capitulate shortly afterward. Once again, direct action gets the goods.



SPAIN: On the night of November 12th, 1986, vandals ransacked the offices of the Local Federation of Unions of the CNT-AIT in Sabadell, setting fire to a large stock of posters and leaflets produced by the Federation for use in their campaign to boycott the Government-sponsored Enterprise Committee (EC) elections. Caught at the scene of the crime was one Ignacio Martinez Sevillano, secretary of the Comarcal Federation of the CNT de Catalunya, the Catalan affiliate of the splinter CNT-Unificado.

Members of the CNT-AIT view the attack as a result of frustration at the CNTU's poor performance in the EC elections. Apparently, they hold the CNT-AIT agitation at least partially responsible for this dismal outcome. A straw poll taken by the CNT-AIT newspaper, *Solidaridad Obrera*, indicates that only about 30% of the workers eligible to vote in the EC elections bothered to go to the polls. Just how much of the 70% abstention was a result of the CNT-AIT's campaign is unknown. What is clear, though, is that Spanish workers are not overly enthusiastic about the Enterprise Committees.

IW readers will recall that the tactical differences over participation in the Enterprise Committees has been at the bottom of the split in the Spanish revolutionary union movement. This recent incident is only the latest in a whole series of violent clashes between the two factions since the split emerged in 1979. Regardless of one's position on the issues, this type of violent action has no place in the workers' movement and demands condemnation from all supporters of workers' democracy.

BRAZIL: In November 1986 a series of strikes on the railroads of Brazil profoundly affected the life of the country. In these strikes the Brazilian Workers' Confederation (COB), the Brazilian section of the International Workers' Association (AIT), played a significant role through the active participation of its militants in the public-transport sector.

The COB comrades had succeeded in forming an opposition union—the League of Railway Workers (LTF)—independent of the official railway unions. The general secretaryship of the LTF fell to fellow worker Leonard Morelli, who is also the secretary of the COB-AIT. The new union struck November 4th, paralyzing all of the country's railroads and urban transit. The workers organized public assemblies in the stations to demand better salaries and the implementation of better working conditions promised 10 years ago but never delivered.

The strike was a total success, recognized as such by the country's press and communications media, though it got no support from the main unions and was declared illegal by the Labor Tribunal. Comrade Morelli has been identified as the promoter of the strike at the national level, and has been tried along with other fellow workers for striking and sabotage. Penalties range from six months to a year in jail.

Another strike, this one supported by the main unions, took place December 12th. The Government responded with regular army troops to break the strike, resulting in more arrests. The COB is asking for international protest against the repression unleashed by the Government against the transport workers. Letters of protest should be addressed to Presidente Jose Sarney, Palacio do Planalto, Esplanada dos Ministerios, 70.160, Brazilia, DF; Dr. Paulo Brossard, Ministro da Justica, Esplanada dos Ministerios, 70.160, Brazilia, DF; and Ministro Almir Pazzianotto, Ministerio do Trabalho, Esplanada dos Ministerios, 70.160, Brazilia, DF.

BATTLE OF FORTRESS WAPPING

London police provoked a riot January 24th when they attempted to break up a demonstration by 12,000 workers marking the first anniversary of the printworkers' strike against media mogul Rupert Murdoch's British newspaper chain, News International. The strike began in January 1986 to protest Murdoch's introduction of new technology designed to eliminate more than 5,000 jobs. News International responded by firing all 5500 of its printers and moving its operations to the barbed-wire enclave in East London dubbed "Fortress Wapping" by strikers and supporters.



Since then there have been daily pickets supplemented by regular mass demonstrations bringing out thousands of supporters accompanied by frequent clashes with police. The demonstration on the 24th turned violent when mounted police waded into the crowd swinging truncheons. The police claim they were provoked by a barrage of firebombs, fireworks, beer cans, bolts, iron bars, and stones hurled by "outside agitators" bent on causing a riot. In all 162 police were injured in the fighting, with two ending up in the hospital. A few dozen demonstrators also were injured, and 67 people, only 13 of whom were printworkers, were arrested.

This strike, like the miners' strike of 1984-85, is a real test-of-fire for the British labor movement, a test the movement is badly failing. News International has been able to keep its papers coming out with the help of the scab-herding electricians' union (EPTU), and the Trades Union Congress has made no effort to stop this union scabbing. What support the printers have gotten has come from the rank-and-file level through rank-and-file efforts. Some of the support groups set up to aid the miners in their fight have turned their attention in the direction of the printers.

British workers, like their American counterparts and fellow workers throughout the world, need a new labor movement based on solidarity and direct action.

BRITISH PRINTERS END ANTI-MURDOCH PROTEST

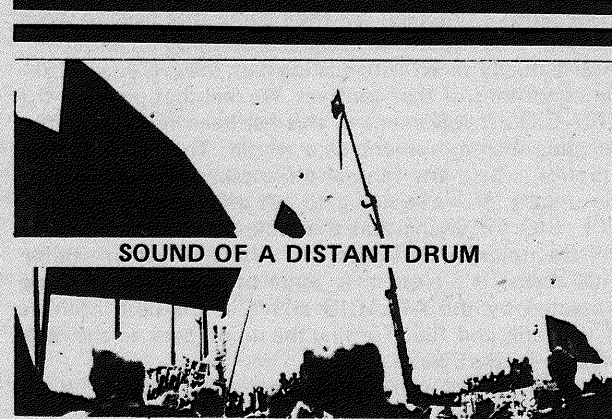
On February 5th, Britain's largest printing union, the Society of Graphic and Allied Trades, voted to stop its year-long protest against newspaper publisher Rupert Murdoch, effectively ending the country's most serious industrial dispute since the 1984-85 coal miners' strike. The confrontation was prompted by Murdoch's move in January 1986 to a modern newspaper plant in East London's Wapping, the dismissal of more than 5,000 printers, and their replacement by electricians operating computerized typesetting machinery. After Murdoch sacked the printers, the Wapping plant was steadily picketed by printers and supporters. Some 12,000 protesters rallied outside the plant to mark the first anniversary of the dispute, but Murdoch's papers were printed and delivered without interruption.

POLICE RAID BBC

During the last days of February, British police conducted a series of raids on the British Broadcasting Corporation in Scotland. The Special Branch of the Glasgow police made three raids in a 28-hour period during the weekend, seizing two vanloads of materials related to the BBC's six-part series entitled "Secret Society". Government officials maintained that the raids were carried out without high-level approval as part of a police investigation into disclosures about a surveillance satellite.

Since early this year the British Government has opposed the showing or discussion of the contents of one program in the series, saying the program compromised its highly-classified Zircon spy satellite.

That British governments are becoming more and more repressive comes as no surprise, as having no more empire to exploit, the British owning class can maintain itself at the level to which it has become accustomed only by intensifying its exploitation of British workers.



SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM

All the national political experts, having spent the last few weeks locked in their tiled art-nouveau loos examining the entrails of dead supermarket chickens, inform me that within a year Ma Thatcher and the British Tory Party will call on the British electorate to do a Gorbachev and vote her back into office by secret ballot as the First Minister of Queen Elizabeth the Second. And Crazy Lou, "Your Lovable Local Bookmaker", is taking bets that in that mood of "quiet desperation" beloved of the poet T. S. Eliot, the thinking, caring majority feel that in the *danse macabre* of the Western World, the jailer and the bowl of soup are preferable to the gutless radicals seeking empty offices with a diet of weak socialism overlaced with a pretense that it can be made to work under their control of a "caring capitalist" economy. It is all great fun, and to see the dreams and ideals of centuries frittered away must be treated as a joke, or old men would sit in the moon-shadowed streets among the jackals and abandoned lion cubs and weep for clouds to hide their sorrows.

For the British laborer it takes 10 minutes' work to earn the price of a large loaf of white bread, and 30 minutes to earn the price of a pint of beer. So comrade, let that be your guide in responding to the recent news that the boys in the boardroom of the Guinness beer makers illegally spent millions and millions of dollars working a take-over shares racket that they learned from American share dealers. And of all people only I was astonished when the Guinness directors were thus charged, for it had never occurred to me that any of the stock-exchange bright boys could ever do anything immoral or illegal. The Mafia, yes. The boys in the State pen with its rigid code of criminal honor whereby you never steal a sausage off a fellow prisoner's plate or the Salvation Army. But the stock exchange—why, man, they'll soon be legalizing driving cars through red lights.

Sir Ralph Halpern, chief of the zillion-dollar Burton Group, was voted millions of extra dollars (and I swear on this empty bottle of Guinness, comrades) by 2,000 cheering Burton shareholders, and Sir Ralph did not even have to carry his millions of dollars away in paper bags; for they were paid, or will be, into his bank. One feels that what had the shareholders of the Burton Group climbing the soft-lit walls within the plush Grosvenor House hotel AGM was the tabloid revelations of ol' Ralph's "affair" with a beautiful 19-year-old dolly, who blew the gaff front-page-wise that Sir Ralph, despite being in line for the State old-age pension, could perform "five times a night". Put that against the 10 minutes' labor required for a working man or woman to earn a loaf of bread, and you can understand why the fires die low on the headlands.

With the Special Branch of the political police breaking down the doors of the respectable middle-class radical magazine *New Statesman* (raiding the national television building with complete indifference to the cameras recording their actions for posterity), and the head of Britain's national television network sacked by a spineless board of BBC governors, one knows that the liberty and freedom of the people of Britain are indeed in peril. For after two terms of power the British right-wing middle class know that with them and Ma Thatcher back in power for a third term, the enchainning laws can come tumbling out of Parliament.

Arthur Moyses, London

BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT remains at 11.7% of the working population.

MORE CLASS WAR-----



DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE!

In a series of legal and industrial battles Britain's once-powerful unions have been brought to their knees. Since the conservative Tory Party took office in 1979, membership in the Trades Union Congress has fallen from 12.2 million to 9.6 million. Major strikes by steel, mine, and print workers have been broken through a combination of union scabbing and massive police repression.

In response, some segments of the British labor movement are turning to US-style business unionism, offering employers sweetheart deals in exchange for union security and sole representation. Most notable in this regard are the electricians' union and the Amalgamated Engineers.

The other major tactic being pursued is a closer alliance with Britain's Labour Party in hope of improving the legal climate for union organizing. The TUC has re-emphasized its relations with the Labour Party (and provides Labor with 80% of its funding), even while the Labour Party has taken to lecturing unions about how they're going to have to knuckle under and support the national interest (that is, the interests of the Government and the bosses).

High unemployment and the declining strength of the manufacturing sector have also undermined unions' positions. Yet the failure to carry out effective solidarity actions to shut down struck employers to build shop-floor industrial organizations to fight the bosses at the point of production, and to organize the unemployed are the real causes of Labor's present plight. Political maneuvering can't make up for a lack of solid working-class organization.

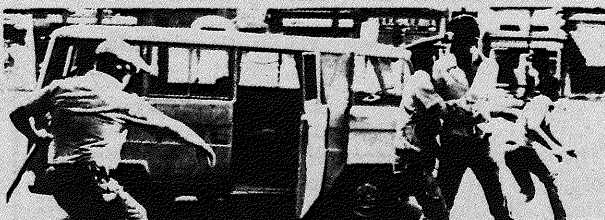
UNION OUTLAWED IN AUSTRALIA

Two activists in the Australian Building Labourers' Federation (BLF) were released from the Long Bay maximum-security prison in January after serving a term on "trespass" charges, which usually carry a maximum of a 50-dollar fine. Fellow Workers Owens and Black were arrested for the crime of visiting union members on the job after legal recognition of the BLF was withdrawn by the "socialist" government. BLF members walked off the job at the Liverpool Building Company's South Australia site to protest the arrests.

The arrests were the latest in a series of attacks on the militant BLF, which has been de-registered on both the federal and state levels for not abiding by the Government's anti-labor wage-fixing structure. In New South Wales, a bill is pending to require all building laborers to certify that they do not belong to the BLF in order to work. This campaign has been supported by the conservative New South Wales Labour Council and sections of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, which hopes to poach the membership of the de-registered/outlawed Building Labourers' Federation.

The BLF has a comparatively-democratic structure, and represents one of the more-militant strands of industrial organization in Australia. The union is determined to continue operations despite the Government repression, and BLF General Secretary Norm Gallagher refused to attend the April 1986 hearing where the Government won approval for its efforts to de-register the union, explaining that he had important union work to take care of.

According to *Direct Action* (the newspaper of the British Direct Action Movement), the campaign to free Black and Owens generated widespread support from metalworkers, transport workers, plumbers, electricians, and hospital workers across the country. The BLF is calling for international support, and both messages and donations may be sent to them at BLF, Room 2000, New South Wales, Australia.



GUATEMALAN ARMY DECIMATES UNIONS

Guatemala's struggling union movement has been hard hit by repression in the last six years. Unions began to reform in the 1960s and 1970s, following the CIA-sponsored 1954 military coup. By 1975 there were some 85,000 union members in three union federations.

Systematic repression resumed following a series of strikes in the late 1970s, which forced the Government to nearly triple the minimum daily wage (to its present equivalent of \$1 a day). The Government-directed death

squad ESA (Secret Anti-Communist Army) issued three death lists in 1978 and '79, naming 32 top union leaders and supporters. Over a two-year period the Coca-Cola workers' union lost eight union leaders to Government death squads.

Following the 1980 May Day march, some three dozen union activists were detained or "disappeared". The two bodies later recovered had been tortured and raped. Six weeks later 27 union leaders were arrested by Army Intelligence, while another 17 union leaders were disappeared August 24th.

Following the elimination or exile of the union leadership and the Government's abolition of civil liberties, unions were effectively decimated. The little union organizing that continued was done clandestinely. In 1984 alone, however, the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group estimated that 24 unionists were disappeared or assassinated. And the disappearances continued into '85.

At present there are two major union federations in Guatemala. The Confederation for Guatemalan Trade Union Unity was formed by the Rios Montt dictatorship in 1983, and enjoys the support of the AFL-CIO, which sends a reported quarter of a million dollars annually to support its operations.

The other union federation, UNSITRAGUA (the Guatemalan Workers Union Unity) was formed in mid-1985 and includes some 30 unions with 30,000 members, including the Coca-Cola workers' union. It is independent.

In June of 1986, Guatemalan President Arevalo—the country's first civilian president in 20 years—proclaimed that not a single union leader had been persecuted or harmed since he took office January 14th, 1986, pointing to this as proof of nascent Christian Democrat democracy. Five days later, Justo Rufino Reyes Alvarado, a leader in the Municipal Workers Union, was shot in broad daylight less than a mile from the National Palace. Two men were charged with his assassination; one was subsequently murdered, and the other was released for lack of evidence.

Information from *Multinational Monitor*

KMU OPTS FOR "RESTRAINT"

The KMU (May First Movement) union federation headed labor resistance to the dictatorship of former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos following its organization in 1980. The federation now counts some 600,000 members, and has gained a reputation as an independent and militant alternative to the US-backed Trade Union Congress of the Philippines.

Since the Aquino Government came to power, the KMU has pursued a policy of "maximum restraint" (designed to limit the number of strikes in order to give the Government political breathing space), signing an agreement late last year with nationalist businessmen for a moratorium on strikes and layoffs.

Labor Minister August Sanchez has praised the KMU as "more co-operative" than the TUCP, arguing that "We need industrial peace." "The leftist unions," he continues, "are more co-operative... with teams trying to control or contain any brewing strike. They are trying to support the Government by keeping down the number of strikes."

Yet the same issue of *International Labour Reports* that carries these remarks also notes that workers "have been disappointed by the failure of the Aquino Government to take measures to improve the desperate living conditions of the mass of the population in the Philippines, or to change substantially the repressive Labour Code.... Large numbers of workers are still being injured and even killed on picket lines at the hands of police and company thugs." In January several peasants were killed when the Army fired on demonstrators demanding agrarian reform.

Around the world, we see unions (many claiming to be "militant"), entering the political process, forging alliances with "forward-minded" members of the employing class, and subordinating workers' interests to those of the "nation" (the employers and the Government). Workers have paid a heavy price for such maneuvers, and for our failure to comprehend the basic fact that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Let's organize right, for industrial democracy and more of the good things of life.

X33117

FIRST WORLD CONFERENCE OF ATOMIC WORKERS HELD

More than 70 delegates from 12 unions in 9 countries attended the first world conference of atomic-energy workers in Toronto. Unions from Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and the US were represented.

According to the *OCAW Reporter* (the journal of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union), delegates discussed issues ranging from how to build support for nuclear technology to the need for safe waste-storage techniques and the dangers confronting nuclear-power-plant workers.

Delegates were optimistic about the future of the industry, though one French delegate urged a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants in view of the attendant hazards. But to judge from the report, delegates were less concerned with dangers to communities harboring nuclear plants than with risks to workers

on the job. Indeed, several delegates spoke of the need to bolster public support for nuclear power even while bemoaning the fact that their members were dying from radiation-caused diseases.

In an editorial in the same issue, OCAW President Joseph Misbrenner discusses the need for global unionism, pointing to the conference as a good example of what's needed. He's right, but he's also wrong.

The nuclear-energy workers' conference, like similar meetings of auto and IBM workers, points to a growing recognition that workers around the world face similar problems that can be addressed only by working together. But it also points to the inadequacy of the narrow vision that dominates most unions today. Atomic workers are justly concerned with issues like health and safety on the job. But surely unionism implies a broader notion of solidarity—one that would lead workers, in the interests of the health and safety of the entire community (most of whom are fellow workers), to push not to expand and protect the nuclear industry, but to shut it down and provide industry workers with alternative employment that does not endanger all our lives.

X33117

AUSTRALIAN NURSES STRIKE AGAINST CONCESSIONS

In September 1985, Australian nurses launched rolling strikes and work-to-rule campaigns against hospital authorities to block wage cuts and re-organizations. The campaign forced the Government to accept arbitration; but when the State Industrial Commission handed down an award granting virtually all of management's demands, the nurses were forced to strike.

Under the proposed award, wages and benefits for most nurses would be drastically reduced, general nurses and charge nurses would be demoted, and a new contract system would be implemented, greatly increasing current workloads.

In its effort to break the strike, the Government has threatened the nurses with criminal charges and damage claims, brought trespass charges against union officials, and threatened some strikers with de-registration (which would bar them from employment in their profession). Nurses hired through private agencies have been serving as scabs.

The Asian Workers Solidarity Link asks fellow workers to send letters of support to Irene Bolder, State Secretary, Royal Australian Nursing Federation, 25 Alma Road, Saint Kilda 3182, Victoria, Australia.

NATIONWIDE STRIKE PARALYZES GREECE: On February 16th, the second nationwide strike in five days brought Greece to a virtual standstill as over two million workers protested a wage freeze imposed by Prime Minister Papandreou's Socialist government. A million workers struck February 12th.



SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Amnesty International has issued an "Urgent Action" appeal for three South Africans who have been detained without charge or trial under South Africa's state-of-emergency regulations since last summer. Brian Sokutu, a free-lance journalist, was arrested June 16th. Donovan Nadison, a church youth worker, and Michael Coetzee, a labor and church activist who has been detained twice before, were arrested July 7th as they returned from a World Council of Churches conference. The three are among more than 1300 people being detained in the Port Elizabeth area alone.

Many detainees have been tortured and otherwise mistreated, especially during interrogations by security police. Nadison and Sokutu have become ill while in detention, and were hospitalized at last word. Amnesty International is urging airmail letters and telegrams to be sent expressing concern over the prolonged detention without trial of Coetzee, Nadison, Sokutu, and other peaceful opponents of apartheid; calling for their immediate release; and, failing that, demanding that Nadison and Sokutu be granted immediate access to independent medical examination.

Appeals should be sent to Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, Private Bag X463, Pretoria 0001, South Africa; J.C.G. Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and Communication, Private Bag X114, Pretoria 0001, and General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, Police Headquarters, Private Bag X94, Pretoria 0001. Copies should be sent to your local South African consulate.

Among other union activists still imprisoned at last word were Siphon Kubekha, Secretary of the Pulp, Wood, and Allied Workers Union, and Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union. Both unions are affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

**LEFT
side**



The Anti-War Movement is at last getting royal patronage. Prince Edward, an item of the British working-class taxpayer's overhead expense, has had serious qualms about continuing his military training, which has upset many people in high places, including his royal parents. The ordinary Brits on the street, however, do not share such feelings of indignation. Well do they know that Prince Eddie could have kept his royal trap shut, as his exalted position would have kept his royal derriere out of any battlefield danger. But apparently he chose to make waves, and though it is not known to what extent his reluctance to continue commando training is based on ethical grounds, he did indicate there are better ways he can use his time.

As one who believes that nothing is too good for the workers, your scribe feels that if it is good enough for royalty, it sure as Hell is good enough for the rest of us. After all, outside of revolutions, no war was ever fought with volunteers, no matter how much patriotic fervor draftees have professed once they found out they could no longer get out of it. Anyway, shame on you young proletarians the World over, that you should permit a member of the leisure class to be your vanguard!

It is not only those of us with dampened posteriors who are concerned about Freedomland's new immigration laws, but there are many sweatshop employers who fear that such laws may cut off their supply of cheap, underpaid labor. This is especially true of certain areas in the Southwest, like the Golden State of California, where upwards of several million workers employed in the harvest fields, garment factories, restaurants, and hotels are working below minimum wages, and profits have never before been so good.

But one need only assure these employers that no government is going to leave them in such a lurch, especially a government that continues to subsidize corporations at the expense and well-being of the Chelmitax payers. Now that the unions have allowed themselves to be busted by those politicians they had faith in, and workers in other parts of the Globe are living on poorer pickings, rest assured that our Stateside masters will not rest till we have become equalized with our less-fortunate brethren in other parts of this planet. For it is a basic economic rule that whatever you do not get paid for your labor stays in the pockets of your employers, and it is only a matter of time till English will no longer be the principal language spoken in Freedomland. Besides knowing how to communicate in Spanish, our grandchildren will have to familiarize themselves with Polish, Arabic, Creole, and who knows what else.

Over twenty years ago this column mentioned the phenomenon of "twin factories" straddling the border between Mexico and the US, which after the obscurity of that lapse of time are now in the news again. This is where the bulk of production is done by workers below the border at low wages, to be assembled as the final product by far-smaller plants on the Freedomland side. The operators of these twin factories promote this as an alternative to Stateside jobs going overseas, and it is indeed comforting to see how patriotic these employers are. Despite their professed Americanism, these babies are more inclined to share a global outlook with the members of their class in other parts of the World. Let's face it, Fellow Workers: If our employers have gone Global, isn't it high time that we workers start thinking in Global terms?

This planet of ours is getting smaller every day. An oil spill off the coast of England is going to louse up the swimming and fishing on the seaboards of the Western Hemisphere. The nuclear testing of some nation state flexing its pseudo-virility has an adverse effect on the breathing of people and other creatures in even the most remote parts of the Globe.

As this planet continues to shrink, the population of our fellow two-leggeds keeps on increasing. It will be some time before our species can hope to achieve zero population growth. Here in the supposedly most intellectually advanced country on Earth there are those in high influential places who are blocking any moves toward population control, so this planet's population explosion continues unabated.

Rampant industrial exploitation plus the "experiments" of the military maniacs lays further waste to the food-producing capacity of our Land and Water areas, and it is only a matter of mathematics that we are destined to share the fate of the dinosaurs, unless we take stock of our precarious situation and do something about it!

Draftees of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your generals! (And overlords!)

C. C. Redcloud

reader's soapbox

HAZARD AT HANFORD

To the *Industrial Worker*:

The purpose of this letter is to request that your publication give some coverage to the current situation at the Hanford nuclear reservation in the state of Washington. You are well aware of its historical importance in producing the plutonium for the bomb that devastated Nagasaki August 9th, 1945—the de-facto ending of World War Two.

In an effort to "catch up" to the Soviets, who are actually far behind in the nuclear-warhead race to destruction, the Reagan Administration ordered the production of an additional 17,000 nuclear warheads (the US already has 25,000 to 30,000). A large part of the plutonium for this effort has and will come from the Purex plant and nuclear reactor, both located on the Hanford reservation, almost on the banks of the Columbia River.

On April 26th, 1986, a Soviet nuclear reactor at Chernobyl suffered a hydrogen explosion, made known to the world several days later. The 10-year-old reactor, which had no containment dome, was similar in many respects to the nuclear reactor sitting on the banks of the Columbia, having been modeled after it.

In other, less spectacular and devastating 1986 developments, violations of Department of Energy safety regulations resulted in closure of the Purex plant for an unspecified period of time. On January 7th, 1987, their nuclear reactor was closed for 50 million dollars' worth of safety repairs, expected to take about six months.

Before proceeding with these occurrences, several points should be noted. The number of nuclear warheads necessary to destroy all Soviet military targets has been reliably estimated to be between 400 and 500. Therefore any number in excess of those figures must be assumed.

to be targeted on Soviet civilians, in violation of Nuremberg principles, an element of international law recognized by Article VI of the US Constitution, whose bicentennial we celebrate this year.

In addition to the arsenal of nuclear warheads deployed and in reserve, the US also has a stockpile of plutonium estimated at about 100 tons, enough to make an additional 15,000-plus nuclear weapons.

The President, the Department of Defense, DOE, and others constantly cite the undefined needs of "national security" when requesting funding. However in view of the excessive surplus of both nuclear weapons and weapons-grade material on hand to produce more weapons, the claim cannot be taken seriously.

Before being allowed to produce another gram of plutonium, critics say the War Department and DOE should be required to prove the need to a majority of the scientific community not beholden to the nuclear-arms industry. Others would require NRC licensing of any DOE facility, with safeguards required of civilian reactors to apply to military ones.

Still other critics of the Purex nuclear reactor have filed suit in federal court demanding that DOE be required to go through the entire environmental-impact-statement procedure before being allowed to re-start the reactor.

Activists in the Northwest have already instituted a weekly campaign of letter-writing to the White House and Congressional representatives. Demonstrations are planned for April 26th, the first anniversary of Chernobyl, in Richland, Washington and Portland, Oregon. If re-opening of the reactor at a later date appears imminent, demonstration organizers hope to have thousands in opposition both in Richland and on the Hanford reservation.

One further point needs to be made: Even after 50 million dollars' worth of safety repairs to the Purex nuclear reactor, it will still not have a containment dome, nor will it be able to withstand a hydrogen explosion such as the one that blasted Chernobyl and polluted the world.

Further technical information on the Purex reactor may be obtained by contacting the Hanford Education Action League of Spokane (HEAL), 325 South Oak, Spokane, Washington 99204, (509) 624-7256; the Hanford Oversight Committee; the Hanford Clearinghouse; the Palouse Clearwater Hanford Watch, Spokane; or the Washington State PSR. Addresses and phone numbers for the latter organizations will be provided on request.

Al Mangan

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 UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER 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.

MAY DAY 1987

The *Industrial Worker's* May issue will carry appropriate greetings and messages commemorating Haymarket and celebrating May Day, providing that they advertise neither commodities nor ideologies. Our rates are \$10 for one column inch, \$30 for four column inches, \$50 for a half-column, and \$100 for a half-page. All copy should be camera-ready; if not, please add \$10 to your remittance. Should we receive additional income from your greetings, we will produce an expanded 12-page issue featuring a surprise special supplement.

BOOK REVIEWS

My Mama's Dead Squirrel: Lesbian Essays on Southern Culture, by Mab Segrest, Firebrand Books, New York, 1985, 237 pages, \$8.95 paper

The author of this book was born and raised in the South and teaches English literature in Alabama. From this perspective she explores the "connection between those who see the world differently and those who want to make it different", as well as the existing connections between classical literature and the hierarchies of sex, class, and race. *IW* readers may be particularly interested in the chapters "Southern Women Writing", "Lines I Dare: Southern Lesbians Writing", and "Is This Landscape Pastoral?", as well as Segrest's account of the North Carolina trial of nine Klansmen and Nazis for the 1979 killing of five Communist Workers Party demonstrators.

plp

SO WHAT'S NEW ABOUT WHITE-COLLAR CRIME?

Dear *IW* Collective:

Isn't it time we graduated from the games of lib/lab/left ("good") statism, telling the police and IRS what they "ought" to do?

I'm talking about "Tax the rich!" and "Crack down on white-collar crime!"

The rich get their taxes where they get the rest of their money—from the workers who have to pay for everything in the end. And it's a liberal pipe dream that the workers will somehow be saved by giving the Government more money and power.

"White-collar crime" normally means non-violent crimes by employees against capitalist concerns, so what are we so het up about? True, they often get special consideration while others get a raw deal; but which do we want to spread—the special consideration or the raw deal?

I suggest we concentrate on what workers can do for themselves, and stop worrying about filling the Government's coffers and jails.

Merrill Moss Most

*EDUCATION *ORGANIZATION *EMANCIPATION



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

Industrial Worker

Carlos Cortez, Mike Hargis, Penny Pixler

General Secretary-Treasurer: Penny Pixler

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WAR IS THE HEALTH OF THE STATE



JOIN THE UNION OF YOUR CLASS

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

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

LOUISIANA: IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport 71133.

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MICHIGAN: Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197, (313) 483-3478. Meetings second Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. University Cellar !!! 660 Job Branch, 425 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197. People's Warehouse IU 660 Job Branch, c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids 49506.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-Saint Paul General Membership Branch, PO Box 2245, Saint Paul 55102. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

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

TEXAS: Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087, (713) 921-0877.

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

WASHINGTON: Bellingham General Membership Branch Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle 98144. Spokane IWW Group, PO Box 1273, Spokane 99210. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma 98405, (206) 272-8119.

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

Wages Continue to Decline

Wage increases provided under new union contracts continued to fall last year, reaching the lowest level since the Labor Department began keeping records nearly 20 years ago. New contracts provide for an average 1.2% first-year pay hike, increasing an average of 1.8% annually over the life of the contracts.

Some 2.5 million workers are covered by these contracts (the statistics exclude public-service workers and small shops); which fail to keep up with inflation and in many cases also include significant concessions on work rules and benefits. Non-union workers received an average pay hike of 3.5% last year.

Contracts in non-manufacturing industries provided average first-year pay hikes of 2% with average annual increases of 2.3% over the life of the contract. But union contracts in the manufacturing sector made this sorry performance look good. The manufacturing settlements reached last year provided an average wage decrease of 1.2% in the first year, and an average annual gain of only 0.2% over the life of the contract.

The Labor Department attributed much of the responsibility for these vanishingly-small pay "increases" (actually pay cuts when inflation is taken into account) to the impact of lump-sum payments that have taken the place of wage hikes in many contracts. Because these one-time payments are not figured into base wages, they are not taken into account in future negotiations and do not figure in future pay hikes. Some 40% of the 2.5 million workers covered by last year's major labor contracts received lump-sum payments.

What these figures boil down to is that while the last two years have seen some important battles against the bosses' demands for concessions, we're continuing to lose the war. We've got to organize—and organize right—if we're going to turn this thing around.

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Readers responded generously to our appeal for help in the January *IW*, contributing more in the last month and a half than in the previous six months. We thank you for this outpouring of support, which allows us, temporarily, to continue publication as usual. However our long-term financial woes are far from over. We hope that the flow of voluntary contributions will continue as we consider and develop long-term solutions to financial problems.

BOOKS FOR UNION PEOPLE

IWW PUBLICATIONS

- One Big Union (*about the IWW*) 1.25
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- IWW Songs: The Little Red Songbook 1.75
- Collective Bargaining Manual 2.50
- Workers' Guide to Direct Action35
- Unions and Racism 1.00
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- Rise and Repression of Radical Labor 3.95
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AVAILABLE FROM IWW LOCALS

- A Worker's Guide to Direct Action. 50¢ from New York IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028.
- Fellow Union Member. 10¢ each; 5-15 for 5¢ each; 16-500, 3¢ each; over 500, 2¢ from Tacoma/Olympia IWW, 2115 S. Sheridan, Tacoma, WA 98405.
- Introduction to the IWW. 10¢ each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- Solidarity Bulletin (*monthly publication*) \$10 a year from Vancouver IWW, P.O. Box 34334, Station D., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6J 4P3.
- IWW baseball caps (*one size fits all*) \$4 each plus \$1 each for shipping from General Headquarters, Chicago, or from University Cellar IU 660 Job Branch (checks payable to IWW), 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 48197.
- Amnesty for British Miners (*enamel and gold buttons*) \$10 each from Chicago IWW Branch, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, IL 60657. (All proceeds to British miners.)

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DID YOU NOTICE? DID YOU NOTICE? DID YOU

BOARD LIABILITY IN DELAWARE: Last June the state of Delaware—home of the largest companies in the US—passed a law allowing corporations to limit or even eliminate directors' financial liability except in cases of disloyalty, bad faith, or intentional misconduct. As consumers, for lack of better redress, are increasingly suing members of corporate boards of directors, there has been quite an influx of companies moving their legal residency to Delaware.

YET MORE HONDURAS WAR GAMES: Paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne Division spent two weeks in mid-February mock-invading Honduras. The exercise was intended to be noticed by the country's southern neighbor. The 750 soldiers were the largest ground force to be deployed in Honduras since a thousand Marines went ashore in a practice amphibious assault in 1983.

THIRD WOMAN ON AFL-CIO COUNCIL: In February Lenore Miller, president of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, was elected to a seat on the 35-member executive council of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The two other women on the council are Joyce Miller, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and Barbara Hutchinson, director of the women's department for the American Federation of Government Employees.

THE US AVERAGE WAGE is now \$8.85 an hour. A person working full-time at the minimum wage of \$3.35 earns \$6,969 a year. The New York poverty level for a family of three is now \$9,120.

MORE GM JOB CUTS: On February 12th General Motors announced the layoff of 3500 more workers, effective within a week. In mid-December the company announced its plans to lay off 24,500 workers and close eight plants.

1987 ANTI-WAR PROTESTS. On January 18th some 400 people rallied outside Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, Florida to protest the test launching of a Trident 2 missile, and 128 were charged with misdemeanor counts of trespassing. On January 27th 71 people were arrested for blocking traffic at the Nevada Test Site as an anti-nuclear demonstration commemorating the 36th anniversary of the first nuclear test at that site. On February 5th some 2,000 demonstrators returned to the Nevada site to protest US nuclear-weapons testing, whereupon 433 were arrested and charged with trespassing.

NEW YORK TEAMSTER OFFICIALS BRIBED: Former executives of Wedtech have told federal prosecutors that in addition to bribing government officials, they paid at least \$8300 a month to Local 875 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which represented many of the 1500 employees of the Bronx military contractor. A second union seeking to organize workers in the Bronx was given a single payment of over \$50,000 in cash "not to make any trouble".

THE MILITARY IN THE SCHOOLS: In 1985, military recruiters made at least 500 visits to Atlanta's 20 public high schools. In Madison, Wisconsin last year, recruiters came to some high schools an average of once a day throughout the school year. More than 227,000 students at nearly 1500 schools across the US now take part in the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

A SMALLER PROPORTION of jobless people receive unemployment benefits today than at any other time in recent US history. In the recession of 1975, nearly 80% of jobless workers received benefits; today, the figure is only 29%.

MORE THAN HALF of the 33.4 million Americans living in poverty do not receive food stamps. Those who do get stamps receive an average benefit of only 49¢ per meal. To make matters worse, the Agriculture Department ties food-stamp assistance to the "thrifty food plan", devised to help people through periods of short-term economic distress. When the plan was developed, the Department's nutritionists warned that families living at this level of expenditure for food would fail to get the recommended daily dietary allowance. Nevertheless, the Department now uses that plan as the norm.

MILITARY ENERGY FUNDS UP: About 61% of the Energy Department's 1987 budget was devoted to military programs, such as developing a nuclear reactor that would be sent into space to power parts of the "Star Wars" boondoggle. In 1981 military programs accounted for "only" 38%. Programs for energy conservation and development of renewable energy have been cut, both to free up money for the Military and for the reason that the market should determine what kind of energy and how much is consumed by the American people. Thus President Reagan vetoed a bill on appliance efficiency, eased fuel requirements for cars, and dropped home-insulation and solar-heating programs.

COLLEGIATE UNION BUSTING: Administration officials at Southern Illinois University have admitted spending nearly \$200,000 since mid-1984 in response to efforts by the American Federation of Teachers and other unions to organize some 2,000 faculty and staff members on its two campuses. The money was paid in 200-dollar-an-hour legal fees to the firm of Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather, and Geraldson, one of whose lawyers was quoted in the *Government Employees Relations Report* as saying "I come from the bomb-them-into-submission school of labor relations."

WRANGLER TO SACK 1200: The VF Corporation has announced plans to close eight Wrangler blue-jeans plants in Arizona and North Carolina and dismiss up to 1200 of its 50,000 employees.

MACHINE TOOLS 20% MILITARIZED: Machine tools are power-driven machines that cut, form, and shape metal. About 20% of the machine-tool output in the US is used in the military industry.

GE TO CUT 3,000 TURBINE JOBS: In mid-January General Electric announced that because of shrinking demand for steam turbines it would lay off more than 3,000 workers at turbine and generator plants in Lynn, Massachusetts and Schenectady, New York. Since 1981, GE has reduced its workforce by more than 100,000 via

layoffs, early retirement, and attrition. GE's worldwide employment, not counting the units of the RCA Corporation it acquired last year, was just under 300,000 at the end of 1986.

DEERE PLANT WORKERS SETTLE: In late January the 168-day work stoppage of 14 Deere plants in Illinois and Iowa was ended. More than 13,000 workers represented by the United Auto Workers went out on strike August 24th in a wage dispute. Salaried employees at the Company's non-UAW plant in Horicon, Wisconsin kept working during the strike. Details of the settlement are not available.

Abolish the Wage System

Another capitalist concept that we need to examine is the wage system and its concomitant concept, the right of private ownership of industry.

We have lived with the wage system for so long now that we assume it has always been around and is a necessary condition of life. The wage system, as we know it, came with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution. While some farmers, small-business owners, and others escape the indignity of having to rent their brains or labor to the owners of industry, their numbers are decreasing rapidly and more and more of them are having to enter the job market.

In the early 1900s, 80% of the American people were self-employed, mostly in small shops or on farms. Today, less than 80 short years later, those figures are reversed. Only 20% are self-employed, and 80% are wage slaves—a slave being someone who must work for someone else in order to survive.

Who are these "owners" who rent us at the lowest possible price, and how does this ownership come about? Through laws, of course: property laws, inheritance laws, civil laws. And who creates these laws? Those who own the most.

We have been duped. If the wealthy could figure out a subtle-enough way, they would convince us that they had bought the sun and the air and force us to send them a check each week for the use of these necessities of life. Far-fetched? They have already convinced most of us that they own the land, water, timber, coal, oil, and most of the other things for which we must pay or perish.

Henry Ford had a good idea with the automobile. Workingmen were summoned to Detroit to build a factory out of materials furnished by lumberjacks, miners, steelworkers, machinists, railwaymen, and others from around the nation. Other workingmen manned this factory and built its cars with raw materials produced and transported by workers all over the world.

But how did Ford wind up owning this factory? He didn't lay one brick or bolt one "I" beam together. He "risked his capital", I've been told, but that is hogwash, since Ford originally had no capital. The banks supplied the capital—and where do banks get capital? The labor of working people over many centuries has produced all the capital that exists. Capital is the product and common property of the working class.

But let's suppose for the sake of argument that capital did belong to the wealthy. Suppose the capitalists had money gardens and grew their own. Even then, I still would not be impressed with their "risk". If a business fails, do the owner's children go hungry? Do they go uneducated? Does the owner risk his life or health? Fat chance. I work in the oilfields—only one of many dangerous occupations where workers risk their hands, their lungs, their eyes, their lives day in and day out. "Risking one's capital" sounds very feeble by comparison, even if it was *his* capital he risked and not ours.

When a steelworker chooses to make that his life's occupation, he truly risks his family's future on the success of the steel business. He may "invest" 30 years of his life in a mill, only to have a freshly-hired accountant decide that there is more profit in oil and close the mill, leaving the steelworker and his family out in the street with no place to go. If "risk" is the chief prerequisite for ownership, who is risking what?

A few weeks ago I attended a meeting at which one young woman asked "Why don't workers buy their factories?" Well, we have—with over 300 years of hard and dangerous labor, with our health, sometimes with our limbs, and very often with our lives. We have paid for the factories in full. All that remains is to take possession of what is rightfully ours.

The IWW wants to abolish the wage system—to end the egregious rental of human beings. We propose to replace it by making working people full voting partners in the industries they have created, to be compensated as partners, not employees. The Henry Fords will be compensated for their ideas as any other fellow worker would be, and the Henry Fords will be owners just as all other fellow workers are owners. But no longer will they be allowed to hoard the fruits of other people's labor for themselves, and no longer will they be allowed to rob others of their human dignity by renting them like cattle.

The day is coming when a factory manager somewhere in the US will announce the closing of a factory to move it to Taiwan, where brains and labor can be rented more cheaply, and the workers will rise en masse and respond "Bullshit! Not *our* factory, you don't!"

Gary Cox

Test Yourself On Labor Leadership

In case you've ever dreamed of being a union bureaucrat, a new self-administered test can help you determine if you've got "the right stuff."

- Labor leaders should walk a picketline when:
 - they'll get their asses kicked if they don't
 - they've got nothing else to do
 - a bigger union leader is picketing
 - the photographers arrive
 - there is a picketline
 - hell freezes over
- Labor leaders should cross a picketline when:
 - it's a matter of principle
 - the union on strike had previously crossed their lines
 - the strike is illegal
 - their own staff are on strike
- Militance is:
 - old fashioned
 - counterproductive
 - communist-inspired
 - something that was needed in the 1930s
 - all of the above
- Concession bargaining is best characterized as:
 - a joint effort by labor and management to keep a business viable
 - a brilliant union strategy to minimize layoffs
 - surrender
 - the effort of food vendors to unionize

