

INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

NEWS

OF THE WORLD

★ EMANCIPATION

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CLASS STRUGGLE EAST AND WEST

It has become almost trite to speak of the ongoing crisis of world capital and the equally global attack on the living and working conditions of the working class. Massive unemployment, economic restructuring, and technological change are adversely affecting workers from every corner of the globe, under every existing political system. But while a vast majority of workers appear to be enduring these attacks passively, feeling themselves powerless to resist, others are fighting back.

IN THE WEST

In Spain, airline workers, dockers, educators, farmers, miners, steelworkers, students, and subway workers all have taken to the streets in recent months to protest the "Socialist" Government's austerity program and economic restructuring which has left more than 20% (nearly 3,000,000 of Spain's workers) unemployed. In addition, the Government wants to hold wage increases down to a bare 5% this year, well below inflation, further eroding the buying power of wages.

The angry mood of Spain's workers was revealed in all its intensity March 12th when virtually the entire town of Reinos, in the Basque region, rose up to battle the Guardia Civile (paramilitary police) in support of striking steelworkers. The combat, much of it hand-to-hand, lasted some two hours and left over 60 wounded, many of them cops who were attacked and disarmed by the populace.

The clash grew out of the strike of steelworkers at the Forjas y Aceros de Rinos, SA factory who were protesting company plans for restructuring that would have left many without jobs. As part of the protest action striking workers held the plant's director; the Socialist Councillor of Public Works and Transport, Enrique Antolin; and eight other plant officials captive in the plant. On March 12th, 300 Guardia Civile, including a contingent of the anti-terrorist squad (Unidad Especial de Intervencion), were dispatched to Reinos to liberate Antolin and the others. As Guardia Civile troops dispersed pickets with volleys of tear gas and rubber bullets, the UEI stormed the plant and released the captives. Workers blew the plant's whistle to alert the populace, who came into the streets to join the fight.

Also revealing of the more-combative attitude of Spanish workers was the failure of the Communist Party-dominated Workers' Commissions trade union (CC.OO.) to elicit enthusiastic response to its call for co-ordinated demonstrations in Spain's 40 capitals, also scheduled on March 12th, to protest the Government's 5% cap on wage hikes. In Barcelona between 5,000 and 15,000 responded to the call for protests; in Madrid between 5,000 and 25,000; in Valencia around 10,000; and smaller numbers elsewhere.

In contrast, the general strike in the coal fields of Asturias, convoked by the CC.OO. at the same time, was adhered to by 80 to 90% of the mine workers. Clearly workers are increasingly in the mood for something more potent than simple street demonstrations. Perhaps the anarcho-syndicalists of the CNT-AIT spoke for many with their refusal to take part in the CC.OO.'s days of protest. In a communique issued by the CNT-AIT's National Committee, the revolutionary unionists took the CC.OO. and the Socialist Party-controlled UGT to task for their active participation in the Government's anti-social policies, pointing out their support for the various



Spain's democratic Guardias Civiles prepare attack

social pacts entered into since the death of Franco. It is perhaps becoming clearer to Spanish workers that it will take more than street protests and token 24-hour strikes to break the back of austerity.

MEANWHILE IN EASTERN EUROPE

Direct action was also on the agenda in the Eastern branch of Capital. More than 10,000 workers took part in some 70 wildcat strikes in late February and early March to protest a Government-imposed wage freeze and rollback in the face of an 85% inflation rate, and the linking of future wage increases to increases in productivity. About half of the strikes took place in heavily-industrialized Croatia.

Government response to the strikes was to announce a 90-day freeze on prices for some goods and services, coupled with a threat to use the armed forces to deal with strikes if they begin to threaten the "Constitutional System".

Interestingly, these strikes have taken place in a coun-

try where a system of "workers' self-management" has been in effect for decades. In a typically sneering article in the March 27th *Wall Street Journal*, staff writer Barry Newman tried to pin the blame for Yugoslavia's staggering economy on the supposedly greedy and lazy "worker managers" who like to give themselves fat raises and pad the payroll with unnecessary workers. Newman then goes on to assert that there is hope in the emergence of a new breed of professional managers who "make decisions", and further asserts that the workers will be happier under this new arrangement. Of course it would never occur to the likes of Newman that it might be the capitalist market within which Yugoslav "self-management" operates that is responsible for the economic dislocations shaking Yugoslavia, rather than the concept of workers' self-management. Nevertheless, these recent strikes, as well as the more than 800 wildcat actions involving more than 80,000 workers that took place in 1986, show that even a veil of "self-management" cannot hide the face of exploitation or eliminate the class struggle.

URETEK: THIS PLACE STINKS!

A small contingent of workers employed by Uretek Incorporated of New Haven, Connecticut have been on strike since late February after 36 of the factory's 66 workers were diagnosed as suffering from liver abnormalities or non-infectious hepatitis. The illnesses are a result of their work, which uses the solvent dimethylformamide, or DMF, to turn solid polyurethane into a molasses-like substance that is then applied to bolts of fabric. The fabric is then sold to other companies that use it to make tarpaulins, sleeping-bag mattresses, and other products.

The discovery of the illnesses in December led the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to begin an organizing campaign at the factory, focusing on health and safety. Lack of proper ventilation, lack of safety equipment such as gloves and respirators, and lack of training in the use of DMF are cited by workers as the main issue in the dispute. The workers are striking not for union recognition (the NLRB vote is scheduled for May 5th), but over the horrendous conditions in the plant. They vow to remain out until federal and state health officials declare the plant safe, and it could take until late May for OSHA to make a decision.

This issue of The Industrial Worker is dedicated to the memory of Fred Thompson who devoted his life to the Emancipation of Labor in the true spirit of May Day.

Fellow Worker Thompson, Salute!

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NORTH AMERICAN LABOR NEWS

BLACK CAT IN THE SPAM

The campaign to "turn up the heat on Hormel" has touched off a wave of spontaneous working-class creativity.

Advertising cards that are found in magazines with "return postage guaranteed" stamps are being returned by the thousands with nothing but a "Boycott Hormel" sticker on them. Industries having to pay this postage are putting some heat on Hormel. Chain letters are being spread throughout the US asking people to boycott Hormel products and to copy the letter and send it to six friends. Copies of the chain letter can be obtained from the Austin United Support Group, 711 Fourth Avenue Northeast, Austin, Minnesota 55912, phone 507-437-4110. They also have a plentiful supply of boycott stickers, buttons, bumper stickers, T-shirts, caps, and the like, and they put out a monthly newsletter called *Support Report* to keep readers abreast of P-9 activity for \$10 a year.

There are rumors that key clubs are forming all across the country. Keys are being broken off Spam and ham cans in supermarkets and mailed to the Hormel Company, 501 16th Avenue Northeast, Austin, Minnesota 55912, phone 507-437-5611. Ever take home a 16-dollar ham and find there is no key on the can? Hams, bacon, sausage, and weiners are being slashed or dumped behind slow-moving products to spoil. Hopefully, these rumors aren't true, because this would be wrong. Boycott stickers are being placed over the prices on store shelves, and leafletting is going on everywhere.

Anyone who thinks the Hormel Company isn't worried about the boycott should take note of the sales Hormel is having on all its products. Any black cats strutting through your neighborhood?

Here in Denver about a dozen of us are preparing a benefit concert on May 18th for the Hormel strikers and their families. We hope to raise \$8,000 to send to Austin, Fremont, and Ottumwa. Pete Seeger and Jane Sapp have just finished an album of union songs and have agreed to donate their time and talent to the concert. We have borrowed their album title—"Carry It On!"—as the theme for the benefit. John McCutcheon and Larry Long, both long-time P-9 supporters, will also appear gratis, and local entertainers will include Su Teatro, a Chicano theater group, and Boulder folksinger Scott Seskind. We had no trouble getting entertainers to help us out. Our problem, rather, has been too many requests to appear. This concert may last a week!

Ray Rogers, Jim Guyette, and a dozen other strikers are coming to Denver, and we're lining up speaking engagements and information rallies before and after the concert. We're hoping Pete Seeger will draw lots of attention from the media. The black cat doesn't always tiptoe.

In case any of you are interested in doing something similar in your area, we first contacted a sympathetic professional promoter to help us put this concert together. Next we rounded up a dozen energetic P-9 supporters from several different unions, including Wobbly printer Lowell May, whose energy and talent match his ample frame, to print tickets, posters, and flyers. The rest just fell into place because the mood of America is beginning to shift rapidly from lethargy and apathy to anger and action.

The promoter, entertainers, sound and lighting people, and supporters have been super, and the tickets are selling very well at \$12 each. P-9 has been very supportive and has agreed to send as many speakers as we need whenever we need them.

Our immediate goal is to raise money for the meatpackers; but just as important, we also want to reach as many Colorado people as possible with the message that a struggle is going on: a struggle for human dignity, for democracy, for a living wage under safe conditions. And as P-9 says:

If not here, where?
If not now, when?
If not us, who?

Boycott Hormel!

Gary Cox

WAR OF ATTRITION CONTINUES IN MEATPACKING

The war of attrition continues in the meatpacking industry as isolated local unions try to resist concessions.

Some 850 members of Local P-40 of the UFCW have been on strike against Patrick Cudahy Incorporated of Wisconsin in response to company demands for another wage cut, the third in four years. The company wants the lowest-paid workers in the plant to give up as much as \$3 an hour, bringing their pay down to \$6.25 an hour. While support has come from local unions and individuals in the form of donations of food and money to sustain the strikers, the lack of an overall, coherent strategy by the UFCW to meet the meatpacking capitalists in a unified way dooms such local resistance to isolation and eventual capitulation to company demands.

Nevertheless, a boycott of Cudahy products has been called for; so don't buy meat products with USDA EST 28 stamped on them.

Another ongoing battle is taking place at Iowa Beef

THE MARGINALIZING OF THE WORKFORCE

In the last 20 years, especially in the last five, the number of part-time and temporary jobs has grown enormously—at the expense of full-time jobs. 9 to 5, the National Association of Working Women, has uncovered the following statistics about this trend.

In 1986, part-time jobs in the US grew faster than full-time jobs, yet more than 5.5 million people who work part-time would rather work full-time. The temporary-help industry is the third-fastest-growing sector of the US economy. In 1985, five million people worked at temporary jobs, though most of them would rather have full-time, permanent jobs. Women hold 66% of part-time jobs and 62% of temporary jobs, such as department-store clerks, flight reservationists, secretaries, data-entry clerks, and hotel and restaurant workers. One out of five temporary workers is black, about twice the proportion found in all other jobs.

Some 28% of all part-time jobs pay the minimum wage, compared to only 5% of all full-time jobs. The hourly wages of part-time workers are about 58% of the hourly wages of full-time workers. Only 16% of all part-time workers and very few temporary workers have health-care coverage available through their employers. Only 27.5% of workers employed less than 20 hours a week are covered by pension plans. Almost 35% of women who are working at or looking for part-time jobs say they would work more hours if good child care were available. But it rarely is.

IN THE KNOWLEDGE FACTORIES

A lawsuit currently pending in the California courts challenges the University of California's right to make tenure and promotion decisions based on secret reviews and anonymous criticisms. The American Federation of Teachers, which has been trying to organize University faculty members for years, contends in its lawsuit that academic employees (faculty members, researchers, and librarians) affected by the secret-review policy are often denied tenure (thus losing their jobs) or promotion on the basis of wholly-false information inserted in their files during the review process. Because employees are not allowed to see this information, they cannot correct errors, defend themselves against criticism, or protest the inclusion of slanderous or irrelevant material.

The AFT suit documents several instances in which the secrecy of the tenure process has been used to cloak the denial of tenure on blatantly-political grounds (discovered later accidentally or through lawsuits), and contends that secrecy serves as a "screen behind which discrimination [especially against women and minorities] may be hidden".

Although a handful of universities (such as the University of Oregon) do allow academic employees complete access to their personnel files, most of them keep this information secret. "Countless careers have been damaged, if not destroyed, under this unfair system," the AFT argues in its Memorandum of Points and Authorities, "a system that insulates [administrators/management] from accountability, and protects bias and error".

ORGANIZING STUDENT WORKERS

Teaching assistants at the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus voted overwhelmingly in favor of union representation April 8th and 9th, following a bitter anti-union campaign by University administrators. The Teaching Assistants Association won substantial gains in the 1970s for TAs, who bear a major portion of the University's teaching load, before losing a five-week strike in 1979.

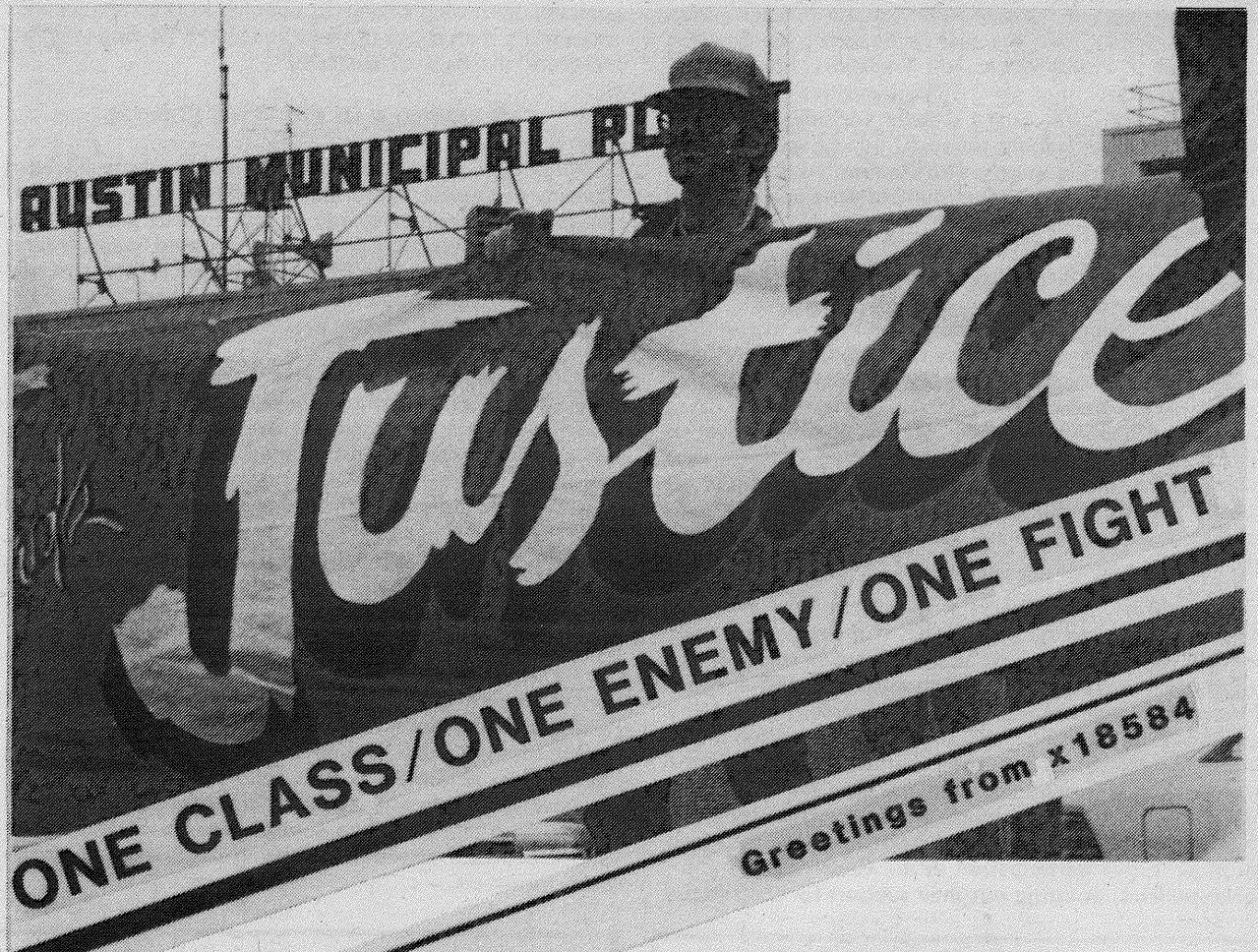
In the wake of the strike, the University launched reprisals against union officials and refused to bargain with the TAA. The union persevered, however, concentrating its efforts on fighting individual grievances and lobbying lawmakers to bring the TAs under the state's public-employees legislation. Unfortunately, while this enabled the TAA to force a representation election, it also makes strikes illegal.

Teaching assistants are organized at only a handful of universities, including Florida, Michigan, and Oregon. Yet even though these unions suffer from high turnover, they have succeeded in winning higher-than-average (for TAs) wages for their members and have restricted the widespread practice of making TAs work unpaid extra hours.

Also active at the University of Wisconsin is the Memorial Union Labor Organization (MULO), representing student workers at the campus's student union. While MULO does not have legal recognition, in its 16 years of unofficial unionism it has succeeded in winning better wages and working conditions through direct action and aggressive use of the University's grievance machinery. A recent edition of the *MULO News* argues that "The cause of labor is the hope of the world. The hope of labor is the welfare of all."

CALL FOR COPY (2)

The *IW* staff would like to encourage readers to send articles about child care and class, whether from the viewpoint of parents, children, or child-care workers; about race and class; and about labor-union/worker activities in Canada and Mexico. All copy should be typed double-spaced, with ample margins. If we use it, we'll send you a free copy of Henry Pfaff's *Didactic Verses*.



Processors (IBP) in Dakota City, Nebraska, where 2,000 workers voted March 25th to turn their three-month-old lockout into a strike when IBP bosses announced that they were going to resume production with scabs. The members of UFCW Local 222 were originally locked out when they refused to accept a four-year wage freeze and the imposition of a permanent two-tier wage structure. Dakota City IBP workers have gone without a pay raise for nine years, and were even forced to take a pay cut in 1983, bringing their pay down to \$7.90 an hour.

IBP, a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, is an especially hard nut to crack. It has not signed an agreement yet without a strike, and its Dakota City plant is well

outfitted for the accommodation of strikebreakers. Many of the past strikes have turned violent due to workers' isolation. Indeed, the National Guard has already intervened once in this latest dispute, having been dispatched to Dakota City in January at the very beginning of the lockout.

The lockout/strike at IBP, the strike at Cudahy, the continuing battle against Hormel, and other actions all show the absolute need to unify the struggle of meatpacking workers against the bosses' drive to push wages down to the bottom of the barrel. Without industry-wide organization and action, each local dispute is doomed to defeat. Anyone for One Big Meatpacking Union?

ON THE INDUSTRIAL BATTLEFRONT-----

GM WORKERS STRIKE

Some 9200 UAW members struck three General Motors truck and bus assembly plants in Pontiac, Michigan March 26th to pressure the company to settle more than a thousand outstanding grievances over health and safety violations, speedup, and outside contracting. In addition to the "official" reasons for the strike there was also general discontent with GM's attempt to pit local unions against each other, as happened earlier this year when the company announced that it would move its medium-sized-truck production to a plant in Wisconsin after workers in Pontiac refused to accept certain work-rule changes demanded by the company. Picket signs bearing slogans like "Enough Is Enough", "No More Give-Aways", and "No More Take-Aways" indicate that rank-and-file workers, at least, were out on the line over more than what the union was bargaining for.

The strike ended March 29th when 1,339 workers, out of a local membership of over 9,000, voted 1,314 to 25 to approve an agreement tied to the general GM contract that expires in September. Local 594 spokesperson Bob Schroeder claimed that the union "... got everything we wanted on the strike issues and most everything we wanted on the other issues".

Yet while the "official" strike issues were settled, it is obvious from the low turnout in the ratification vote that the *real* issues of concessions and job loss (3700 jobs are slated to be axed in Pontiac by 1990) have yet to be resolved.

Plant closings are a big issue with GM workers in general. In February, on the anniversary of the Flint sitdown strike of 1937, 2,000 UAW members rallied at Fisher Body Number 1 in Flint to protest the plant's closing. On March 21st 3,000 auto workers from Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio demonstrated in Detroit against plant closings. Other such actions are planned for the future.

While rallies and demonstrations serve to keep the issue of plant shutdowns and the hardships they cause before the public, and allow workers to vent some of their frustration, they are useless when it comes down to actually preventing shutdowns. While some in the labor movement are urging support for legislation to either prevent plant closures or cushion their impact, workers would be better off following the example of

our forerunners of the 1930s, or the Caterpillar workers in Scotland today, and occupying the plants threatened with closure, holding the machinery hostage, and perhaps even resuming production under workers' control.

CORPORATE ETHICS

The Bic Corporation is facing increasing lawsuits on behalf of people who have been burned and in some cases killed by fires caused by defects in the company's disposable butane lighters. Although claims began to trickle in soon after Bic introduced its throwaway lighter in 1972, the company has until recently been able to keep cases quiet by settling them out of court, usually making secrecy one of the terms of settlement. When a case has gone to court, Bic has chosen to settle precisely at the point in the litigation where the court orders the company to disclose how many other similar injuries it is aware of.

Bic will not disclose how many lighter claims it has settled, but lawyers familiar with the litigation say there have been more than 20, ranging from \$5,000 to almost \$500,000. Yet for a couple of pennies extra per lighter, the company could have added a cap to each lighter that would drop over the valve when the user's thumb is removed.

When management doesn't care, it's time for workers to start asking questions about what they're making.

SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN AND MINORITIES RECEIVE COMPARABLE PAY HIKES

In late March, the city of San Francisco agreed to pay \$35.4 million in special raises to women and members of minority groups who have been paid less than white men in jobs of comparable worth. The two-year agreement calls for raises of 4.5% July 1st 1987 and 5% July 1st, 1988 for more than 12,000 city and county employees concentrated in lower-paid jobs including clerk-typists, librarians, licensed vocational nurses, hospital workers, and many school employees.

In November city voters approved an amendment to the City Charter directing the Civil Service Commission to make yearly salary surveys to be used by the Board of Supervisors to effect pay raises. Unions representing city workers have been negotiating more than five years with

the City over the issues. Paul Varacalli, executive director of the Service Employees International Union, which represents half the city's workers, said the first salary survey found that female and minority-group members were paid an average of 42% less than white males in similar jobs. The union leader called the settlement a good first step, but said there's a long way to go.

The only larger such settlement was reached December 31st, 1985, when the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees settled its federal lawsuit against the State of Washington by agreeing to provide \$46.5 million in raises over a 15-month period and an additional \$10 million on every July 1st thereafter through 1992 for 15,000 employees.

RUMBLINGS IN POLAND

Rumblings of discontent could be heard in Poland in late March as the Government once again proposed to raise prices on some basic commodities. Since 1981, when Poland's General Jaruzelski came to power in a coup and outlawed the independent trade union Solidarnosc, there have been three rounds of price hikes. In 1982 prices were increased 200 to 300%, in 1983 25%, and in 1986 19%.

The latest Government proposals would have raised the price of food 13%. However growing protests, including some work stoppages, forced even the Government-sponsored trade-union federation to threaten strike action if the proposed increases were not suspended or reduced. In a bid to head off more-radical action by Solidarnosc, the Government and the official trade unions cut a deal whereby food-price increases would be held down to 6.9%, while gasoline would go up 25% and cigarettes and alcohol 20%.

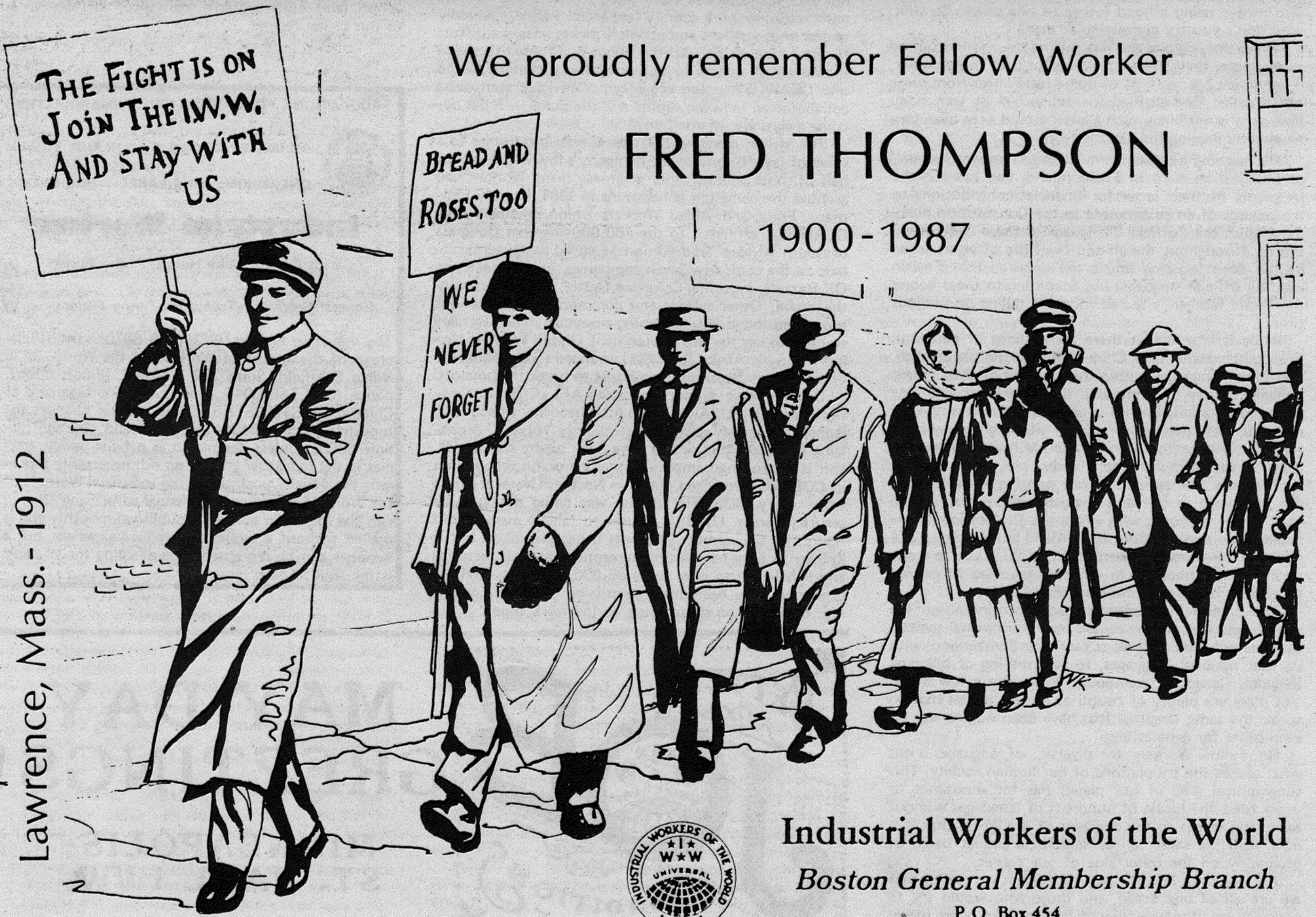
This latest round of austerity measures is in direct response to demands for "economic reform" required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as its price for helping Poland gain control of its 35-billion-dollar debt to Western banks. (Poland rejoined the IMF last June after a 36-year separation.) But although the Polish Government is willing to bend over backward to accommodate the banks at the expense of Polish workers, it still has to deal with a bloodied but unbowed working class.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

We proudly remember Fellow Worker

FRED THOMPSON

1900-1987



Lawrence, Mass. - 1912



Industrial Workers of the World

Boston General Membership Branch

P.O. Box 454
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

LEFT
side

So the embassies of the two great World powers have been bugging each other. What can one expect of a global society where the shots are called by only a minute segment of the population? Obviously they don't seem to trust each other, and it behooves us lesser mortals not to trust either of them.

It reminds me of a comic strip some years back in which a respected general was asked what he thought about secret surveillance, or bugging, and his reply was that it all depended on who was the bugger and who the buggee. This particular panel was not published in England, where "bugging" has a different connotation. If you're wondering what that connotation is, just ask my fellow scribe Arthur Moyses.

There is talk of having a "space station" constructed in outer space, and already a dispute is arising between the eggheads and the boys in the "Defense" Department as to who should control it. It will be left to the reader's imagination to ponder the eventual possibilities of bugging devices implanted in outer space.

It is estimated that this space station would cost over 20 billion dollars. And even if this colossal enterprise in the heavens is built at a safe distance from the installers of bugging devices, it will be us Earthbound rabble who will remain the recipients of the bugging process as the verb is understood in Merrie Olde England.

One cannot help but wonder why 20 billion smackers should be shot into outer space, when that much bread could be put to much better use right here on old Terra Firma. Spending the money we working stiffs worked so hard for in such an unproductive way is truly obscene when it is considered that a child in Trinidad or Costa Rica, two countries that cannot boast the affluence of Freedomland, has a better chance of living through the first year of life than a black child born in Washinton DC. Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Holland, Hong Kong, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland all have lower infant-mortality rates than Freedomland.

It would seem that the "Greatest" could find something better to compete in than the space race, and there are those who say that Uncle Sammie is on a "macho" kick as the term is understood up here. But that particular word borrowed from your scribe's native tongue also means being a good father to one's kids. So Unk, why don't you try competing at that?

When the jingoists are not getting their jollies out of outer space, they still find targets for their moral fervor. Your scribe has in front of him a form letter from some outfit called English First (passed to him by somebody else, as it is not likely such a letter would have been sent to anyone bearing his surname).

The authors express alarm at the "rampant spread" of bilingualism here in Freedomland, and beseech the recipients of their letter for financial contributions to the passage of an amendment to the Constitution making English the "official" language of these "liberated" shores. Throughout the all-too-brief life of yours truly, he has been laboring under the delusion that English was the official language, but according to these babies the Prime Minister's sacred idiom is falling on perilous times.

While it is true that there are millions of people in Freedomland who speak Chinese, Korean, Polish, Spanish, and other languages within the confines of their ethnic bailiwicks, they all know that if they want to compete in the job market, English is an absolute necessity. And many of these people spend night after night away from their families or the corner watering hole so they can learn to speak English proficiently.

They can't be accused of not wanting to understand the "language of the land", which is more than can be said for the goofballs who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and later initiated 374 "solemn" treaties that were never kept. If you're wondering which treaties I'm referring to, they all carried the words "as long as the grass shall grow".

The English First advocates are worrying about the divisiveness that can be caused by a multilingual society. But one only has to look at tiny little Switzerland, with its four national languages, to say nothing of bilingual Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, and quite a few more. Yet there are plenty of countries on this planet that do speak the same language that have been waging war on each other for generations.

No, Fellow Workers, the diversity of languages is not what causes the tribulations of our human society. This geographical area of our planet has for thousands of years been the locale of hundreds of languages without being the threat to the denizens of the World that it is now. And the same can be said for a similar patch of geography on the other side of our planet.

All languages become beautiful when we realize that we are all of one breed, and those who would try to convince us otherwise should be sent into outer space.

C. C. Redcloud

SOUTH AFRICA: WORKERS STILL FIGHTING

BUSINESS UNIONISTS REGROUP

The South African Government last month outlawed any action, word, or written document protesting the practice of detention without trial or calling for the release of detainees. Anyone who signs a petition, makes a public statement, or attends a meeting to honor, support, or call for the release of someone detained under security regulations faces up to 10 years in prison and a 20,000-rand fine (about \$10,000). More than 700 people defied the edict April 13th at an Anglican church service held to call for the release of detainees.

Some 250 wives and children of black coal miners have moved into men-only company housing at Anglo-American mines in a National Union of Mineworkers-sponsored effort to break the century-old system of separating workers from their families. "They have come to stay," noted NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, predicting conflict if police try to evict them.

The Gencor mining company has announced its intention to introduce family housing for workers, while several companies are reportedly holding talks with the NUM. The union is demanding that family housing be built, and that as an interim measure the company-owned hostels be managed by elected workers' representatives. The union is also seeking a 55% pay hike in talks aimed at reaching a new contract.

In February, miners at Gencor's Stilfontein mine were tortured by Gold Fields Security guards investigating missing food. At least two miners were given electric shocks and beaten.

Over 30 miners died April 10th in an underground explosion at the General Union Mining Corporation's (Gencor) Ermelo mine, in what newspapers reported as South Africa's second coal-mine explosion that week (no details were available on the other). The National Union of Mineworkers accused Gencor of failing to implement adequate safeguards following a methane-gas explosion at the same mine that killed 11 workers in November 1982. The company also owns the Kinross gold mine, where 177 miners were killed in an underground fire last September.

A CLASS WAR OF ATTRITION

Over a thousand workers were arrested and detained during the recently-settled OK Bazaars strike, most on minor picketing charges, but 161 under the state-of-emergency legislation. Security police burst into a union meeting in Port Elizabeth, telling workers that they were not allowed to picket, were going to lose the strike, and must return to work soon or face arrest. Police repeatedly raided union offices and attacked picket lines in an effort to break the strike, and the union was forced to spend thousands of dollars to bail out jailed picketers. Noted one CCAWUSA union organizer: "We have seen overt collaboration between capital and the State... it has become a class war of attrition."

The strike, covering 137 stores, was in response to a wave of layoffs, and to the company's low wages—about half of those paid by other organized firms. Workers had granted the company concessions in 1984. In early February, Food and Allied Workers Union members (like CCAWUSA affiliated to the 700,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions) refused to deliver products to the company. Seven companies selling directly to OK Bazaars, including Coke and Nestle, were affected by the move. Other unions and community organizations supported the strike, launching a boycott of OK Bazaars stores, though the pro-government United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) arranged to bus hundreds of supporters to stores in an effort to break the boycott.

Despite some support from the AFL-CIO's international arm, UWUSA has made little headway since it was launched last May. UWUSA is the only "union" organizing black workers not to have been hit by detentions, and it approached employers seeking union recognition in COSATU-organized plants in Northern Natal at a time when every COSATU official was being detained by security forces. UWUSA refuses to release membership figures or the number of plants it has organized, but is known to have recognition agreements at four factories and is believed to have some 35,000 members. UWUSA organizers have been given permission by many companies to recruit on shop floors during work time.

Following the collapse of the conservative Trade Union Congress of South Africa, several former TUCSA and independent unions are working to form a new, multi-racial labor federation on more-moderate lines. There are some 600,000 workers in unaffiliated unions, many former TUCSA affiliates. The proposed federation would focus its efforts on gathering information and statistics on wages and working conditions.

Meanwhile, more information on the merged Council of Unions of South Africa/Azanian Council of Trade Unions has become available. CUSA/AZACTU was organized late last year with some 248,000 paid-up members representing most major industries. The federation's founding documents proclaim that CUSA/AZACTU is "based exclusively on the broad democratic aspirations of the most oppressed and exploited".

CUSA/AZACTU is organized on five basic principles: "worker control" (left undefined), "black working-class leadership", non-affiliation to political organizations, financial accountability within unions, and the right of affiliates to autonomy within the framework of federation policy. CUSA/AZACTU has rejected international affiliation (CUSA has historically been a major recipient of AFL-CIO "foreign aid", and was affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), denounces foreign investment as perpetuating "exploitation and oppression... its continued presence in our country is not in the interest of the working class", proclaims "the emancipation of women... an integral part of the national liberation struggle", and admits non-blacks to union membership though barring them from holding office.

Meanwhile, a debate is under way within COSATU—South Africa's largest and most-militant labor center—as to whether the union is placing too much emphasis on political (rather than industrial) struggles, and becoming too close to non-working-class organizations like the United Democratic Front and the ANC.

A recent article in the *South African Labour Bulletin* estimates that at least 6.5 million black workers were unemployed in 1986. The average unemployed worker goes many months—often more than two years—between jobs, receiving few or no jobless benefits.

The need for international labor solidarity with our fellow workers in South Africa remains as pressing as ever. It is not enough to pass resolutions or to lobby politicians for sanctions; what is needed is industrial action (and other material assistance) to force an end to this brutal regime.

JB

*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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MAY DAY GREETINGS!

MINNEAPOLIS-
ST. PAUL IWW

ON THE WATERFRONT IN EUROPE

(Note: The following article, originally entitled "The International Social War: The Current Struggles in European Ports", is reprinted from *La Estiba* (December 1986), the monthly publication of the Spanish dockworkers' union Coordinadora. Translation by Mike Hargis.)

THE BELLIGERENTS

(1) A fraction of large multi-national capital: the shipping firms that ensure the intercontinental transport of general merchandise (all manufactured products) with containerized cargo ships. This fraction represents about a tenth of the world's shipping companies. Their countries of origin: the United States, Israel, Taiwan, South Korea.

The capital investment needed for launching such an intercontinental service of containerized shipping runs into the millions of dollars. There are no European shipping firms that could launch such a venture on their own. For this reason the European shipowners are obliged to regroup in order to stay in the market and to operate many ships under flags of convenience. The Japanese shipowners are forced to do likewise. Evidently no Third World company is a member of this exclusive club.

We will call this fraction AIPC (Armadores Internacionales de Porta-Containers: International Container Carrier Fleet Owners).

(2) A fraction of the working class: the dockworkers of the big ports where AIPC ships dock.

In all the world's ports they have the same function: to load and unload ships. For reasons practical (their strategic position in the transportation chain) and historical (dockworkers sell their labor power daily to different shipowners and must defend its price daily), this fraction of the working class is more combative than the rest of the class. But it also faces a great diversity of institutional situations: the role of national states, the location of private capital, the working conditions, the level of unionization, political consciousness are very different from country to country. For this reason the same relation of forces can lead, in line with overall political conditions, to criminal (mafioso) practices, as in American ports, or to revolutionary efforts as among European portworkers after World War Two.

We'll call this fraction TPN (Trabajadores Portuarios Nacionales: National Port Workers).

LOCATION OF THE PRESENT CONFRONTATION

Europe: the premier commercial power of the world, which buys and sells much merchandise from and to other continents and is well endowed with modern ports all along its coasts.

Europe: the political dwarf that follows the game rules imposed by the US and its allies (Israel, Taiwan, South Korea...), revealing that economic liberalism is nothing more than an attempt at theoretical legitimization of the exercise of brutal power by the strong over the weak.

WHAT IS HAPPENING

The AIPC has decided, within the general orbit of the Reagan policy of re-establishing American hegemony over the economies of the Western World, to weaken, or if possible liquidate, the TPN of Europe. In this manner, the AIPC hopes to guarantee its clients an uninterrupted flow of the planetary circulation of merchandise. These clients are mainly the multi-nationals that dominate world trade.

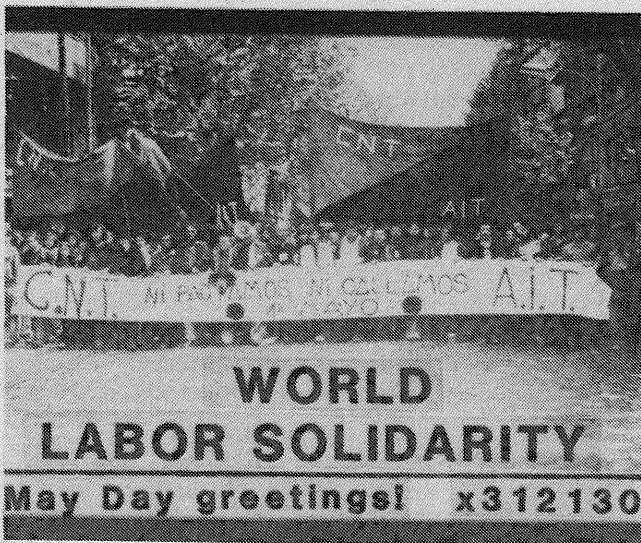
THE METHOD

Taking advantage of institutional diversity (organization of ports, legislation...) to place in competition the TPN of the distinct European countries in order to lower the price of labor throughout the continent. Such diminution is obtained simultaneously in two ways: diminishing the number of portworkers, and lowering their wages.

THE GREAT SIMPLICITY OF THE BOSSES' OBJECTIVE MUST NOT OBSCURE THE COMPLEXITY OF ITS REALIZATION

One cannot compare this situation with that of the multi-national which, through a single decision-making

center, chooses to build a new unit of production in a particular country after considering a number of relatively stable factors in the short term (cost of labor, fiscal legislation...). One is dealing here with a decision-making process within a single enterprise. In the case that we are concerned with, the AIPC is a conglomeration of non-co-ordinated enterprises with similar interests, in competition, confronting a complex port system that they comprehend through representatives of national states and private owners, service enterprises, workers' unions, and the like that, country by country, or even port by port, present configurations and specific internal relations; enterprises that, in short, have only one thing in common: they live from the exploitation of the TPN. We are far from the simple boss/worker relationship, and closer to a global political struggle and to a class confrontation across frontiers and social superstructures.



They affect the ports of Southern Europe and began to develop at the start of the 1980s.

The AIPC considers Spain the weak link in the chain:

- The portworkers are well organized, but their national organization, Coordinadora de los Estibadores Portuarios, does not belong to any union confederation or have the support of any political party.

- The national bourgeoisie, having eliminated the dictatorship, does not have the relative autonomy the other European bourgeoisies enjoy in relation to big American multi-national capital.

- Unemployment is at a record level with respect to the rest of Europe.

THE OPERATIONS UNDER WAY

The AIPC decided to construct modern ports for containerized cargo ships in Algeciras to make this port a sort of terminus for the Mediterranean, the North Atlantic, Europe, and Africa. The American company Sea-Land, top world transporter of containerized cargo, installed in Algeciras a private port that harbors the coastal barges that transport containers to neighboring ports, and the large ocean-going vessels that transport them to other continents. The weakness of the union and of workers' traditions in this part of Spain enabled Sea-Land to install this private port, the only one in Spain, and work it with totally-malleable labor.

It wasn't till 1984 that the dockers of Algeciras joined Coordinadora and launched the first struggle against Sea-Land. In spite of this, their wages remain lower than the wages of other Spanish portworkers.

1984 was also the year TPN competition across borders accentuated itself. The agent that provoked this was the firm US Lines.

In order to make profitable a new fleet of container carriers, capable of transporting 4,000 containers per ship in its service around the world, US Lines placed all the ports in competition by making certain demands, never before obtained, as a condition for docking in a port. Other companies rapidly followed suit: the Israeli company ZIM, the Taiwanese firm Evergreen, the Danish company Maersk... changing conditions from controlled national competition to uncontrolled competition between ports and between TPN. In Southern Europe, there is great pressure to bring prices down to the level of Algeciras. The big ports stand aghast, as if overcome by those whose fortunes are made with dollars saved in the manipulation of a single container. (This is the case of Valencia in Spain, of Salerno and La Spezia in Italy.)

But simple commercial savings are not enough, and the institutional and contractual relations of labor are newly endangered.

1986: THE CRUCIAL YEAR

In Spain: Following the elections, confident of its power, the Socialist Government liquidated the labor system in Spanish ports by decree (May 27th, 1985). The text, approved by emergency proceedings of the Socialist majority, opened a period of one year at the end of which port operations would be privatized and the workers transformed into simple employees of the companies, losing all their professional guarantees. This meant a frontal confrontation with Coordinadora, and thousands of layoffs for portworkers. Spain, the weak link in the EEC, surrendered before the demands of the multi-nationals.

Nonetheless the portworkers of Spain resist, alone against all: the multi-nationals, the Government, the UGT (socialist union without implantation in the ports). But although the balance of forces is unequal, the game is not over yet.

On July 1st, 1986, hostilities began in Marseilles. All the collective agreements were denounced: those of the stevedores and those of the maintenance firms. In October layoffs were announced in the autonomous port. An intense, costly campaign is being launched against the port. Unlike in Spain, there is no liquidation of the statutes, but pressure for reduction of the number of workers and their wages.

The attack of the French Government was less effective than that of the Spanish, partly because of liberal ideology and partly because of the diversity of situations among the Mediterranean ports and those of the Atlantic and of La Mancha. But the bastion of Marseilles fell, and the rest of the French ports will follow.

Italy followed immediately. After long political and labor negotiations at the highest level, a law was passed in October that called for important financial support from the State to the port establishments and to a retirement fund for portworkers. This law was followed at once by a decree (November 11th, 1986) that fixed at the national level the composition of port crews to take effect in January.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

From Algeciras to Naples the explosions go off in the ports of Europe.

The general headquarters of the multi-nationals have set the norms, and the states and national bosses have adapted to them. Faced with this general offensive, the TPN have been divided and international solidarity has, until now, been conspicuous chiefly by its absence. But without a doubt, the counterattack is beginning.

The Spanish dockers are fighting in spite of severe police repression (demonstrated by helicopter assaults) and despite the intervention of strikebreakers supplied by the extreme right.

The Italian portworkers launched a strike November 28th, and in Genoa the policy of D'Alessandro, director of the autonomous port, is viewed each day more like a bluff, the port of Genoa not having the facilities to meet the expectations of its president.

In Marseilles the resistance against restructuring is taking shape in the port as well as in the maintenance firms.

Finally, an international meeting of European portworkers (Denmark, England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain) took place November 12th through 14th, 1986 in Barcelona, and concluded with an acknowledgement of the necessity and urgency of co-ordinated international action.

At the present time the American firm US Lines has been broken. The birds of bad tidings have taken flight.

MILITARY BREAKS STRIKE IN BRAZIL: The April 3rd issue of the *New York Times* showed a blurry picture of tanks moving through a street with a caption stating that in March troops occupied a Rio de Janeiro oil refinery to discourage a planned strike. The mouthpiece of the owning class didn't see fit to give any more details, but one can speculate that the Brazilian working class is trying once again to prevent the national debt crisis, which has caused Brazil to suspend interest payments on much of the country's 108-billion-dollar foreign debt, from being "solved" at their expense.



For every homeless person, a home
For every worker, a job
For everyone, justice
And a world at peace

Wherever you find injustice, the proper form of politeness is attack.
—T-Bone Slim

LABOR CARTOONS: OF HUMOR, STRUG

Is it merely coincidence that Benjamin Franklin, the only one of America's "Founding Fathers" known to have supported trade-unionism—indeed, one of only two delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention who ever had to work for a living—was also this country's first humorist and cartoonist?

Consider this anecdote: When the debates at the Constitutional Convention had dragged on for months, during which the states had no functioning central government, Franklin is said to have advised his fellow delegates that "in the anarchy in which we live society manages much as before. Take care, if our disputes last too long, that the people do not come to think that they can very easily do without us."

Is it not possible to detect, in this jestful warning, something of the Voice of Labor signifying to the professional politicians that they are not as omniscient and omnipotent as they like to pretend—that Labor, some day, might decide to take care of itself?

This much is certain: Humor is always protest born of struggle—and humor, protest and struggle have characterized the American labor movement from the start.

Among the first to unionize were Franklin's fellow printers, and no one did more than they to shape the humor for which the U.S. was soon to be world-renowned. Throughout the nineteenth century, as novelist William Dean Howells remarked, America's "composers were interchangeable with comedians." Abe Lincoln's favorite humorist, Charles Farrar Browne, known as "Artemus Ward"; George Washington Peck, author of the best-selling *Peck's Bad Boy* series; Mark Twain himself; and a host of other wits of all shapes and sizes were all card-carrying members of the Typographical Union.

With figures like these emerging from its ranks into national and even international prominence, it is clear that the American labor movement was also, from its very beginnings, a humor movement. The uproarious "toasts" of the early journeymen printers' banquets, and the rollicking verses of the printer-poets—replete with *double-entendres* and puns galore on craft terms (printers' pi, etc.)—initiated a bold new current of humor that was readily adapted by workers in other crafts. This humor instilled workers' self-confidence, reinforced solidarity, and inspired working men and women to recognize their collective ability to better the conditions of their lives.

Labor cartooning, however, developed much more slowly. Illustrations of any kind were rare in the early American labor press. Apart from the famous arm-and-hammer emblem—first used by the New York General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, organized in 1786, and popularized by the most influential labor editor of the 1830s, George Henry Evans—most images used in the pioneer labor press were standard decorative cuts rather than original works. Few printer-humorists took up engraving, and even fewer of the popular engravers/illustrators of the day—such men as Washington Allston, David Claypool Johnston, F. O. C. Darley and others—took up the cause of Labor. A notable exception was the great English-born engraver, John Sartain, who had been influenced by William Blake and later became a friend of Edgar Allen Poe's, and who, around 1835, designed and engraved a beautiful allegorical membership certificate for the Philadelphia Typographical Society.

It was not until long after the Civil War that organized labor began to develop its own graphic artists. And it was not until the second decade of our own century that labor cartooning really came into its own.

Meanwhile, *anti-labor* cartoons could be found in mass-circulation newspapers and magazines throughout the country. German-born Thomas Nast, that talented dyspeptic widely regarded as nineteenth-century America's greatest cartoonist (best-remembered today for his portrayals of Santa Claus), spewed forth one viciously anti-union cartoon after another for the genteel *Harper's Weekly*. Most of the highly paid cartoonists of the 1870s/80s, such as Austrian-born Joseph Keppler, founder of the humor paper, *Puck*, portrayed trade-unionists as hideous, bombthrowing archfiends. That organized labor sooner or later would respond to these defamations with cartoons of its own was as inevitable as green grass sprouting in the Spring.

Cartooning played a role in the widespread 1890s agitation sparked by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and the Populist movement, and some of the foremost practitioners of the art, most notably Frederick Burr Opper—who not infrequently employed his talents *against* labor—drew some wildly funny anti-trust cartoons that were warmly welcomed in labor circles.

American labor's own initial efforts in the pictorial arts, however, were far from cartooning. Colored lithographs, especially portraits of well-known labor spokesmen such as Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor, and "single-taxer" Henry George, were the movement's favorite art-form for well over a generation. Even among labor's pioneering cartoonists, cartooning itself often seemed to be regarded as a second-class genre. The cartoons by the little-known Paul Krafft in Rev. W. S. Harris' book, *Capital and Labor* (Harrisburg, 1907), are as good as any American labor cartoons produced up to that time, but they pale beside

the same author's deliriously macabre paintings reproduced in the same volume, such as "The Juggernaut of Poverty"—a shrouded figure steering a luminous skull-shaped automobile—which would not have been out of place on the cover of *Weird Tales* twenty-five years later.

Narrowly didactic and even moralistic, early American labor art was largely devoid of the raucous laughter that often flourished in labor writing. Humor, *real* workingclass humor, came to labor cartoons with the large-scale upsurge of union-organizing in the early 1900s, spearheaded by the Industrial Workers of the World and Gene Debs' Socialist Party.

The IWW—the Wobblies—were a fresh breath of air for the entire labor movement and, indeed, for working men and women everywhere. Recognizing the implications of the ongoing large-scale mechanization of industry and the concomitant breakdown of the old craft-union system, the Wobblies gave new meaning to the notion of labor solidarity by calling for classwide organization on industrial-union lines; their aim was One Big Union of *all* workers. While narrowminded fogeys in many older unions airily dismissed the growing numbers of non-skilled workers as "unorganizable," Wobblies went out and organized them—

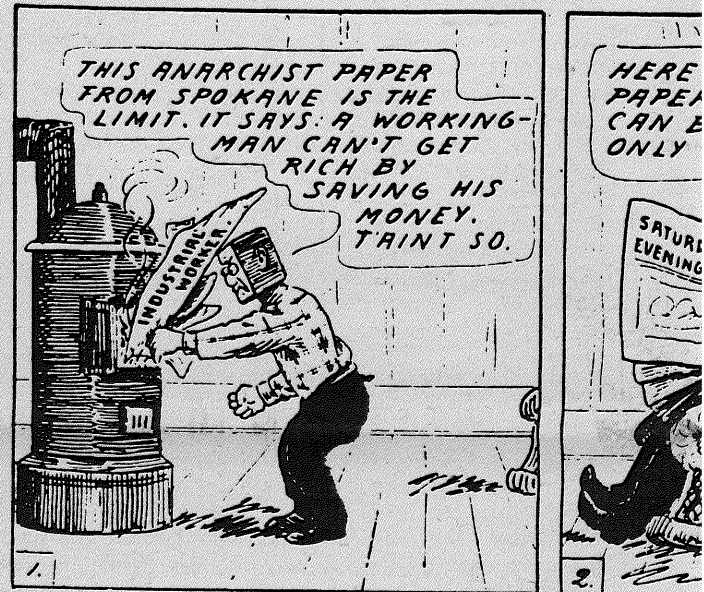
the unskilled, farm- and lumber-workers, women, Blacks, immigrants and even unemployed—and labor history from 1905 to the mid-1930s glows brightly with the wonders they wrought.

No labor current before or since was so distinctively a cultural movement. Wobblies gave organized labor its first classic songs, songs that are still favorites on picketlines today, and it is significant that several of the finest IWW songwriters, including Joe Hill himself and Ralph Chaplin (author of "Solidarity Forever"), were also cartoonists. For the Wobblies, cartoons were as crucial to the project of "building the structure of the new society in the shell of the old" as those lovable lyrics in the Little Red Song Book.

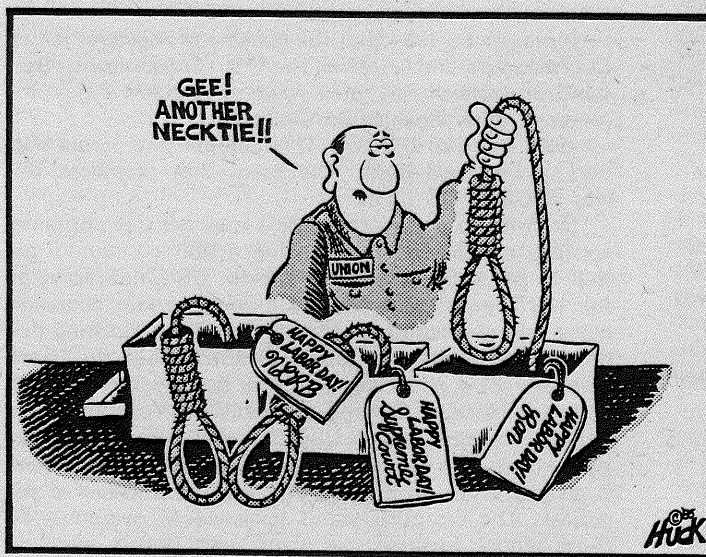
Hill and Chaplin, and other Wobbly cartoonists—Ernest Riebe, "Dust" Wallin, Jim Lynch, Raymond Corder, Joe Troy, Ern Hanson and others—lived in the golden age of vaudeville, slapstick film comedy and the early, free-wheeling, boisterous comics-pages in the Hearst press and other big dailies. Just as, in their songwriting, Wobblies helped themselves to the popular tunes and streetcorner hymns of the day, so too in their best cartoons they drew on the rough-and-ready sock-and-wowie style of *Mutt and Jeff*, *Happy Hooligan* and *The Katzenjammer Kids*. Like the



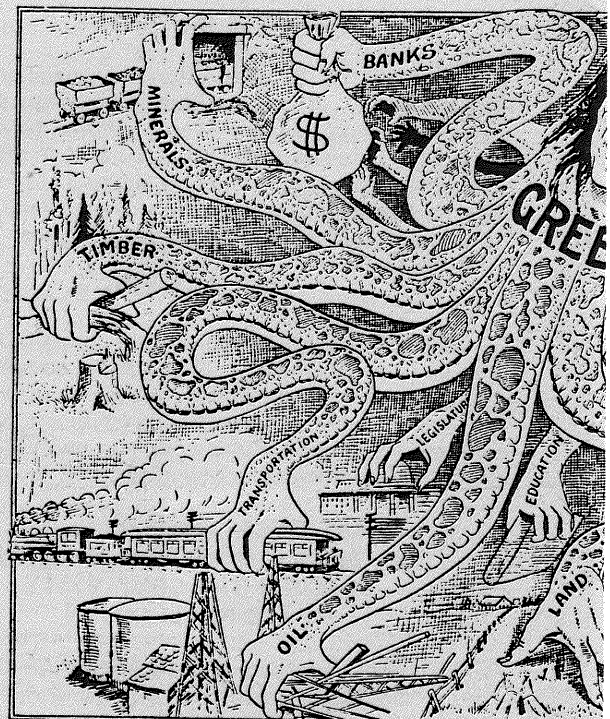
"Hello, Momma! We're makin' history!"
(Denys Wortman)



Mr. Block by Ernest Riebe



Gary Huck



Fred Wright



A LIVING LEGACY

GLE AND PROTEST

contributions of Wobbly bards and pamphleteers, much of their cartoonists' hard-hitting hilarity retains its impact three generations later.

The Socialist Party was also an important force in the labor movement in those days. Thousands of small towns all across America had active party locals; Gene Debs polled nearly a million votes as socialist Presidential candidate in 1912. And while the IWW was trying to build its One Big Union outside the American Federation of Labor, most socialists were loyal AFL'ers. Hundreds of AFL local unions, and many internationals, included socialists among their top officers. Socialist Max Hayes of the International Typographical Union gave Sam Gompers a good run for his money in the 1912 election for the AFL's highest office.

All the well-known socialist cartoonists had at first worked for the commercial press, most as editorial cartoonists for major dailies, before rallying to the cause of "production for use, not for profit." One of the first and finest was Ryan Walker, whose breezily-drawn popular strip, *Henry Dubb*, was a regular feature of the Socialist Party's New York daily, *The Call*. Like Ernest Riebe's IWW strip, *Mr. Block*, it chronicled the misadventures of a damn-fool worker who thinks the boss is always right.

Most of the other socialist cartoonists, including Maurice Becker, Robert Minor (a sometime anarchist), Boardman Robinson, John Sloan and Art Young, belonged to the party's bohemian, Greenwich-Village wing, whose "official organ" was that delightful forum for any and all nonconformity, *The Masses*. Of the many graphic artists whose pen-drawings, watercolors, charcoals and crayon sketches graced the pages of that memorable monthly magazine—long recognized as one of the most important periodicals in U.S. history—Art Young looms largest today.

At the age of 21, in 1887, Young had sketched the Haymarket martyrs in their cells at Cook County Jail, but nearly twenty years passed before he realized that labor's cause was his own. His work appeared not only in the socialist press, but in dozens of IWW and hundreds of AFL publications as well as in many of the biggest-circulation mainstream magazines. Young is universally acknowledged today as one of the American labor movement's greatest cartoonists. A useful collection of his work, *The Best of Art Young*, was published in 1936, prefaced by Heywood Brown of the Newspaper Guild.

Young's humorous cartoons were his best, but he also did many powerful serious cartoons: tributes to "Mother" Jones

and Gene Debs; protests against militarism and the Ku Klux Klan and the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti; and many others touching on burning issues of the day. Serious cartoons had greatly outnumbered humorous ones in earlier decades, even in the first years of the IWW press; they became dominant again in the 1920s and '30s. The brooding, heavily-shaded crayon sketches Fred Ellis drew for *The New Majority*, the weekly published by John Fitzpatrick's Chicago Federation of Labor in the early 1920s, and what poet Langston Hughes called the "grim and ironic" work of Jacob Burck a decade later, represent a major trend in labor cartoons before, after and during the Great Depression.

Of course there were flashes of humor, too, and not exclusively from the inexhaustible pens of Art Young and the Wobblies. A somber tone prevailed, but laughter also found its way—in an occasional wry twist from the thick brush of Harvey Breitmeier; in the dark and bitter wit of William Gropper; in the mellifluous sarcasm of Crockett Johnson's early work; and elsewhere.

The mass labor upsurge of the '30s that came to be symbolized by the Congress of Industrial Organizations inspired a legion of cartoonists. Pro-labor cartoons even began to appear well beyond the traditional confines of the labor press—some of the best in *The New Yorker*. Unions entered popular consciousness as never before, and sympathetic references to organizing, union contracts and picketlines were daily fare for millions in best-selling fiction, stage-plays, films and radio, as well as cartoons.

The same years witnessed a renewal of IWW agitation and a curious revival of ancient woodcut techniques that had almost died as a result of technological changes of the last century. Unable to afford the high cost of photoengraving, *Industrial Worker* cartoonist C. E. Setzer (whose cartoons are signed with the number of his IWW card, X13), developed a distinctive and forceful linoleum-block art, a process later taken up by Carlos Cortez and others.

Though submerged to a great extent by the war, labor-cartooning in the 1940s was buoyed by such gifted and prolific artists as A. Redfield, Joe Cohen (Carlo), Laura Gray, Ben Yomen and, above all, the great Fred Wright, who had started cartooning for the United Electrical Workers in 1939. At his death in 1984, Wright was the best-known and most influential labor cartoonist in the country.

American labor's darkest hour came in 1947 when the infamous National Association of Manufacturers pushed the Taft-Hartley Act through Congress and simultaneously started its largely successful campaign to purge pro-labor references from the mass media. The most draconian piece of legislation since the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Taft-Hartley was immediately dubbed the "Slave Labor Law" by the organized labor movement. Forty years later this tyrannical law is still on the books, exacerbated a hundred-fold by numerous ever-more-repressive amendments.

No cartoonist challenged Taft-Hartley more than Fred Wright, and no one contributed more to rekindling a new vigilance in the labor movement—a new fighting spirit that would make Taft-Hartleyism impossible. Wright's aggressive shop-floor humor had a strong Wobbly flavor, broad enough in its appeal to make a deep impact not only in labor publications but throughout the farflung "alternative" press that started in the 1960s. His collection, *So Long, Partner!* (1975) is one of labor cartooning's all-time classics.

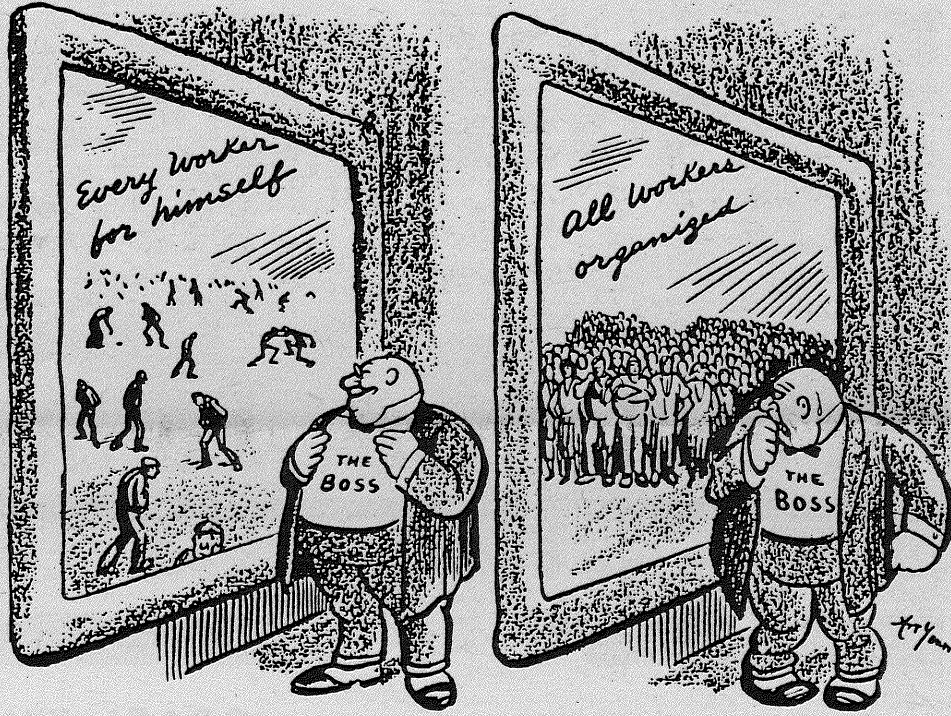
Firmly in the militant tradition of Fred Wright are the finest labor cartoonists of today: Gary Huck and Mike Konopacki. It is a remarkable phenomenon that now, when labor has seen so many of its fragile gains swept away with the stroke of a malevolent ex-movie-star's pen; when billionaire bosses have concocted a seemingly bottomless pit of insidious evasions—from "concessions" to "quality of work-life" schemes—to trap unwary workers; when run-away shops are almost as common as crooked deals in government; when multinational conglomerates plot their "union-free environment" (a vile experiment tried long ago in Hitler's Germany and in those military dictatorships so dear to the heart of President Rambo)—now, when labor is faced with all its traditional adversities and a computerful of new ones, we find ourselves in the midst of an unprecedented renaissance of labor cartooning. This renaissance, for which Huck and Konopacki deserve ninety-nine percent of the credit, is surely a sign—one of many signs—that a massive labor resurgence is on its way.

Having nothing in common with the neo-kindergarten/pseudo-expressionist style that has long dominated the pages of America's "alternative" press, Huck's and Konopacki's wonderfully imaginative and beautifully drawn cartoons reflect the lucidity and passion of legitimate anger together with a free-spirited humor that packs a wallop of a message and won't take "it's no concern of mine" for an answer.

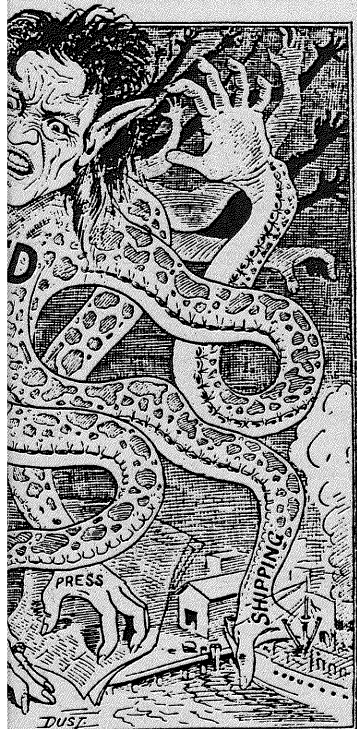
Labor today has a long way to go just to catch up with what it has lost. As always, its great cartoonists are pointing the way forward and saying, "Let's go, fellow workers!" Huck's and Konopacki's cartoons are helping labor to become a movement again.

Franklin Rosemont

Note: This article originally appeared as the Afterword to the book *Bye! American: The Labor Cartoons of Huck & Konopacki*, just published by the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company in Chicago. It is reprinted here by permission.



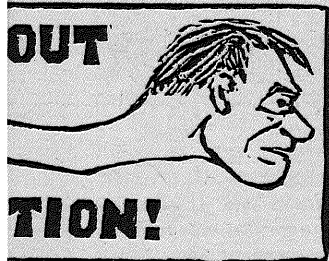
ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!
"The Picture the Boss Likes -- And the One He Hates."
(Art Young)



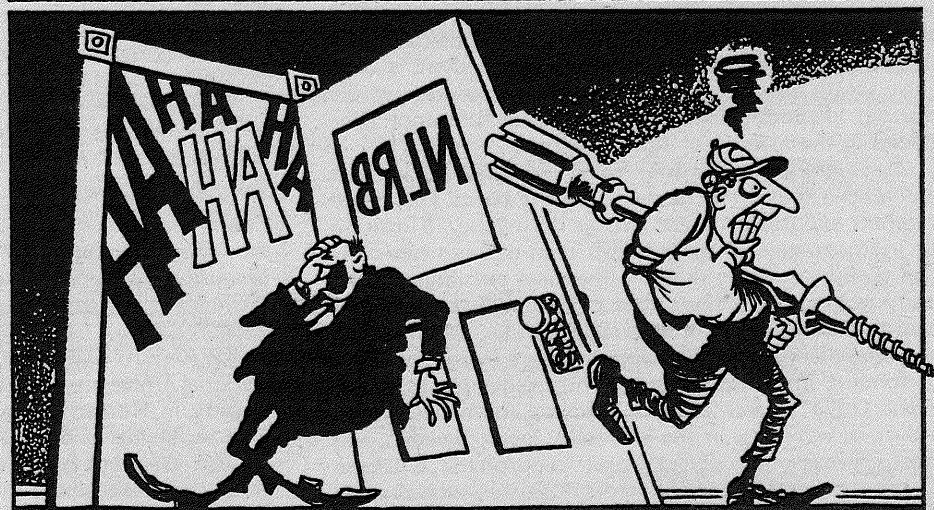
"Dust" Wallin



Mike Konopacki



C. E. Setzer



BOYCOTT LAURA ASHLEY'S SWEATSHOP!

Since last September, 21 women from Ardrbride Products in Ardrrossan, Scotland have been on strike. The two factories owned by Ardrbride boss Stuart Ross have been paid for largely with public money. Ross has been called a "model entrepreneur", even though conditions in his factories, one making lampshades and the other pottery, are terrible.

Workers in the lampshade factory have fainted due to glue fumes; the extractor fans don't work properly; and there are no safety guards on the machinery. In the pottery plant, dust levels are 12 times officially-permitted levels.

The workforce are largely women and Youth Training Scheme trainees, and top wages are 1.70 pounds an hour. Workers have complained about conditions for years. In March 1986, three young men who went to the Transport and General Workers Union were fired. When Ross discovered that other workers were joining the union, he stopped a 10-pence-an-hour pay raise. The TGWU called in the Health and Safety Executive, who hadn't even been aware of the factories' existence, but acknowledged that the working conditions were illegal. Ross was furious and harassed the workers even further, making their lives hell.

On September 15th the workers voted for strike action, demanding safe conditions, the right to join a union, and an hourly rate of 2.50 pounds. On September

17th they were all fired.

At first the TGWU gave some support, but refused strike pay because the Ardrbride workers had not been in the union for the 32 weeks required by the rulebook. The Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) also refused them any money, and two strikers have since lost their homes.

The women organized their own pickets, but have been repeatedly harassed and threatened by owner Ross. The police have taken Ross's side, and three pickets have been arrested, along with two people picketing Laura Ashley in Edinburgh.

WHY LAURA ASHLEY?

Ardrbride supplies Laura Ashley, its biggest customer, with lampshades. They are sold as "handmade" for between 15 and 18 pounds each. In fact they are machine-made by workers who take home just over 40 pounds a week. This contract was up for renewal in February 1987, but due to the picketing of its shops, Laura Ashley has threatened to cancel it. To date there have been pickets of Laura Ashley shops in Bath, Bochum, Bristol, Cambridge, Cologne, Coventry, London, Manchester, New York, Stuttgart, and Shrewsbury. Pressure put on Laura Ashley will increase the possibility that the workers will regain their jobs and win better wages and safe working conditions.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Because of lukewarm union support, police harassment, and no state benefits, the strikers need the support of ordinary working-class people. You can:

- Boycott Laura Ashley products.
- Complain to Laura Ashley management.
- Send donations and letters of support to Anna Druggen, 28D Montgomerie Street, Ardrrossan, KA22 8EQ, Scotland.
- Picket Laura Ashley stores if there are any in your city.

If wealthy Mr. Ross wins, it will be a green light for other bosses to get rich on the backs of workers. If the strikers win, it will be a blow against exploitation everywhere.

(The above article is a reprint of a leaflet issued in support of the Ardrbride strikers by members of the Direct Action Movement, the British section of the International Workers' Association. The DAM has been very active in this dispute and has been instrumental in spreading solidarity action beyond the confines of Scotland and Great Britain. Through its call for support from other sections of the IWA, pickets have been set up at Laura Ashley shops in France, Germany, and the US. For more information on the strike, write to Edinburgh DAM, Box 83, c/o 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh, Scotland.)

Sound of a Distant Drum

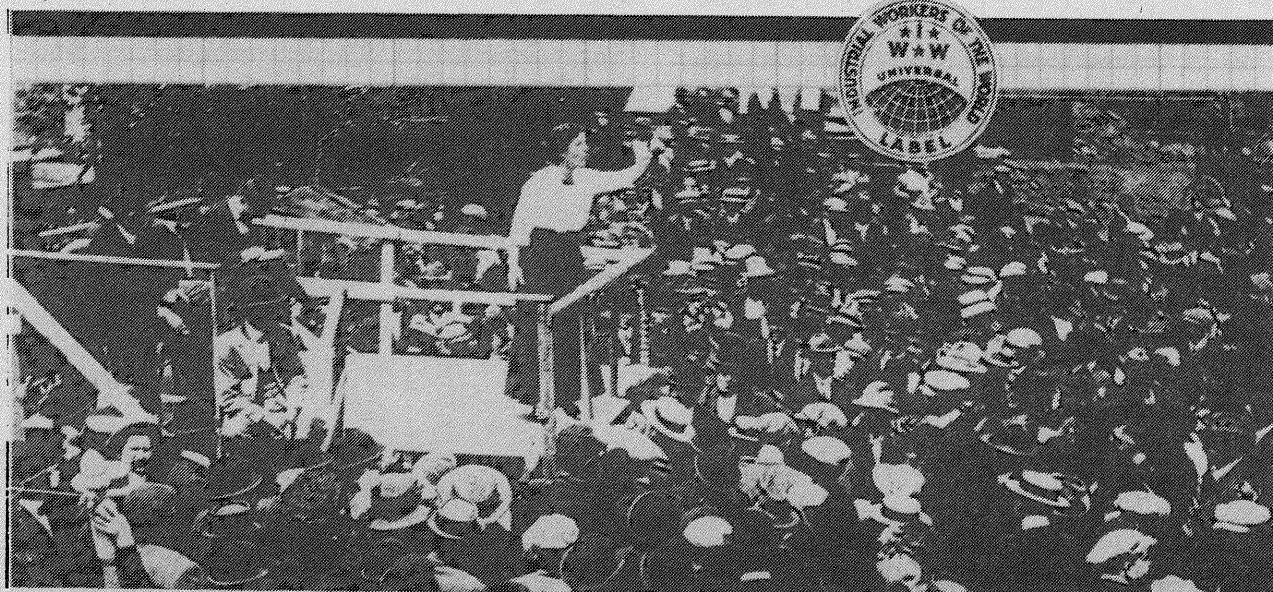
What was once an industrial war within this tight gray rainswept little island has now degenerated into a series of guerrilla actions that flare up for a brief news-catching moment and then die with the latest reported media-making murder, for there is no stomach for mass action among the British working class at this moment in time. The miners lick their honorable wounds, and the Battle of Fortress Wapping is now meat for the playwright and the political industrial theorist, as the barbed wire has been taken down at the Wapping printing plant, the pickets have gone their way, the weekend left-wing activists are out scouting for fresh battlegrounds, and the huge union-blessed lorries carry in the newsprint and drive out copies of the *Times* and the rest of the papers; and only those who feel that pouting Brenda, their union boss, messed up their Golden Handshake sit in front of their television sets glowing at Ma Thatcher and Neil Kinnock.

Give it one year and the Wapping newspaper strike will be hardly-remembered history for the British labor movement, except for those who will carry for life the scars they received from the broken beer glasses smashed in their face in ideological bar brawls, for only the memory of the miners' strike will burn in the minds of the British committed working class. Arthur Scargill and the National Union of Mineworkers took a hammering but never a defeat, and already the Coal Board, under (or over) Sir Robert Haslam, are trying to play footsie with the NUM and ignoring the scab Union of Democratic Miners.

Slowly yet surely the men who were sacked during the strike are being taken back, even to the miners who were blacklisted; and the figures, for what they may be worth, proclaim that of the 1,013 miners sacked because of their strike action, half have been re-employed. It could be claimed, as many a gloating employer has done in the past, that having broken the men's spirit the employer can now play God. But it is not so with the NUM miners, for when but a week or so ago the NUM miners in the Durham coal field came out on a sharp, short, angry strike, the local coal boss sent away the UDM scab miners who had turned up at the pit faces to perform their classic scab act, and refused to pay them for their willingness to scab. There are areas where the local coal bosses are refusing to negotiate with the scab UDM, and the final irony is that the UDM, which helped—with right-wing money and the blessing of the Tory Government and police—to break the miners' strike, are now being forced to consider staging their own strike action.

The scab UDM mineworkers' negotiators have been offered a pay deal by their local coal bosses of \$20, and it carries conditions of acceptance as full of strings as a sweaty string vest, and now the UDM talk of isolated strike actions, and I cannot see ancients crawling out of bed at 4:30 in the morning to volunteer for picket duty on their behalf. It has been a long haul for Britain's striking miners, but in a pit ballot the NUM miners voted for Sammy Thompson as their vice-president, and he is viewed by the right-wing media and points west as a hard-line, hard-left supporter of Arthur Scargill. So now we wait.

It is an odd world, comrades, for as one broods into the bottom of one's beer glass within the Nag's Head pub with Pete and Charlie and the discussion on the philosophical morality of the New Testament lapses, one must ponder the unpublicized news that millionaire newspaper owner Smilin' Bob Maxwell is having editions of one of his papers printed by the London press of the British Communist Party—the same plant that turns out the CP's *Morning Star*. It is all odd, comrades. Such as the remark by an elderly "working class" Labour Party



IN MEMORY OF FRED THOMPSON

from the Fellow Workers of Missoula

lord who, when informed that 2,000 old people had died of hyperthermia (cold, cold, cold) in January, proclaimed "People live too long... ha, ha, ha..." and sat back in his warm plush seat to the happy laughter of his fellow lords and ladies. Let us whisper into the bottom of the beer glass that My Noble Lord is a tragic fool and should be incarcerated with the chamber of the House of Lords. Or with Lord Avebury, the liberal peer who wants his dead body to be fed to the strays within London's dog home. Or the American economist who is hawking Ma Thatcher's profit-related pay, which means that if shareholders' profits go down then wages follow suit, and if profits go up then seek the answer in the bottom of my empty glass.

But there is light on the horizon, for 800 workers at the Manor Quay shipyards struck to get back the portable lavatories they lost during their last strike, and this time they won.

Arthur Moyses, London

AGENT ORANGE

For eight years the Federal Government has insisted that there is no link between the herbicide Agent Orange and any disease other than chloracne. But at last research conducted under state-government auspices is beginning to prove Federal Government scientists wrong. Most of this new research is being conducted in industrial states like Massachusetts and New Jersey, where there is concern about the effects on the civilian population of industrial chemicals like dioxin (a toxic substance produced in the making of Agent Orange).

New Jersey's commission made news last fall when it announced that levels of dioxin in the blood and fat of veterans exposed to Agent Orange during the US invasion of Vietnam were 10 times higher than those of two control groups, showing that the chemical can linger in the body as long as 20 years after exposure. A study for the National Cancer Institute by Shelia Hoar Zahm linked the ingredients in Agent Orange, apart from dioxin, to lymphoma in Kansas farmers who used them as herbicides. Other studies of farm workers and/or victims of industrial accidents in the US, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and West Germany have linked dioxin to porphyria, a disease of the liver, and to various forms of cancer, such as soft-tissue sarcoma.

ISRAEL KILLS ANOTHER

On April 14th Israeli troops shot dead a student at Bir Zeit University and wounded at least three others when Palestinian youths on the Israeli-occupied West Bank took to the streets to protest the arrest by Israel of nine more Palestinians. There are now 62 Palestinians being held by Israel under administrative detention—whereby they can be held without charge or trial for up to six months.

The latest casualty, Musa Hanfi of the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip, died of bullet wounds in a Ramallah hospital, whereupon some of his friends apparently removed his corpse before Israeli soldiers could impound it. (To prevent Palestinian funerals from turning into demonstrations, Israeli troops sometimes impound their victims' bodies, allowing them to be buried only by their families in closed ceremonies after dark.)

This latest clash is part of an escalating cycle. Israeli authorities and Jewish settlers on the West Bank seem increasingly angered by the fact that no matter how many Palestinian leaders they expel, how many people they arrest, or what security measures they adopt, the level of anti-Israeli Palestinian violence continues to climb. At the same time, Palestinian residents of occupied territories, frustrated at the fact that no solution to their situation seems forthcoming either from Israeli authorities or from Palestinian leaders abroad, seem to be taking matters into their own hands.

The Israeli Army ordered Bir Zeit University closed for four months in reprisal for this latest incident, during which about 40 students were arrested.

SOUTH KOREAN UNION MEMBERSHIP RISES: Fewer than a million of South Korea's 13 million workers are unionized. But after a sharp drop several years ago because of government repression, the number of union members is on the rise, with a net gain of 175,000 in 1986.

KWANGJU REMEMBERED: A 1986 poll at Seoul National University asked students to name the greatest tragedy in Korean history since World War II. To the surprise of the faculty, the leading response was not the Korean War, but the Kwangju massacre of May 1980, when the Government killed up to 3,000 people during a civic uprising.

FRED THOMPSON, WOBBLY HISTORIAN

First in a Series

Paradoxical though it may seem, our conception of history is shaped largely by our conception of the future. That is, our view of past events is profoundly affected by our notion of the kind of world we'd like to live in—as well as by our activities here and now. Those who regard present-day social relations as fine and dandy, and look to the future for more of the same, see history very differently from those who find today's social system intolerable, and dream of the possibility of a free, classless, and stateless society.

Of all the historians who have written extensively on the history of the IWW, Fred Thompson is by far the greatest, precisely because he shared the Wobbly dream of the future, and devoted his whole life to realizing this dream. Few professional historians are critics of society, and it should not surprise us that most of them have regarded the IWW as quixotic, unrealistic, irresponsible, or worse (a list of the hostile adjectives applied to the Wobblies by their enemies could easily fill a book). Almost all of these highly-paid historians, moreover, have agreed that no matter what the IWW may have been in the past, today it is hopelessly obsolete.

Thompson disagreed, emphatically and convincingly, with these myopic professionals. Again and again he pointed out that the IWW came into being as a specifically modern answer to specifically modern problems, and that nothing better has ever come along to take its place. In the opening paragraph of *The IWW: Its First Seventy Years*, he summed up what we might refer to as *Thompson's First Principle* of Wobbly historiography:

"The IWW was started in 1905 by 'seasoned old unionists', as Gene Debs called them, who realized that American labor could not win with the sort of labor movement it had. There was too much 'organized scabbery' of one union on another, too much jurisdictional squabbling, too much autocracy, and too much hobnobbing between prosperous labor leaders and millionaires. . . . There was too little solidarity, too little straight labor education, and consequently too little vision of what could be won, and too little will to win it."

Only a fool or a professional historian could fail to notice that this is still an accurate picture of what passes for a "labor movement" in North America today. Fred Thompson's critical overview of labor organization since 1905, elaborated not only in the IWW's official history but also in literally hundreds of articles in this newspaper over the last 60-odd years, remains our best chart through these troubled waters.

In his crisp, clear prose, Thompson explained how the founding Wobblies recognized right off that the antiquated craft structure of what they called the American Fakiration of Labor was the source of the AFL's notorious autocracy, racism, sexism, xenophobia, and systematic scabbing—characteristics that still loom large in the legacy of mainstream trade-unionism today.

Thompson further explained how, in the 1930s, the CIO borrowed bits and pieces of the IWW's industrial-union structure, but how basically it suffered from most of the same afflictions as the AFL: autocratic internal organization, bureaucracy, a highly-paid officialdom that had little in common with the rank and file, reliance on government and faith in politicians, indifference to international labor solidarity—and all the other inevitable consequences of an absolute incomprehension of capitalism. Whereas the AFL specialized in pure-and-simple business unionism, the CIO took up a more complicated *big* business unionism. Typically, as Thompson noted, when they collapsed into each other's arms in 1955, each accommodated itself to the worst features of the other. Former President Carter's reference to the AFL-CIA was one of those slips of the tongue that reveal bitter truths.

One of Thompson's recurring themes was that the employing class has long been organized globally, and it is high time the working class started organizing globally too. Here again, as he noted repeatedly, Wobblies were showing the way right from the start: The founding convention took the name Industrial Workers of the *World* not because the delegates had any grandiose illusions, but simply because they couldn't see any way of drawing boundaries between workers who happen to live in different countries.

Speaking of grandiose illusions, by the way, take a look at today's AFL and CIO leadership bumbling along on yet another futile "Buy American" crusade in this age of multinational conglomerates, and please note that these people with their heads in the sand are the very ones who like to pretend most loudly that the IWW is obsolete.

In response to the Mr. and Mrs. Blocks of all ages and sizes, Fellow Worker Thompson calmly explained that today *more than ever* One Big Union of All Workers is just what a sick society needs to get back on its feet and on its way to a future worth living in. After 82 years the IWW critique is still up-to-the-minute, and the Wobbly theory and practice of unionism define the state of the art.

The reader might correctly infer at this point that Fred Thompson had a high regard for the IWW. But he was no mere "apologist", and his history of this union stands in complete contrast to the egotistical, one-dimensional, leader-glorifying glosses produced by so many business unions. For Thompson, a history that left out mistakes and wrong turns was as bad as a map that left out impassable mountains and impenetrable swamps.

Thompson was sharply critical of much that happened in the IWW past (and present). While he certainly did not dismiss the role of government and ruling-class persecution—or of shady maneuvering by AFL, CIO, and Communist Party bureaucrats—in weakening the IWW, he consistently placed a large share of the blame on internal wrangling. Having seen for himself the damage to the Wobbly cause wrought by the loose talk, threats, and imprecations of a few "more-revolutionary-than-thou" hotheads and sectarian screwballs in the old days, he hoped that open discussion of such matters would enable a younger generation of Wobblies to bypass these pitfalls.

Here's a little story that might shed some light on Thompson's approach to this always-painful problem. When I took out a red card in '62 the IWW was, in Thompson's words, "an organization of grandfathers and grandchildren". I was still in my teens, eager to organize the whole working class overnight if not sooner, and impatient with any word of caution, especially from anyone over 19. One evening when I was in a fit of the reddest red-hot revolutionary fervor, Fred listened to whatever it was I was arguing, and then responded in his quiet way by saying: "Franklin, don't get so far ahead of the parade that you can't hear the band."

These words struck home somehow, and the fact that I remember them so clearly a quarter of a century later must mean something. How well I actually learned this lesson is not for me to say, and I do seem to recall similar reproaches from Fred now and then in later years.

As it happens, however, there is a kind of sequel to this story. The "sequel", in fact, preceded the story chronologically, though I became aware of it only in the last few weeks while looking through some of Fred's mostly-unpublished autobiographical manuscripts. Naturally I was interested to discover that when Fred, as a teenager, started frequenting the Socialist Party of Canada, it was an organization of—believe it or not—grandfathers and grandchildren. But what impressed me above all was his account of a discussion he had one evening with an older labor radical from Ireland. While Fred himself was "in a revolutionary mood", this oldster said to him: "Thompson, don't get so far ahead of the parade that you can't hear the band." In the typescript Fred added, retrospectively: "May his spirit know that I've often since then repeated his admonition to myself."

Franklin Rosemont

THE PASSING OF A REBEL WORKER

As organizer, speaker, historian, author, editor, publisher, class-war prisoner, and just plain friend and fellow worker, Fred Thompson probably brought the IWW message to more people than any other individual—perhaps more than any 10 or 20 individuals—in the last 50 years. Many thousands of working people and students throughout North America recognize him as a powerful and enduring influence on their lives.

In his 80s Fellow Worker Thompson was spreading the word of the Wobblies on his numerous TV and radio appearances. Last October his picture took up nearly half the front page of the *Chicago Reader*, a paper with a circulation of over 135,000, as part of a feature on the Charles H. Kerr Company, and he was quoted extensively in the text. That same week, at a celebration of the Kerr Company's centennial at the Newberry Library, author and radio personality Studs Terkel hailed Thompson as one of the great figures of the American labor movement in our time.

The passing of the IWW's best-known public figure inevitably has received wide press coverage. Both Chicago dailies devoted sizable stories to it, and Associated Press wire services carried the news of Fellow Worker Thompson's death to newspapers in Detroit, Saint Louis, Saint Petersburg, and many other cities. Most of these write-ups in the capitalist press have been remarkably free of the errors that usually mar media treatment of everything having to do with the IWW. Not only did they get the union's name right, but some even acknowledged that the IWW is still active today. Fred would have liked that.

A ridiculous exception was a column of "commentary" by one Gordon Burnside in the March 17th *Edwardsville (Illinois) Intelligencer*. This one has all the old chestnuts—about the Wobblies' alleged violence, for example, and the sensational discovery that "by 1920 the union survived mainly as legend". (Actually, as Fred Thompson often patiently pointed out to perpetrators of this error, the IWW's highest membership came in 1923 with nearly 60,000 members, twice as many as the peaks before and during World War I.) To top off all his other nonsense, Burnside concludes that, with Thompson's death, "the Wobblies have truly passed away". It seems that ever since Stewart Holbrook tried to bury Art Boose with the label "The Last of the Wobblies" in the April 1946 *American Mercury*, an endless succession of hacks has trotted out the phrase every time one of our old-timers has died. Burnside is less forgivable than others because he claims to have once had a red card himself, back in the '60s. And now we find him licking the boss's boots. Some folks just never learn.

If Burnside represents journalistic venality at its worst, the best article we've seen in the mainstream media is a feature by Ed Tant in the March 19th *Athens (Georgia) Observer*. Saluting Fred Thompson as "a wellspring of movement history", Tant concludes that he "did his part for the planet and its people".

For obvious reasons, most of the really interesting things said about our departed fellow worker have appeared in the labor and radical press. In a front-page story in the March 27th issue of the Marxist-Humanist biweekly *News and Letters*, Olga Domanski eulogized Thompson as a "unique labor fighter" who "embraced all struggles for a new world as they arose, whether class, black, or women's battles", and stressed the fact that he always "defended and identified with the youth". This warm and insightful tribute further notes that Thompson's papers at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs "are a rich mine for today's freedom fighters to dig into".

In a lengthy and well-researched piece in the April 1st issue of the New York radical weekly *Guardian*, Curtis Black emphasized Thompson's "legacy of unstinting dedication to the cause of socialism and freedom".

J. Quinn Brisben, an old comrade of Thompson's and a sometime contributor to the *Industrial Worker*, contributed a detailed summary of Thompson's life to the April issue of *The Socialist*, the monthly paper of the Socialist Party.

Thompson was a founding member of the Illinois Labor History Society, and the *ILHS Reporter* for April cites him as "a fellow worker in the truest sense . . . involved in working-class issues to the last".

Notable write-ups have also appeared in the *Solidarity Bulletin* published by the IWW branch in Vancouver, and in at least two AFL-CIO papers: the Livingston and McLean Counties' (Illinois) *Union News*, and *The Racine Labor* from Wisconsin.


The *Industrial Worker* is informed that longer articles on Fred Thompson's life and achievements are scheduled to appear in various history journals, including the *Radical History Review* and the Canadian *Labour/Le Travail*.

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DID YOU NOTICE?

COURT BACKS EMPLOYER SEARCHES. On the last day of March, the US Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 that public employers have "wide latitude" to search employees' offices, desks, and files without warrants or probable cause to believe that the search will uncover evidence of wrongdoing. The plurality opinion held that requiring either a warrant or probable cause for workplace searches would disrupt the efficiency of public agencies and "impose intolerable burdens on public employers", adding that employees could avoid exposure of personal belongings at work by simply leaving them at home.

Memorial Meeting for
IWW ORGANIZER & HISTORIAN
FRED THOMPSON
(1900-1987)



IWW Songs by UTAH PHILLIPS
& the GRAND INDUSTRIAL BAND
Speakers: Arthur Weinberg, Joyce Kornbluh
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Co-sponsored by the Chicago Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World;
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the Illinois Labor History Society & Workers' Education Local 189.

FRED THOMPSON LETTERS AND MEMORABILIA SOUGHT

The *Industrial Worker* has received the following letter from Fred Thompson's daughter and companion, and we fully endorse its recommendations.

To the *Industrial Worker*:

In the early months of this year Fred Thompson was actively preparing a collection of his autobiographical writings for publication in book form, and just before his death he designated Penelope Rosemont, a member of the Chicago Branch of the IWW and secretary-treasurer of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, to complete this project.

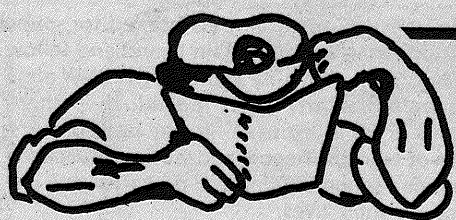
Penelope would appreciate hearing from anyone who has letters, photographs, tape recordings, or other memorabilia pertaining to Fred, and would also welcome reminiscences and anecdotes about him from old friends and fellow workers.

All material collected for this project (except in cases in which holders of particular items specify otherwise) will be added to the Fred Thompson Collection of the IWW Archives at Wayne State University in Detroit.

We urge all of Fred Thompson's correspondents and acquaintances to co-operate on this important project.

Please send all material to Penelope Rosemont, c/o IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Room 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657.

Florence Tromater
Jenny Velsek



Books for Union People



Bye, American! Labor Cartoons of Huck and Konopacki, Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1740 West Greenleaf Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60626, \$7.95 plus \$1 for postage and handling (also available from IWW General Headquarters)

The old Chinese saying "A picture is worth a thousand words" is dramatically illustrated by the cover of this excellent collection of cartoons. A bedraggled worker is standing on a miniature island shaped like the United States with a lone tree surrounded by a bunch of stumps. Out on the water is a log raft bearing a well-fed bureaucratic personage waving goodbye at him. The marooned worker is holding a placard that says "Buy American" as the balloon issuing from the mouth of the man on the raft says "Bye, American!"

Two Wisconsin boys, Gary Huck of Racine and Mike Konopacki of Manitowoc, are recent and welcome additions to a long-hallowed tradition of labor cartooning. Huck, who for 10 years has been an editorial cartoonist for *Racine Labor*, and Teamster bus driver Konopacki teamed up to create a labor-cartoon syndication that now services more than a hundred labor-union periodicals throughout the US, Canada, and the Pacific.

The above-mentioned cover cartoon is enough of a favorable review in itself to convince the reader to buy this book, but rest assured that within these 112 pages are many intriguing surprises.

The book is divided into five sections entitled The Reagan Years, Foreign Affairs, Workers' Rights, Die American, and Struggles, each with an introduction by a labor editor or activist.

Our commander in chief comes in for a lot of lampooning, as in one cartoon titled "Reagan moves forward on civil rights" that has him saying "I'se a-com'n!" Gal-lows humor is exemplified by a cartoon of farmworkers' sanitation facilities showing two upright coffins in a field.

A series of panels illustrates a conversation between two workers in which one says he never felt he needed a union because he always considered himself a rugged individualist, and the other asks him what made him change his mind. The reply: "Management kept ganging up on me!"

Rather than try to verbalize any more of these pithy cartoons, your scribe will unreservedly recommend this collection of two far superior colleagues of his. While labor cartoons, like all political art, are meant only for the immediate time of their inspiration, it is no idle conjecture that many of these will survive the person-ages and situations that inspired them.

Carlos Cortez

Fragments: A Memoir, by Sam Dolgoff, Refract Publications, Cambridge, England, 1986. Available in the US from the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1740 West Greenleaf Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60626.

As the title implies, *Fragments*, by Sam (Weiner) Dolgoff, is not the chronological story of a man's life. It is a series of recollections of people and events that

LOWELL, MA, HISTORY MUSEUM

The Lowell textile mills where the IWW once led strikes (in 1912) are rapidly being turned into luxury condominiums overlooking the Merrimac River. Behind and among the new renovations, a museum and national park are struggling to preserve a sense of the history of modern industry. Lowell's mills, owned by Boston financiers with names like Boott and Cabot, were among the first attempts at a factory system on such a large scale and a very early company town.

The museum's three themes of capital, water power, and labor cover the ways these things were used in the profit drives of the wealthy, to the strict advantage of capital. Vast sums of money were spent to create a canal system to provide the machines with power. These canals were hand-dug with Irish immigrant labor. The workers lived in "Tent City", with no sanitary water or latrines, and the tents were often burned for the sport of the children of the profiteers.

The Irish themselves were often pitted against each other and often rioted, all to the amusement of their "masters". The mills themselves were first run by girls from nearby farms. These "mill girls" were confined to dormitories when they were not working 16 hours a day, and were fined for everything from talking during work to being late for church. This patronizing system soon gave way to more and more restrictions, until the farm girls left in droves and were replaced by cheap immigrant labor.

A park ranger, looking out of place in such an urban setting, takes tours through the city of Lowell, pointing out the different mills, canals, and dormitories and the location of Tent City. The tour ends on the fourth floor of one of the mills. The ranger explains that this floor would have contained about 120 looms, and demonstrates how noisy that would be. "Many of the girls

the author was involved with over the course of his 83 years. Of particular interest to this reader were the thumbnail sketches of movement people (some well known, some obscure) whom Sam had the pleasure, and displeasure, of knowing over the years. Also of interest are the discussions of controversies and fissures that have plagued the anarchist and revolutionary union movement to this day. When one is finished with this little work, one must come to the inescapable conclusion that not a hell of a lot has changed as far as internal movement relations go.

While *Fragments* is not a definitive history of either the man or his times, it is nevertheless a good read and a valuable contribution to the history of the revolutionary labor movement in the US.

M.H.

in here would lose their hearing, but that's what you get paid for," he says. Then he describes how far apart the looms were and how the company responded to the workers' demands with speedups requiring them to run up to 12 looms at once. "They were lucky if all they lost was their hearing," he smiles, "but you're always free to starve. We pay you good money."

He tells how the workers tried and tried to organize, and how the capitalists divided them by nationality, sex, and job assignment. They kept so many people starving on the street that there were always enough willing scabs. "How did these poor people finally organize?" he asks. "It wasn't until the IWW—the International Workers of the World, the Wobblies—came in and united all the workers, regardless of nationality, against the mill owners." Even with his omission of "Industrial", his talk is inspirational.

He next describes the strikes and their massive turnout and support that finally won the workers' demands. Then he asks, "Did it all make a difference?" No. The owners of the mills packed up the machines and headed South, where cotton was closer and cheaper and labor was black and unorganized. The mills closed and fell into ruin. The workers had gained their dignity, but that was too much to ask of the capitalists.

Now the old brick buildings are once again being renovated by the owners of capital. The rents of those living in the shadow of the luxury condominiums are climbing to the new neighborhood standards, and the class war continues. The Lowell Museum historians talk glowingly of the IWW's attack on the owners of capital in the early part of this century. How will the historians of the next century remember the IWW of the '80s?

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In Memory of Fred Thompson,
Vice-President, 1971-1986; President 1986-87

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Camillo Berneri

May 1987 marks the 50th anniversary of the death of Camillo Berneri, assassinated in Barcelona during the Spanish Revolution. His was a tragic and mysterious death—tragic because Berneri was, at 40, unquestionably one of the most clear-sighted and courageous spokespersons of the revolutionary workers' movement, and mysterious because his murderers have never been positively identified.

Even now historians are far from agreeing on whether Berneri was killed by agents of the Communist Party or by Francoist fascists, or as a result of some complicity between the two, or by one or more individuals independent of these particular factions. One thing does seem sure: Berneri was killed by those who did not want the Spanish Revolution to go further. And as a matter of fact, his death marks a turning point in the history of that mighty struggle. For after May '37 it was clear that the cause of workers' revolution in Spain had suffered a defeat from which it would not recover for many years.

In his own lifetime Berneri was widely regarded as the most outstanding figure of Italian anarchism since Malatesta, and in recent years he has been increasingly recognized as one of the most brilliantly original revolutionary theorists of modern times. A half-century after his death, however, he is still scandalously unknown in the English-speaking world. His collected articles and editorials on the Spanish Revolution have appeared in many editions in many languages, but never in English. He wrote major studies on such subjects as racism, anti-Semitism, Mussolini's fascism, psychoanalysis, and the emancipation of women, but you can't read them if you can't read Italian, Spanish, or French.

The only writings by Berneri available in English today seem to be his pamphlet *Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas* (published originally by Freedom Press and later included in the catalogue of Refrac Editions, both in England), and a long and important essay on "The Problem of Work" in Vernon Richards' anthology *Why Work?* (Freedom Press, 1983).

The Berneri Family Archives in Pistoia, Italy, under the able direction of our anarchist comrade Aurelio

LIBERTARIAN LABOR

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHO-
SYNDICALIST IDEAS & DISCUSSION

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REVIEW #3

SOLIDARITY DIRECT ACTION REVOLUTION

We Salute the IWW
and Rebel Workers
Everywhere

Chessa, have made available many books and pamphlets by and about Camillo Berneri, and everyone who can read Italian should write for their list. Recent publications include a lucid 605-page study by Francisco Madrid Santos, two volumes of the great anarchist's correspondence, and an excellent anthology on various aspects of his life and work. Write to the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Piazza dello Spirito Santo 2, 51000 Pistoia, Italy.

FR

We pause briefly to remember the following
Fellow Workers who have died recently...

Fred Thompson

Phil Mellman

Nels Kanerva

Ed Spira

Anna Smith

...but we know that if you could ask them,
each would echo Joe Hill's simple words:

"Don't waste any time mourning—Organize!"

San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch

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.

FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN
PLURALITY OF HOMELESS

The number of homeless people in America experienced a record increase last winter, and for the first time families with children became the largest segment of the homeless population, according to a 47-city survey conducted by the Partnership for the Homeless in New York, which operates the largest private shelter network in the country. The number of homeless increased an average of 20% across the US, and the number of homeless families with children rose by 25%, making families with children 35% of the total homeless population. The Federal Government has put the number of homeless at about 250,000, but more-realistic estimates from the National Coalition of the Homeless approximate three million.

COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT: The figures from the Johns Hopkins University study bear repeating: Every 1% increase in the aggregate US unemployment rate results in 37,000 deaths, including 20,000 cardiovascular deaths, 920 suicides, 650 homicides, 4,000 state mental-health admissions, and 3300 state-prison admissions.

LIBERAL OF THE YEAR: The "Did You Notice?" award for Liberal of the Year goes to Chilean Archbishop Jose Manuel Santos Ascarza, who took the opportunity during the Pope's visit to Chile this April to deplore "the culture of death that is beginning to impose itself" (do cultures ever impose themselves?) on the country. The Archbishop then went on to suggest that the opposition to the Pinochet regime, as well as the regime itself, was partly responsible for the culture.

THE BEST GOVERNMENT MONEY CAN BUY: The average senator spent just over three million dollars to obtain a seat in the Senate in 1986—up from 1.2 million in 1980. Contributions to Senate candidates from political-action committees have nearly trebled, from 15.7 million in 1980 to 45 million last year.

CHILDREN UNWELCOME: At least 26% of rental housing in the US is not available to people with children, and a full 50% have some restrictions on the number of children permitted, according to the New York City Human Rights Commission. Furthermore, 60% of the units built since 1970 exclude children, dooming large families to the nation's oldest and often most-run-down housing.

STUDENTS AT BLACK SCHOOLS HIT HARDEST: Students at the 57 historically-black private colleges in the US—more dependent on federal aid than other

students because they are poorer, tending to come from states offering little or no financial aid, and more likely to attend institutions whose low tuition and limited endowments make them less able to provide any financial assistance—are (surprise!) bearing the brunt of federal-grant cutbacks and are falling deeply in debt in order to finance their educations. The median family income of the 62,000 students at the nation's black colleges at last report was \$10,733—one-third the median income of all families with a child in college.

IWW CALENDAR COMMITTEE NEEDS PHOTOGRAPHS

The IWW Calendar Committee is seeking both old and recent photographs for use in making the 1988 IWW Calendar. Pictures of strikes, union activities, peace or anti-nuke marches, work with co-ops, and anything else in which the IWW presence is clearly seen are wanted. Dates of the pictures can be 1905 to 1985 or anything in between, with photographs from the '60s onward especially wanted. The owners of pictures used in the Calendar will be duly noted therein, and all pictures will be returned to their owners. Please send all contributions to Fred Lee, IWW Calendar Committee, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Room 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657.

GREETINGS TO OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS
IN AUSTIN, OTTUMWA & FREMONT IN THE TRENCHES

**IF NOT HERE, WHERE?
IF NOT NOW, WHEN?**

UFCW ON
HORMEL'S
PAYROLL

P-9
ON
STRIKE!

IF NOT US, WHO?

Coloradowobblies - SPREAD THE BOYCOTT!



IWW DIRECTORY

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

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

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, Box 40485, San Francisco 94140. Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609, (415) 658-0293. San Diego IWW Group, PO Box 16989, San Diego 92116. General Defense Committee, Arthur J. Miller, Secretary, PO Box 2576, San Diego 92112.

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

GUAM: Shelby Shapiro, Box 864, Agana 96910.

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.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139. Western Massachusetts IWW Group, Box 465, Hadley 01035, (617) 522-7090.

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 Center !!! 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. Nancy A. Collins, Delegate. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

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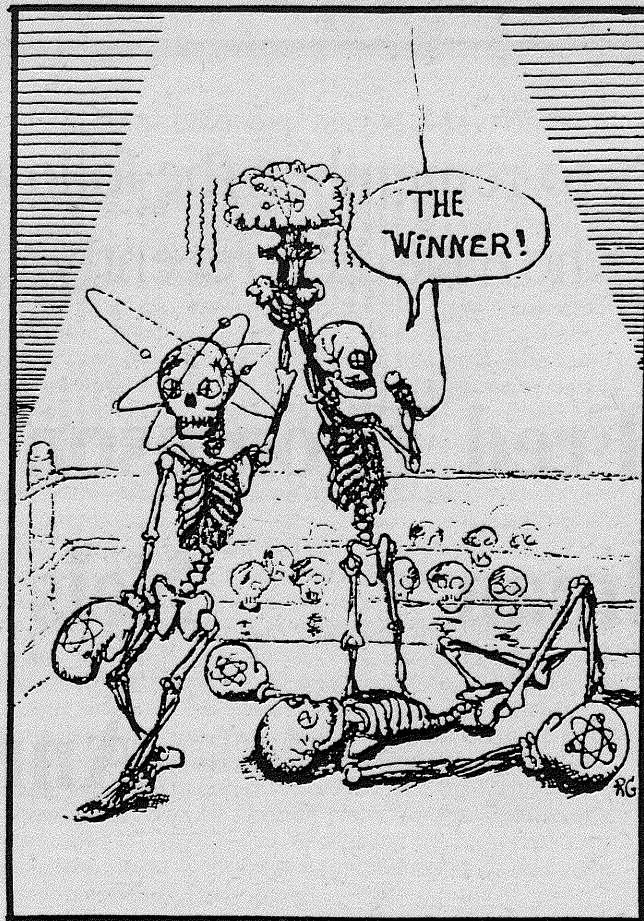
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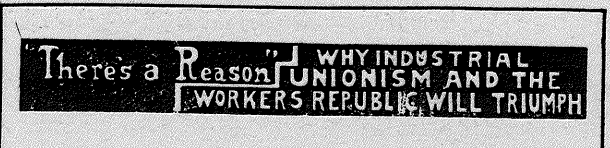
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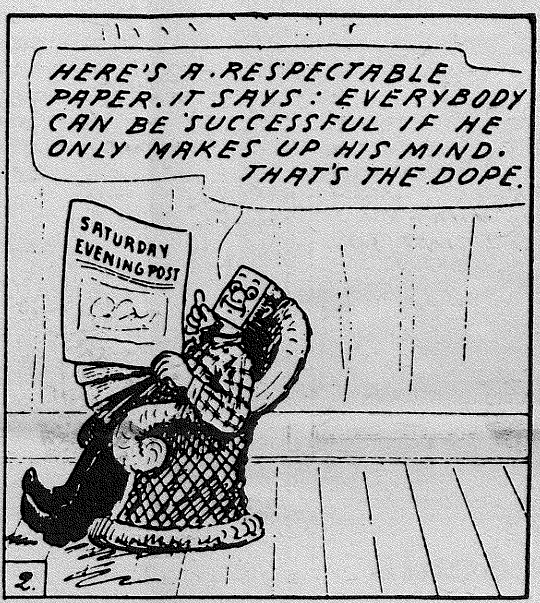
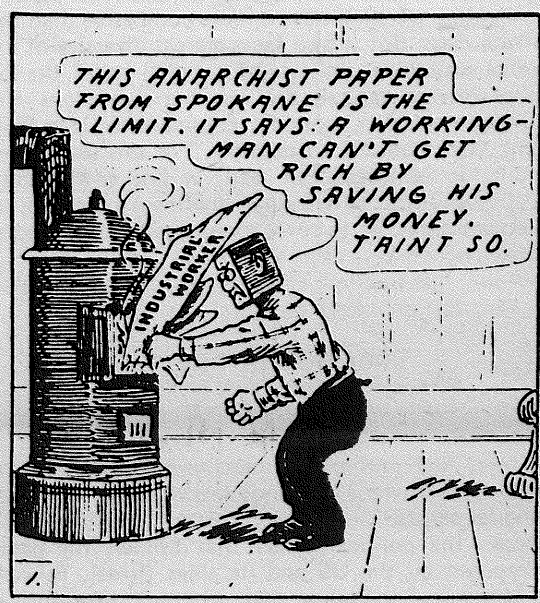
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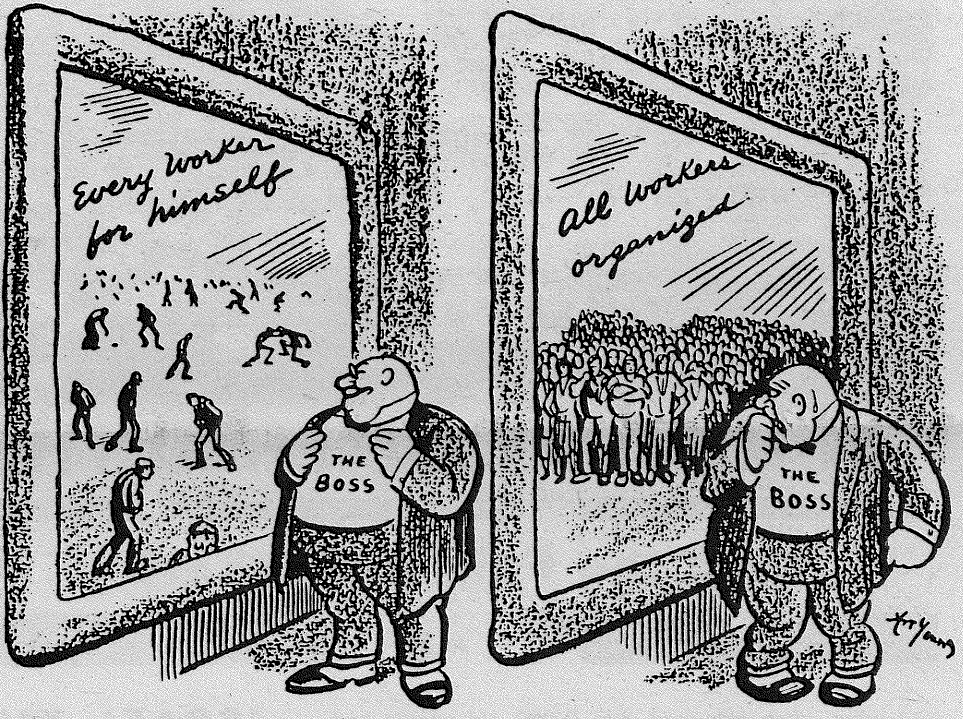
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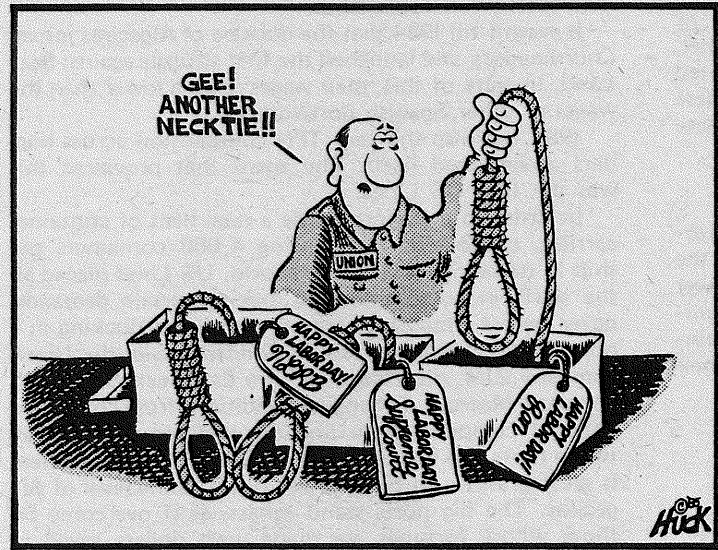
"Hello, Momma! We're makin' history!"
(Denys Wortman)



Mr. Block by Ernest Riebe



ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!
"The Picture the Boss Likes -- And the One He Hates."
(Art Young)



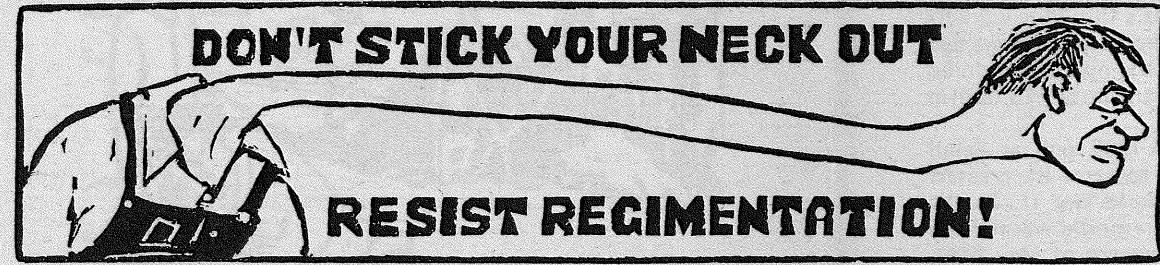
Gary Huck



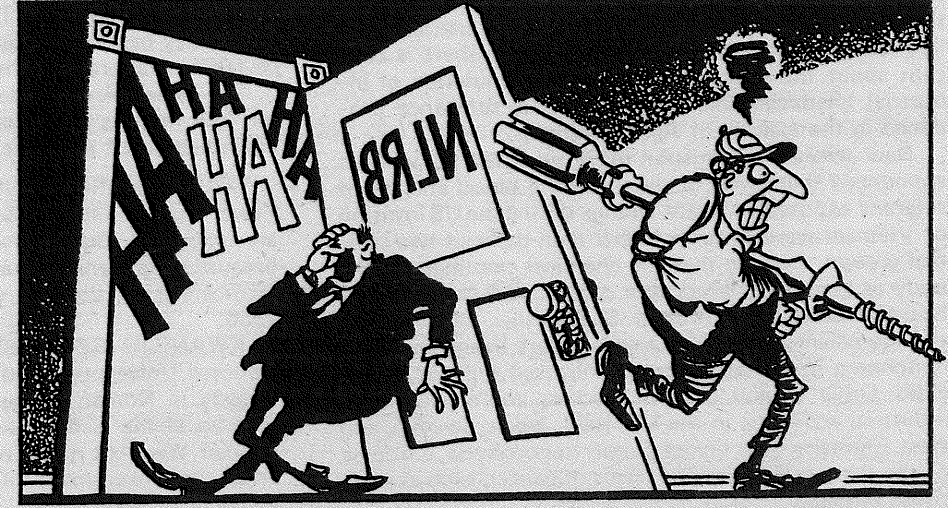
"Dust" Wallin



Fred Wright



C. E. Setzer



Mike Konopacki

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