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CANADIAN UNIONISTS FIGHT ANTI-LABOR LAWS

300,000 STRIKE IN BC

Vancouver Branch IWW members were among thousands of British Columbia workers walking picket lines June 1st as part of a province-wide 24-hour general strike. The strike was aimed at expressing organized labor's opposition to the BC Government's Bills 19 and 20, which rewrite labor legislation to better represent the interests of employers and legislate the form of organization teachers are allowed. (See the June *IWW* for details.)

The strike shut down most of BC's pulp and paper mills, most sawmills, many mines, more than half the schools, the entire ferry service, and all regular urban bus service. Only a handful of daily newspapers appeared around the province, while most liquor stores and Provincial Government offices were closed. Most civic services were also out, and many supermarkets were affected. Most unionized employees of BC Hydro and BC Tel honored picket lines, but services were maintained by supervisors.

By union decision, Vancouver International Airport operated normally, but rail traffic between BC and the rest of Canada, which falls under federal jurisdiction, was disrupted for a time by pickets. The port of Vancouver was mainly closed, and hospitals canceled elective surgery while maintaining essential services. Postal service, police, and fire protection all were normal. But non-union contractor J.C. Kerkhoff was unable to continue construction of a controversial shopping mall in Vancouver when most of his employees stayed off the job. Many small businesses shut down as well, and a number of unionized companies closed rather than face being picketed out.

Vancouver IWW members were on the line at schools, supermarkets, and even Premier Bill Vander Zalm's theme park, Fantasy Gardens. The greatest concentration of Wobblies was at a large Burnaby factory. The Branch was asked by the union at the plant to provide the 3:30-to-6:30 pm shift of pickets, and about 15 Wobblies and friends were on hand to cover entrances to parking lots and the building. One fellow worker brought his banjo along, and the familiar strains of IWW tunes were heard along the sidewalk. Other members spent the time talking to people who approached the line and to members of other unions who were also present.

For June 1st the labor movement had adopted a strategy of cross-picketing, whereby union members picket other people's worksites. Many collective agreements forbid strikes during the period of the agreement, but do allow workers to honor picket lines. Cross-picketing means management can't claim that workers have withdrawn their labor to picket their own workplace.

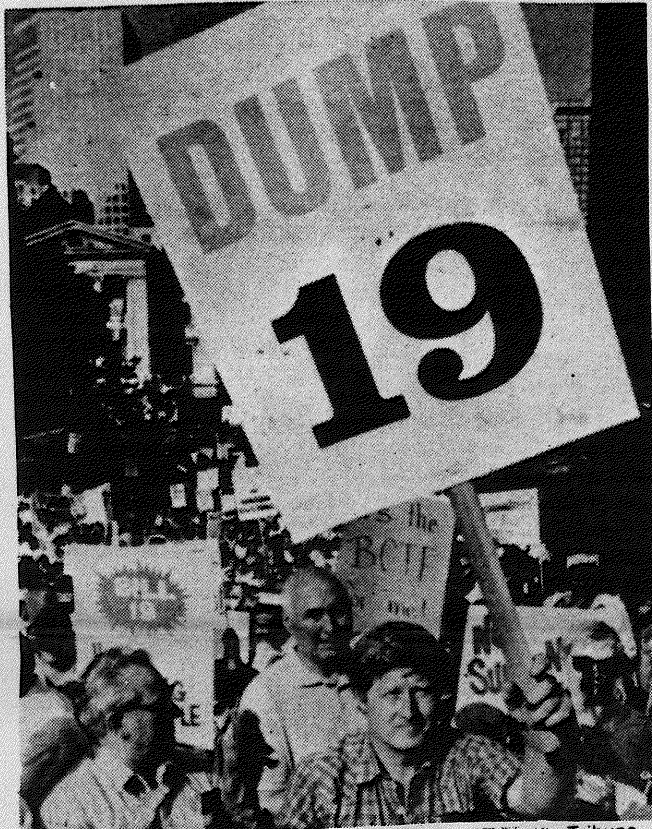
In all, the media estimated that 300,000 workers, or about a fourth of BC's 1,143,000 employees, were off the job June 1st. Expected to participate were 270,000 members of unions affiliated with the BC Federation of Labor, 20,000 members of unions affiliated with the Confederation of Canadian Unions, and the province's 28,000 teachers.

GOVERNMENT REACTION

The Provincial Government's immediate response to the June 1st general strike was to apply for an injunction restraining BC Federation of Labor President Ken Georgetti, BC Teachers' Federation President Elsie McMurphy, BC Fed Secretary-Treasurer Cliff Andstein, and seven other labor leaders, plus "anyone acting on their behalf and anyone having notice of this injunction", from "advocating, or circulating any writing advocating," the use of job action of any kind "as a means of accomplishing a governmental change".

The injunction would make anyone liable for contempt-of-court charges if they speak, write, or circulate any recorded speech or written document proposing "work stoppages, slowdowns, study sessions, breaking... collective agreements, intimidation, picketing, strikes... general strikes" as a method of altering some aspect of government.

According to the injunction, this would include "re-



sisting legislative change, showing Her Majesty has been misled or mistaken in her measures, pointing out errors in the government of the Province, procuring alteration of any matter of government, or otherwise interfering with... the democratic and Constitutional law making process in the Province".

Presumably if anyone stood at a meeting and suggested, for example, that the province-wide general strike should have continued until the Government withdrew Bills 19 and 20, the person making that statement would be in contempt of court.

Circulation of leaflets or publications advocating such a tactic—a tactic widely suggested both before and during the strike on radio phone-in shows, at union meetings, and on picket lines—would be illegal.

Even the IWW Constitution might be legally at risk. The Preamble to the Constitution states that a struggle must go on between the working class and the employing class "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". The Preamble further states: "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

To "take possession of the Earth", or to overthrow capitalism by organizing as a class, could possibly be interpreted as "breaking... collective agreements" to achieve "a governmental change".

Legal experts were quick to point out that the BC Government's injunction seems to be loosely based on the sections of the Criminal Code dealing with seditious. However, although the Code defines seditious as advocating (or publishing or circulating any written material that advocates) the use of force to achieve governmental change, the Code does not define force. And the Code specifically says that it is not seditious to use lawful means to "point out errors... in the Government".

Also, the Government's own Bill 19 already contains a number of ways to stop protest strikes like that of June 1st. Employers no longer have to seek permission of the Labor Relations Board (LRB) to sue their employees' union for damages caused by an "illegal strike". Bill 19 gives employers the right to obtain an order from the new Industrial Relations Council—which replaces the LRB—to prevent work stoppages before they take place.

And, under Bill 19, injunctions and cease-and-desist orders can be filed in the BC Supreme Court by an employer without the LRB's permission, as at present. This means the labor ruling automatically has the force of a court order.

Clearly BC's employing class is determined to hogtie the labor movement. At a May 20th protest rally in Vancouver, which attracted some 8,000 people, BC Fed President Georgetti told the crowd that Bill 19 is "not negotiable" and must be withdrawn. ("It goes or we fight.") Yet in the wake of the June 1st strike the BC Fed appears to be basing its opposition mainly on non-compliance with the Bill after it becomes law.

However, the action of the Government in seeking an injunction to outlaw the advocacy of strike action to oppose Government decisions indicates the fear with which the employing class views the general strike as a weapon of the working class. Perhaps BC's workers should take their cue from the employers' fears and use the open-ended general strike to make their power effective. If this is contempt of court, so be it.

(Reprinted, with editing, from the June 1987 issue of *Solidarity Bulletin*, newsletter of the Vancouver IWW.)

Child-Care Workers Sign With IWW

Child-care workers at the Berkshire Learning Center in Pittsfield, Massachusetts have successfully organized a new IWW shop. The 18 women and men represented by the bargaining unit work in dormitories of the Center, a small private non-profit school for emotionally-disturbed male adolescents. The workers, in their early to middle 20s, work with 30 students, aged 13 to 21, in 10-hour shifts, from 2 pm to 9 am on weekdays and around the clock on weekends. The students they work with come from different emotionally-disadvantaged backgrounds: Some are abandoned by their families, others are children of alcoholics.

According to FW John Silvano, initiator of the organizing drive, the child-care workers had about had it with management. Salaries were not up to the standards of similar agencies in the area, there was no dental plan, and the medical plan was inadequate. Workers' paychecks were coming up short, and reimbursement for underpayment was subject to delay. Management failed to follow up on promised benefits such as six-month wage raises. An initial meeting with management to work out these difficulties failed to bring the slightest concession from the boss.

Silvano, who had previously read some of the history of the IWW, discovered that we still exist and called the Chicago office, which put him in touch with IWW organizers in Boston and New York. With their active support, an NLRB petition for recognition as an IWW bargaining unit was circulated, with 15 out of 18 workers immediately signing. The fellow workers then confronted management with the petition, pointing out that it might as well recognize the union voluntarily, since the workers would win any future election. Faced with this demonstration of solidarity, management agreed to voluntary recognition and has subsequently granted substantive concessions on all grievances.

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DIRECT ACTION GETS THE GOODS

The *Wall Street Journal* has discovered that workers across the United States are increasingly resorting to direct action on the job in order to win their demands—and it's worried. The Page 1 lead headline in the *Journal's* May 22nd edition announced: "More Unions Turn to Slowdowns; Workers Keep Getting Paid While Hurting the Firm by Obeying Its Own Rules".

The story concentrates on the efforts of workers at the McDonnell Douglas Long Beach, California plant, where the aerospace giant turns out MD-80 passenger jets. Workers are refusing to install parts without blueprints, following work rules to the letter, enforcing all safety regulations, and generally making life miserable for the bosses. Sanford McDonnell, the company's chief executive, terms the direct-action campaign "baffling and frustrating".

Already, McDonnell Douglas has missed at least 10 delivery dates for MD-80 jets, and is reportedly running up to two months behind on deliveries. The company recently wrote workers warning that the slowdown may hurt future business and cause the company to miss as many as 50 delivery dates.

Workers turned to direct action after rejecting man-

agement demands for concessions on pay, benefits, and work rules. The *Journal* also reports other instances in which workers have withdrawn efficiency in an effort to hit employers where it hurts—in their pocketbooks.

At Babcock and Wilcox's Barberton, Ohio plant two years ago, the company refused to reverse disciplinary action against a union activist. The workers didn't file a grievance or turn to the Government for help. Instead, the *Journal* recounts, "a delegation of five people left their jobs to argue the case with the company. Management told them to get back to work or leave, and home they went. Another five workers went to management to argue the same grievance. This went on until the company had sent home 50 workers." Such tactics eventually

won a new, concession-free contract.

Some 700 nurses at Boston's City Hospital a year and a half ago launched a work-to-rule—turning down overtime and refusing to answer phones, move beds, or do other work outside their job classifications. Management caved in after two weeks, agreeing to a 23% pay hike over two years.

Notes the *Journal*, "Union members, instead of marching off the job, are now staying at work and battling the company from within. Usually, companies must keep paying workers participating in a slowdown, because they continue to do their jobs and adhere to the rules. . . . Management consultants all say more and more companies are asking for advice on how to respond to slowdowns." (Management strategies include lawsuits, lock-outs, and firings of key union activists.)

Wobblies have long known that there's nothing like a little direct action, and the solidarity to make it stick, to make the bosses see the error of their ways. Now that many of our fellow workers in the business unions are returning to the tactics that built the labor movement, maybe we'll soon see the end of the defeats and concessions that have dominated the last few years.



Hormel Action

What are you doing the Fourth of July? How about spending the weekend in Austin, Minnesota to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Spam?

The arrogance of the Hormel Company is approaching the ludicrous. First it convinced the Austin education system that counting Hormel products is new math at its best, and now it has commandeered Austin's annual celebration of Independence Day to celebrate the 50th birthday of God's gift to the working class—Spam.

That Austin is a company town, with all of the ugly connotations of that term, is no secret. The Hormel Company openly controls the press, the courts, the police, the local government, the school board, and the banks; but it may have gone too far by confiscating a national holiday.

The Hormel Company plans to conduct the Fourth of July parade through Austin with a generous sprinkling of Spam floats. The Austin United Support Group has been denied a permit to enter the parade with a float of its own. Does that give you any ideas? Has anyone seen *Animal House*?

Local P-9 is inviting all working people to Austin July 3rd, 4th, and 5th for a "Cram Your Spam" festival. A tent city will be set up on a primitive campground, and many surprises are in store. There will be fireworks, music, singing, dancing—all, hopefully, on Richard Knowlton's head.

As I write this, plans are in progress to bring Carlos Cortez's Wobbly art show to Austin for this fitting occasion, and Wobbly singers are tuning up their guitars. Miss this one and depression will be your just reward. Bring a tent, a sleeping bag, and your creativity. They need you!

The benefit concert held in Denver for striking P-9 was a great success. The concert was a near sellout, the music was superb, and the P-9 message was clear. We received a great deal of good press, with Pete Seeger as a drawing card, and several good radio interviews.

In the process of building the concert, we also began to build one of the best networks of activist labor people I have been around for many years. We're making many plans for future activities, including the Wobbly art show and presentations of the film *The Wobblies*.

It sure feels good to be back among people who want to "do things" again. The IWW is making a comeback, even though it's not always spelled "IWW". A rose by any other name . . .

Boycott Hormel!
Gary Cox

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

DUPONT'S RAPE-PREVENTION PROGRAM

Since 1985, the Du Pont Company has conducted in-house rape-prevention and counseling workshops to help its female employees avoid sexual assault on and off the job, and to educate all employees about the social and emotional impact of rape. Some 10,000 of Du Pont's 100,000 US employees took advantage of the personal-safety programs the company offered last year. Du Pont offers up to six months of paid leave for recuperation from a rape (with guaranteed confidentiality), and an employee who decides to take a rape case to court has access to the Company's legal department. If a rape occurs on the job, Du Pont will cover psychiatric and medical treatments, and the survivor can transfer anywhere in the Company.

These aren't bad ideas as far as they go, and readers involved in collective bargaining may want to try getting similar provisions written into their own job contracts.


AFL-CIO SEEKS DEFOLIANT BAN

In late May the AFL-CIO, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and a group of farmworkers asked a federal appeals court in the state of Washington to immediately stop fruit and vegetable growers in the Northwest from using the defoliant dinoseb as a weed killer.

The Environmental Protection Agency banned the use of dinoseb last year after it was shown to cause severe health disorders in laboratory animals, including sterility and birth defects. But in March of this year, after lentil and pea growers in Idaho and Washington asserted that no other defoliant killed weeds so well, the EPA modified its decision to allow limited use of the chemical, as long as the growers prohibited females from using it. Then, in early May, a federal district judge in Portland, Oregon ruled that growers of beans, cucumbers, raspberries, and other crops could use the chemical.

The current appeal seeks to reverse the decisions allowing the use of dinoseb and force the EPA to abide by its original decision to ban it. "What's unique here is that instead of banning a pesticide, the EPA and the court are banning women who are endangered by the pesticide," said Ralph Lightstone, a member of California Rural Legal Assistance, a lawyers' group that represents farmworkers.

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

Industrial Worker

Carlos Cortez, Mike Hargis, Penny Pixler

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Americanism

Flight attendants at American Airlines are battling for survival. After five months of negotiations, management unilaterally imposed deep concessions—including a 37% wage cut for new hires and a longer workweek. Rather than strike, attendants are fighting back with direct action on the job, leafleting passengers, and a corporate campaign against Equitable Life, which owns 12% of the airline's stock.

Twenty members of the Association of Professional Flight Attendants—fired for leafleting on their own time—are in court trying to get their jobs back. Management is confronting leafleters with video cameras and other harassment, but leafleting continues. A work-to-rule campaign is reportedly in the works in which attendants will refuse to carry more than two dinner trays at a time (one of the many federal regulations they will scrupulously observe).

Efforts are hampered by the total lack of solidarity exhibited by the unions representing American Airlines' other workers. Leaders of the Transport Workers Union actually testified in court against the 20 workers fired for leafleting.

This lack of solidarity is, unfortunately, typical. Airline workers are represented by a crazy-quilt patchwork of craft unions, each with its own contract. Since the current employer offensive began six years ago, unions have been so busy granting concessions to the industry that they haven't had time for niceties like honoring each other's picket lines or refusing to work with scabs.

The situation is aggravated by the intense competition in the industry, spurred by de-regulation and the entry of low-cost carriers (which hoped to make their money by cutting labor costs to the bone, cramming as many passengers as possible onto their planes, and flying only the most-desirable routes), many of which have since gone under or been bought out. The top six airlines, led by the virulently anti-union Texas Air (owner of Continental and Eastern), now account for some 85% of the business.

Airline workers aren't the only ones suffering. Delays, particularly at major airports, are way up, and safety is taking a nose dive due to the lack of properly-trained air-traffic controllers (a consequence of the 1981 firing of strikers), overcrowding, and skimping on maintenance costs.

All of this could have been avoided were it not for the fragmented structure of airline unionism and the lack of elementary solidarity—particularly from pilots and maintenance workers who have crossed picket lines in every dispute, even though they ultimately have the most to lose. Industrial unionism and solidarity represent the only way for airline workers to stop the current wave of defeats.

MAINE WORKERS STRIKE INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY

On June 16th, 1200 union workers in Maine went on strike against the International Paper Company's Androscogin mill after rejecting the bosses' offer of one-time bonuses up to \$6,450 in return for concessions on work rules and overtime pay. Management pledged to maintain production during the strike, saying it would rely on salaried workers from the company's plants in 26 states to scab, as well as on construction firms specially hired to do scab maintenance.

On June 17th another 1500 United Paperworkers walked out in resistance to concessions and in the hope of ending plant-by-plant negotiations and replacing them with company-wide bargaining.

COLA Fight Looms

In the last 15 months, with inflation nearly dormant, cost-of-living-adjustment (COLA) clauses have been disappearing en masse from union contracts without much complaint. By the end of March, only 38% of workers covered by major contracts still had COLA protection, compared to 50% in January 1986 and 61.2% at the high point of COLA coverage in 1976.

At the start of 1985, 56% of all workers covered by major contracts still had COLA protection. But that year the Teamsters, in negotiations with an association of trucking companies, gave up COLA protection for some 173,000 workers to meet higher costs of pension and health benefits. Soon hundreds of thousands of textile and clothing workers, steelworkers, and most employees of the old Bell system gave up COLA or agreed to suspend COLA provisions, often trading them for lump-sum payments, improved severance pay, fewer layoffs, or guarantees that work would not be contracted out to non-union plants.

Now that inflation is creeping higher (it went up 1.1% in 1986 and 3.8% in 1987, and economists are predicting a 4% increase by the end of the year), some unions are again giving priority to clauses that automatically increase wages as the Consumer Price Index rises. Others,

like the United Food and Commercial Workers, which "represents" 1.3 million workers in meatpacking, supermarkets, department stores, and the like, say they are too busy fighting cutbacks in health care, pension plans, overtime, and working hours to worry much about inflation adjustment if it can be traded for something that seems more pressing.

A big test comes this summer for hundreds of thousands of blue-collar workers at the Ford Motor Company and General Motors. Their contracts, which expire September 14th, include the oldest COLA clauses in the US. Both companies have eliminated inflation-protection payments for their non-union white-collar employees.

GM agreed to the nation's first COLA clause in 1948, when American business was booming. Auto makers could not keep up with orders and needed to give workers a few concessions so they would stay on the job. COLA clauses proved their worth in the late '70s and early '80s, when the annual inflation rate climbed over 10%. But as foreign competition cut into US sales, cost cutting became the norm. As unemployment climbed to 10% in Reagan's first term, inflation declined and unions were willing to trade off COLA for job-security provisions that have proven of doubtful worth.



Labor And The Law

By a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court has upheld a Maine law requiring that employers who terminate operations at plants with more than a hundred employees, or re-locate those operations more than a hundred miles away, provide one week's pay for each year of employment to all employees who had worked at the plant for at least three years. The employer has no such obligation if the employee accepts work at the new location or is covered by a contract that deals with severance pay. The law, unique to Maine, was invoked to force the Fort Halifax Packing Company, a poultry packaging and processing plant in Winslow that laid off almost all its employees in 1981, to make severance payments, and the company appealed all the way to the top court.

In a second case (Fall River Dyeing Versus NLRB, 85-1208), the Supreme Court ruled 6 to 3 to uphold the National Labor Relations Board practice of requiring a company that buys a failed business or otherwise takes over another company's assets to recognize and bargain with the union representing the predecessor's employees. The decision, which upheld the labor board's broad interpretation of a 1972 Supreme Court ruling, will hopefully make it more difficult for companies to buy each other out and change their names in the hope of busting out unions.

On June 8th the Supreme Court upheld 6 to 3 a Social Security regulation that has been used to deny hundreds of thousands of disability claims in recent years, particularly those of older workers whose conditions prevent them from doing physical labor. Under the 1987 "severity regulation", the Court affirmed that if medical evidence indicates that the disability is not severe enough to disqualify the claimant for most jobs, the application can be denied summarily without considering what kinds of jobs the claimant's age, work experience, or education qualify her or him for.

The Supreme Court also reversed a lower federal court ruling and upheld 5 to 4 a regulation in a large Missouri prison that effectively bars all correspondence between inmates and persons other than members of their im-

mediate families.

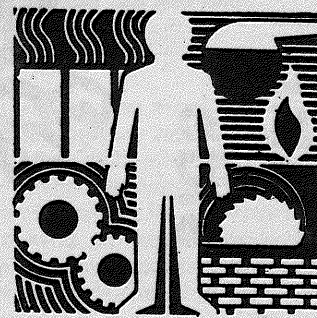
Clearing the way for the Customs Service to resume its program of requiring applicants for certain positions to submit to urine testing, the Supreme Court rejected 8 to 1 a request that it set aside a federal appellate decision upholding the program while it considered whether to hear an appeal.

Meanwhile, in New York, the state's highest court ruled June 9th that it is unconstitutional to force public-school teachers to submit to drug tests without a "reasonable suspicion" of drug use. The unanimous ruling by the Court of Appeals upholds two lower-court decisions and declares illegal a drug-testing program for probationary teachers in the Patchogue-Medford school district on Long Island.

In Washington DC the Justice Department is preparing a lawsuit aimed at removing the executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and placing the union under federal control on the ground that it is under the influence of organized crime. The suit represents the Government's first attempt to use civil racketeering statutes to take over a national union, although it succeeded in having a teamsters'-union local in New Jersey placed under the direction of a federal trustee earlier this year. The Teamsters Central States Pension Fund in Chicago is also under court supervision. The Department indicated last November that it planned to take such action against the Teamsters and three other unions—the International Longshoremen's Association, the Hotel and Restaurant Union, and the Laborers' International Union of North America—which the President's Commission on Organized Crime had identified as corrupt.

Eleven states—Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont—have charged in federal district court that the law that prevents states from blocking Nicaraguan training of National Guard units from states opposed to it is unconstitutional.

Labor News Briefs



CANADIAN MINERS BEAT CONCESSIONS: Westar Ltd of British Columbia first tried to wring concessions from Mine Workers Local 7192 via the grievance procedure, then sought to obtain them as part of a new contract. But the Local's membership not only refused concessions, but also weathered a four-month lockout to win improved pension benefits, better short-term disability benefits, more life insurance, a cash bonus, and a 70-cent-an-hour raise spread over three years. This has encouraged members of Local 7192 working in other area firms to demand more from their own bosses.

HAWAIIAN HOTEL WORKERS WIN: Pay raises of 18%, increased job security, and improvements in pension and health benefits were gained in the new contract covering 8,000 members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Workers Union staffing the 13 largest hotels in Hawaii. Given the ownership turnover in Hawaiian hotels, the terms of the three-year contract are to be binding on future owners.

WOMEN SEE RISE IN JOB BIAS: Women's perception of job discrimination has risen, with 56% of women respondents in a recent Gallup Poll reporting that they do not think women have equal job opportunities, while in a 1975 poll only 46% of women respondents thought women faced unequal opportunities. Men's opinions remained about the same, with roughly equal proportions in the 1975 and 1987 polls believing that women and men have the same job opportunities.

GM LOSES SEX-DISCRIMINATION SUIT: In late May a Michigan jury awarded Beverly Pittman, 44, some \$403,000 in back pay and damages in a sex-discrimination suit against General Motors. The jury found that the auto maker had discriminated against Ms. Pittman when she was laid off from her job as a production supervisor in July 1981.

SO THEY HOPE: "With proper guidance American employers can learn how to motivate Hispanics to much better performance and, at the same time, keep them out of the clutches of the unions, writes Dr. Woodruff Imerman in (Chicago) *Area Development* (April 1987). "They cannot be managed or motivated in the same fashion as American workers."

HEALTH COSTS SHIFTING TO EMPLOYEES: It's a development only as old as the '80s, but more and more workers who have job health-insurance programs are paying for them. According to a 1986 Wyatt survey, 44% of American workers (the *New York Times* didn't explain whether this meant the total workforce or only those who had insurance through their jobs) contributed to the cost of their individual coverage, and 62% paid for part of the cost of family coverage. Deductibles are going up too. They stayed level at \$50 to \$100 for an individual or \$100 to \$200 for family insurance from the '60s to the early '80s, but in the last few years most employers have raised them to \$200 to \$250 for individual coverage and \$600 to \$750 for families.

NO PICS FOR HERALD TRIBUNE: The June 2nd issue of the *International Herald Tribune* featured white spaces in place of news pictures in all editions as the result of a one-day work stoppage by photo engravers at the newspaper's Paris headquarters over the replacement of a retiring worker. The stoppage was wisely staged just before deadline, when page layouts could not be revised in time for transmission.

YUGOSLAVIAN STRIKE: About a thousand construction workers in Skopje went out on strike June 14th to protest a two-month delay in wages. Workers of the Illinden construction enterprise also staged a march to the local offices of the Communist Party to publicize their grievance. The average salary of the construction workers was \$55 a month.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE OTHER 22%? Two Boston University psychologists have found that 78% of US workers distrust management, according to *Dollars & Sense*. But the researchers found that even among the most anti-management workers, most are willing to cooperate with their co-workers. Could worker self-management be the solution?

RIGHT TO EARN LESS: Workers in states that have so-called right-to-work laws earn about 16% less on the average than workers in other states.

SEIU MEMBERSHIP UP: Final totals for the 1986 organizing drives of the Service Employees International Union revealed that nearly 50,000 new members had signed up. As in other industries, jobs were lost by SEIU members in some areas due to closings and layoffs. The union's recruiting, however, was successful enough to more than balance those losses.

JOIN THE OBU

LEFT
side



While perusing one of the many rags that come into your scribe's hands, I came across an interesting little item by an author named John Garvey. He says that if all the anti-nuclear demonstrators in both Europe and Freedomland were successful in getting their respective governments to dismantle all nuclear weapons, humanity would be no closer to World peace, and no further from eventual total destruction.

The immediate effect of such a drastic move as discontinuing nuclear weaponry would no doubt be an increase in the number of conventional troops stationed in "sensitive areas". Not only that, but both Freedomland and the Workers' Paradise, as well as other technologically "advanced" powers, would be plunging into intense bacteriological-warfare research.

Your scribe has also been listening to nasty rumors that the present AIDS virus has been developed in some laboratory as a bacteriological weapon. Remembering Freedomland's overt generosity in bestowing disease-infested blankets on the Plains Indians during the last century, such rumors do not seem so preposterous. It sure as Hell would be a handy way of clearing whole continents of pesky inhabitants who have the chutzpah to feel that colonizers have no business taking over their territory.

All this is not to say that we should just throw up our hands at the futility of it all. If the drift toward nuclear annihilation makes you scared and angry, stay scared and angry and raise hell about it; but also remember that even if all the competing national powers decide to exist in harmony with one another and institute peace everlasting, the present economic system is going to kill us off eventually.

Business as usual is destroying a lot of our natural resources and making much of the Earth uninhabitable. The rain forests are being chopped down to make grazing land for the mystery-meat burgers we are being urged to consume by the fast-food emporia. When overgrazing reduces these erstwhile rain forests to sterile deserts, these operations will move to new forests; for the rain forests are an essential ingredient in maintaining the atmosphere of the Earth.

With the present population explosion, which will not be under control for at least another century, our land area will be unable to produce enough food. This land area is severely limited; but the oceans can be reckoned in cubic miles rather than square miles, and offer much-greater food-producing potential, although offshore drilling is putting that latent food supply in grave danger.

Much of the arable land that remains is being subjected to industrial farming, which scientists point out waste's much of the soil's productivity, whereas subsistence farming actually rescues that productivity. Much of the Earth's timberland is being denuded, when there are more than enough rock- and brick-producing areas to provide plenty of sturdy and fireproof housing.

The continuing proliferation of internal-combustion engines pollutes our urban streets and rural roadways, when cheap electric mass transportation could make our lives much healthier and less hectic. Industries that continue to operate with fewer workers still pollute the air and waterways with impunity, and have contributed to the extinction of many species of wildlife. The California Condor no longer flies over the western mountains, and many other wild birds and animals face certain extinction as harmful chemicals in the atmosphere render eggshells increasingly thinner and more brittle.

Our species may last a little longer without any more wars, but unless we can overcome the submissiveness into which we have been conditioned for centuries, we may well become the chief cause of our own extinction.

Fred Thompson expressed it most simply and eloquently when he said that the trouble with the human race is that too many decisions are made by too few people. As long as we allow a minute fraction of our population to control the destiny of us all, it will make little difference whether we disappear from the Earth via nuclear warfare or business as usual.

By all means take part in anti-nuclear protests, but be sure to remind your fellow protesters that nuclear warfare is but one facet of a sick system. You don't get rid of a bad tree by hacking off an occasional branch. You have to pull it out by the roots.

Draftees of the World unite; you have nothing to lose but your generals!

C. C. Redcloud

ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATORS ARRESTED: More than a hundred people protesting the Reagan Administration's nuclear-weapons tests were arrested June 10th in front of the White House when demonstrators held up an 18-foot reproduction of a cruise missile. The action climaxed a two-day campaign by three anti-nuke groups, one of the largest protests at the White House since 250 demonstrators were arrested in 1985.

EDITORIAL:

Government-Controlled Unions

Recent news reports indicate that the US Justice Department is preparing a lawsuit aimed at taking over the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This action would be based on federal racketeering statutes and the Government trusteeship of a New Jersey Teamsters local (now being run by a former prosecutor with no union experience whatever).

The lawsuit would remove Teamsters President Jackie Presser and the other 20 members of the union's international executive board, replacing them with Government appointees. Those trustees (or court-designated replacements) would serve till the Government was convinced that new elections would yield a "satisfactory" (to the Government) executive board.

This action—depriving 1.7 million Teamsters of the last faint vestiges of control over their union—would be based on union officers' long-standing ties to organized crime. Predictably, Teamsters representatives are outraged by the proposal.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union—a caucus advocating reform of the corruption-ridden union—has taken an ambivalent position, favoring Government legal action against the union but opposing a trusteeship. Instead, TDU spokesperson Ken Pfaff called for a Government-sponsored rank-and-file election of new officers. (Executive-board members are currently elected by convention.)

Although this would be only the second time that racketeering statutes have been used to take over a union, such action is not unprecedented even in the United States. (In countries like Mexico, Nicaragua, and South Korea, of course, government take-overs of unions are

routine, while independent unions have long been suppressed in most Soviet Bloc countries.) The courts have, for example, twice sought to intervene in the affairs of the IWW—in 1906 and 1924. In both cases the courts sought to impose officers on the IWW (turning the union's assets over to them), but were defeated because the membership refused to go along.

Since then the Government has passed a wide array of anti-labor legislation—restricting workers' rights to organize in unions of their choice (the Wagner Act), to engage in acts of solidarity (Taft-Hartley), and to administer their own affairs (Landrum-Griffin). Many have hailed these laws, all explicitly designed to increase Government control over the labor movement, as victories for unions. In truth the only ones to benefit have been the union bureaucrats and the bosses.

Many militant workers—frustrated in their efforts to fight corrupt union bureaucracies—have turned to the courts and the NLRB in a desperate effort to gain minimal democratic rights within their unions. Occasionally the Government does in fact intervene in their behalf, but the net effect of such interventions is to increase State control over the labor movement and re-inforce the notion that workers cannot run our own organizations.

Government control of unions is not the answer to union corruption. Workers would do much better to rid themselves of the corrupt unions that afflict them, and organize new unions in their place. Having to choose between mob or Government control of our unions is no choice at all.

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THE LOSERS IN THE IRAN-IRAQI WAR

The US Government's attitude toward the seven-year Iran-Iraqi war was summed up by Henry Kissinger when he suggested that US interests would be best served if both sides lost. Indeed, the working class in both countries has already lost. The winners will be whichever set of land and factory owners grows fattest off the local military-industrial complex during the war and grabs fastest after it for the new profiteering opportunities that any shift between the sectors of the owning class can open up.

The examples come from the Irani side, but conditions are little different across the border.

Material for civilian goods is scarce, and workers in the civilian sector are under constant threat of layoff and constant pressure to accept "voluntary" redundancy, though those who do so often fail to receive the full amount of their severance pay. When workers are sent to the front, management often does not hire replacements for them and pressures those remaining to work harder.

In military-related industries, workers are under constant pressure to work harder, faster, and longer. Worn-out equipment cannot be replaced, safety features and precautions are ignored, and the accident rate soars. Even the Minister of Labor voiced his concern that "Consequences of these incidents are not limited to the loss of workforce; every incident cause huge economic damages, compensation of which requires heavy expense. . . . Many more incidents happen in workshops that are not under insurance systems and whose number is therefore unknown."

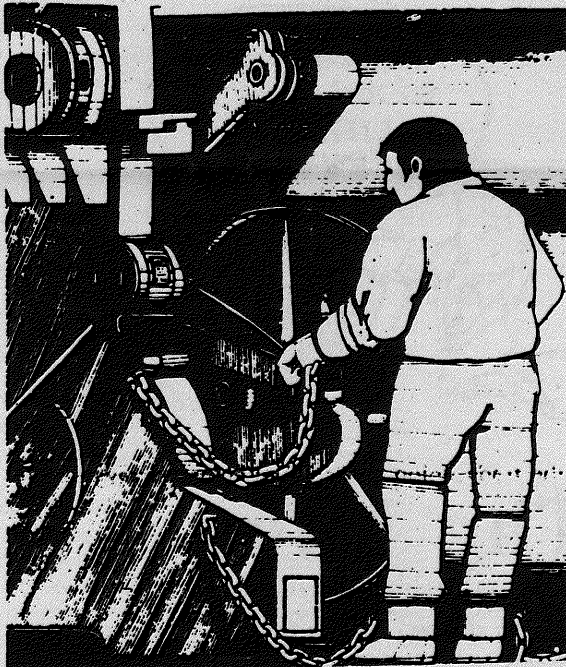
A new dimension to the devastation of the war was added when Iran and Iraq began bombing each other's cities, resulting in thousands of civilian deaths and injuries. But "friendly fire" takes its own toll: In January 700 people were killed in Northern Tehran when a mortar-shell depot exploded. The authorities were well aware that a residential area was an unsuitable place to store explosives, but no action was taken on the local level. The dead included children from a nearby kindergarten.

But beside the big horrors are the small ones, as the Government overlooks no possibility of wringing more out of the workers. The story is told of the workers in one shop who were just finishing work when they heard a truck pull up outside. The driver asked the workers to change the truck's motor oil, since he was on his way to the war front, carrying their contributions. The workers were surprised to hear this, since none of them had contributed anything. The next day, when one of the workers went to the factory co-op to do his shopping, he found the place bare: All the goods had gone into the truck.

LABOR UNIONS AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

At least 20 US labor unions, including the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, American Federation of Teachers, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers, Service Workers International, and United Food and Commercial Workers, honored Amnesty International at a special reception in Washington DC. Among the speakers was Soviet human-rights activist Viktor Davydov, who spoke on behalf of Soviet labor activist Yegor Volkov. Russian authorities arrested Volkov in 1967 for organizing a protest among construction workers over pay cuts. Volkov has been confined since then and is reported to be in ill health. Davydov urged American labor unions to write Soviet authorities calling for Volkov's immediate release.

ORGANIZE the
UNORGANIZED



CBS WRITERS RATIFY DOUBTFUL PACT

On April 10th, striking members of the Writers Guild of America voted 266 to 24 to accept a contract proposed by CBS and end a six-and-a-half-week strike against that network. From the start of the strike, March 2nd, the main issue had been job security. Officials at CBS made it no secret that they were negotiating for more flexibility to dismiss and re-assign employees, and by and large they got it.

The network had originally demanded the right to dismiss workers without arbitration. The new contract requires that an employee whose work is deemed unsatisfactory must be given a written explanation of the employer's dissatisfaction and reasonable time to either improve performance or respond to the criticism. If the company still wants to fire the worker, an arbitrator can be called to decide the case.

The old contract allowed the use of temporary workers on a limited basis, a "right" the new contract greatly expands, particularly to replace employees who were either transferred or promoted. But temporaries may not be used to "regularly" replace employees who have been fired, and the network must first offer temporary jobs to any permanent worker who has been laid off and is "qualified" for the position.

The network broke the seniority layoff rule, winning the right to retain up to 25% of employees regardless of time with the company, but must lay off the other 75% in strict seniority order. The new contract also widens the list of non-guild members permitted to write copy for broadcast.

----- JAPAN: JUNKYARD BLUES -----

Japan's emergence as a major industrial power and rival of the US in international trade has severe repercussions for American workers, especially in the automobile and electronics industries. Ironically, however serious the current dispute between the two industrial monoliths may be, Japan's rise from defeat in World War II is the direct result of US policy.

From the beginning of the Occupation, the US encouraged Japanese development of manufacturing for export. Japan's wartime munitions ministry, which perfected Japan's unique system of decentralized manufacture by subcontractors, was left intact by American authorities, but given a new name—the Ministry for International Trade and Industry (the dreaded Miti)—and a new purpose: the development of non-military exports. US banker Joseph Dodge originally proposed the policy of import substitution and export stimulation that has since guided Japanese industry. Dodge also set the exchange rate for the yen at 360 to the dollar, a rate that held for 20 years through the period of Japan's fastest economic growth. This rate of exchange turned out to be the deal of the century for Japanese capitalists, considering the quantity and quality of skilled labor the yen could buy.

Other prominent Americans, including George Meany of the UAW, helped secure openings in the American market for Japanese exports without reciprocal agreements that would allow for the importation of American goods. Except for raw materials destined for re-export as finished goods, Japanese imports are governed by the highly-corrupt and semi-legal system of "non-tariff barriers". This Byzantine system of agents, subagents, political payoffs, and exclusive distribution channels is widely disliked by the Japanese themselves, but guarantees that foreign capital will not gain a toehold in the domestic marketplace.

Other worthy services performed by American zealots out to save yet another country from the spectre of international Communism included the creation of the Liberal Democratic Party, which serves as a referee in internal bureaucratic disputes as well as a think tank and sandbox for otherwise-useless political corporate figures. There is a certain gallows humor to American business unions' efforts to preserve freedom, democracy, and capitalism in Japan, when in the long run these efforts have turned out to be a knife in the back of the American worker and have now brought Japan to a period of intense economic crisis.

The chief problem with the Japanese economic model is that the unilateral emphasis on exports and de-facto prohibition of imports makes it hard for the rest of the World to obtain enough Japanese currency to buy Japanese products: Currency rises in value, prices follow suit, stockpiles of unsalable goods accumulate, and the economy stagnates. Japan was already in trouble in the early '70s, when investment in export-oriented industry accounted for 40% of the GNP. Fortunately for the Japanese capitalists, the two major oil crises of the '70s served to absorb the trade surplus and keep the yen down as Japan was obliged to pay huge oil bills to OPEC.

This was not to last, however, and once again American policy has become a major cause of Japan's difficulties. Reaganite supply-side economics holds that inflation is spurred and economic growth is slowed by inadequate supplies of goods and services, not excessive demands. If demand is increased by tax cuts, deficit budgets, and other devices, prices will not increase but production will. That's the way things have certainly worked in the US... for Japan and other Asian countries where low wages and little regulation of industry prevail. Asian suppliers rushed in with cars and TV sets as well as money to lend Americans to finance their demand. The Japanese trade surplus skyrocketed, but the export of capital kept the yen cheap.

But by the last quarter of 1986, with the yen hovering at 160 to the dollar, the crunch finally came. The Japanese are now exporting nearly twice as much as they import, and capital exports can no longer hold the currency down. The rise of the yen is also hurting US corporations that buy components and whole products for the Japanese. "There's no case where we have escaped unscathed," said Robert Reilly, director of corpo-

rate strategy at Ford, which buys about a billion dollars' worth of Japanese goods a year. The rise of the yen has cost Ford millions, and other large US corporations like General Electric and Cincinnati Milacron, the largest US machine-tool company, are not renewing contracts.

The Japanese automotive giant Nissan is a pretty-good indication of the extent of the crisis. With car exports hitting 20 million this month, the company is showing zero profits. Other Japanese corporations are experiencing similar problems, and even extensive automation has failed to hold down the cost of labor and the rise in the value of the yen, now nearly 140 to the dollar. Nissan is seriously talking about cutting back production, laying off workers, and moving factories out of Japan to places where the currency is softer and the wages are lower.

Other corporations will doubtless follow suit, especially the semi-conductor industries, which are faced with similar non-productive gluts of productivity. As Tadahiro Sekimoto of Nippon Electric put it: "Sometimes a company forsakes its country in order to survive." This is a lesson Detroit and other American industrial centers have already started to learn. It will be interesting to see how the Japanese will take to the dislocations

brought about by capital flight, causing massive disruption of the more-or-less harmonious Japanese social compact of full employment and social discipline.

The last time Japanese capital abandoned development of its domestic economy, opting for the creation of an industrial base on the Asian continent, was in the pre-World War II period when the military carved out an empire for industrial expansion and ushered in a time of violent social conflicts culminating in the establishment of a fascist regime. Although re-militarization of their economy would provide a quick fix for the troubles to come, Japanese businessmen show little appetite for the options.

Whatever the outcome, Japanese capital has painted itself into a corner, and the results are going to be very unpleasant for Japanese workers (and workers elsewhere) as wages and purchasing power continue to fall on a global scale. Sadly, the Japanese, like the Americans before them, are beginning to drown in the ingenuity and productivity of their capital.

Anyone for an international industry-wide strike?

Lev Narod

----- SOUND OF A DISTANT DRUM -----

You the children of the galactic futures, inheritors of those universes beyond the suns, explorers of infinity (if one can usurp the old prose clichés of the pre-war American pulp magazine *Amazing Stories*), may know the result of the British general election. I, on the other hand, am the only one in these tiny islands who will openly admit to not having a Sherlock Holmes clue. But pragmatic, rational, humanitarian working-class common sense tells me to accept the lesser evil, for I have no wish that I and the old and the sick, poor, and homeless may be called on to play the martyrs to cozy, well-fed middle-class principles or political or religious fanaticism. We are not fools but sensible cynics, for we know that betrayal is the order of the day; but in those brief hours before we the laboring masses of the world have the political knife thrust into our collective backs, we would enjoy a little peace, a plate of warm food, a glass of cool beer, a good program on TV, and a brown mongrel turn-

ing in his sleep. So to Hell with the demand of President Reagan that Ma Thatcher be returned to office, and let us have the brief peace of the holy fools. One has no wish to play the role of Cassandra, daughter of Priam king of Troy, who correctly foretold the future but was not chosen to be believed; but to delude ourselves, comrades, is so very foolish, as the mass graves of Europe bear eloquent witness.

The trade-union movements within Britain have had to accept one staggering defeat after another while the office-bound trade-union bosses beat on their beer bellies instead of their chests. Eric Hammond, the right-wing leader of the elite highly-paid EETPU electricians' union, is so sure of his ground that he is having a tootsie secret ballot on his policies at next week's Blackpool annual conference. But as his lads have already endorsed a legally-binding no-strike agreement and single cozy union deals with employers, plus the historical fact that the EETPU was the union that chose to scab in the siege of Wapping, one must accept that the lads will back smooth Eric all the way to the bank, united by a hangman's noose of natural greed and giggling guilt.

The barbed wire has been taken down at Fortress Wapping, and the *Times* newspapers are on common daily sale while hand-gripping deals are still being made on "golden handshakes" for those printers who have left the picket lines in Wapping for quieter industrial battle lines, and the left-wing weekend revolutionaries are occupied with the mayhem and leafleting of the election. Only in the remains of printing Fleet Street do the dead fires flicker into an angry glow, for a dozen printers on the tabloid *Daily Mirror* are protesting that they could lose their closed-shop union card because they refuse to kick in a "voluntary" \$20 a week to the Wapping strike fund during the dispute. And now with about a thousand dollars in back "voluntary" contributions requested there is a weeping and wringing of hands in the print room of Britain's leading tabloid, for to lose that exclusive closed-shop print-union card means there is no job no how no where.

For Britain's allegedly-striking working-class school-teachers one can have little interest or sympathy; for their alleged strike has dragged on for so many months—or is it years?—in such a dreary and ineffectual fashion that boredom even among the bleeding hearts is the order of the day. A half day here, a half day there; \$15 strike pay and off for the afternoon; and a plea that they are elite professionals worthy of higher wages than the laboring masses. If only they would stop whining about their social and intellectual superiority and walk out in a mass strike from every school in the country with a simple demand for more pay, one might work up a tiny glow of sympathy; but not for a one-afternoon go-home once every other month or so in a plea for higher wages than the parents of the working-class children trapped in those wooden desks.

But there is one major industrial dispute worthy of total working-class support, and that is the plight of the London passenger-transport workers; for they are being sold out by their employer, the tory State, and their union, the TGWU. Transport routes all over London are being sold off to any cowboy operator who wants to buy them, and bus workers' take-home pay is being slashed by \$50 a week despite the addition of seven hours to the workweek. The workforce has twice voted en masse for all-out strike actions, but the response of the TGWU union bosses is to run to the lords of the law courts pleading that the wage cuts should be deemed illegal. And still the routes are sold off, the wages cut, and the working hours lengthened, and the bus workers know that their official union is broken and beaten, and before them lies a long and lonely night of protest.

Arthur Moyse, London

Preserve
the
future.



GIVE to the
sustaining fund!

SOUTH AFRICAN ROUNDUP

Six black miners were killed and 45 wounded by security guards June 5th at the Western Holdings gold mine owned by the Anglo American Corporation. Two guards also were reported killed.

Also on June 5th, the State-owned railroad agreed to re-hire 17,000 black workers it had dismissed in a three-month strike that led to 11 deaths. The workers will not be paid for days they missed, but will not lose benefits. Union members detained under the state-of-emergency decree will be guaranteed their former jobs upon release. The head of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Jay Naidoo, called the settlement a major victory for railway workers over apartheid arrogance.

On June 12th the South African Government said it had released a thousand detainees held under state-of-emergency decrees. The move came as blacks and whites held prayer services and protest meetings to mark the first anniversary of emergency rule. The detainees, some of whom had been held for a year without being charged, were released in a transition period as President Botha extended his year-old emergency decree, re-imposing the same strangling restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly, and the press.

GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT WORKERS STRIKE

More than 100,000 Guatemalan Government workers went on strike in late April. Begun by Finance Ministry employees, the strike spread quickly, gaining substantial support when the Government tried to fire more than 150 striking Cultural Ministry workers. Police took control of Government buildings affected by the strike, and union leaders accused departmental supervisors of taking roll calls to fire strikers. The workers demanded raises of \$40 a month, but the Government refused, saying there was not enough money.

During his first year in office, however, Guatemala President Cerezo got nearly a billion dollars in foreign aid and loans, allocated mainly for military programs. Other demands of the strikers were that the Deputies (similar to US Representatives) give back a recent raise that doubled their salaries, and that the Government establish price controls on basic food items like beans, rice, and tortillas.

(taken from *CISPES*)



REMEMBERING FRED THOMPSON



As promised in the June issue, we are printing here some of the many messages that were read or mentioned at the Fred Thompson Memorial Meeting in Chicago on May 9th.

Fred's was one of the finest minds in the labor movement. As a teacher at Work People's College he always displayed great patience and wit, with a deep understanding of the society and economic system under which we live. His loss will be felt in the front lines of the multitude of workers and people searching for freedom from economic exploitation and the fear of nuclear war that confronts us all.

Lorraine and Mauritz Erkkila
Fairfax, Virginia

My thoughts for the past weeks go back to days at Work People's College. How well I remember the boxcar trip Fred and I took from Chicago to Duluth, which was in the fall and quite cold. He taught me the fundamentals of how to catch a freight and find an empty boxcar, and what to avoid. Many trips we took after that, popping off in Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago.

Of all the people in my life, Fred has had the greatest influence on my thinking. The ideas and viewpoints that Fred molded his life around are something to be held in awe. His vast knowledge and his memory were second to none. The literature I receive from the Kerr Publishing Company is a tribute to a man who leaves a gap difficult and well-nigh impossible to fill.

Yours for the world as Fred envisioned it could be,

Archie Brown
Clearwater, Florida

It is hard to say goodbye to that tough old battler, Fred Thompson, in these parlous days when union labor is being savaged by a hostile Administration and Ronald Reagan is being described as a "labor leader" for his finking activities as president of the Screen Actors Guild.

During the many years I knew Fred in Chicago, I was always impressed by his scholarly knowledge in the field of labor and his devotion to the cause of the so-called "common man". He never considered fellow workers "common" in the condescending sense. In the words of the old hymn, he kept his hand upon the throttle and his eye upon the rail. Though I have not seen him for a good many years, I shall miss his presence.

Jack Conroy
Moberly, Missouri

Fred Thompson was a great historian and, more important, a great character in the American Left. To me, as a historian and an activist, he was a personal inspiration.

I'm afraid I only got to meet with Fred once, interviewing him on the role of immigrants around the Wobblies, but he was an enormous help. We had been correspondents, off and on, for many years. Fred was always eager to lend a helping scholarly hand.

My thoughts, and those of hundreds of others, are with you. Fred will be missed. But he lived such a splendid life that his accomplishments are permanent.

Paul Buhle
Oral History of the American Left
The Tamiment Library
New York University

(Telegram:) The International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations honors the memory of Fred Thompson. His life is an example of integrity and of dedication to the cause of the international working class. We grieve his passing, but will not forget his inspiration and vision in solidarity.

Dan Gallin
International Union of Food and
Allied Workers' Associations
Geneva, Switzerland

The Greater Cleveland Labor History Society joins with you in saying farewell to Fred Thompson by celebrating his life and his work. His contributions to maintaining the continuity of some of the best traditions of the American working class in Cleveland helped write a unique chapter in the history of the IWW and in the organizing of the unorganized in this area from 1934 to 1950.

Fred Thompson was also a pioneer local labor historian. As editor of the *Industrial Worker* he published a Special Cleveland Sesquicentennial issue on September 7th, 1946, containing his feature article "The Workers Who Built Cleveland". Early this year we decided to reprint that article as a booklet. It will help educate new generations to view the labor movement in historical perspective. It is also our special local memorial to Fellow Worker Fred Thompson.

Jean Y. Tussey, Vice-President
Greater Cleveland Labor History Society

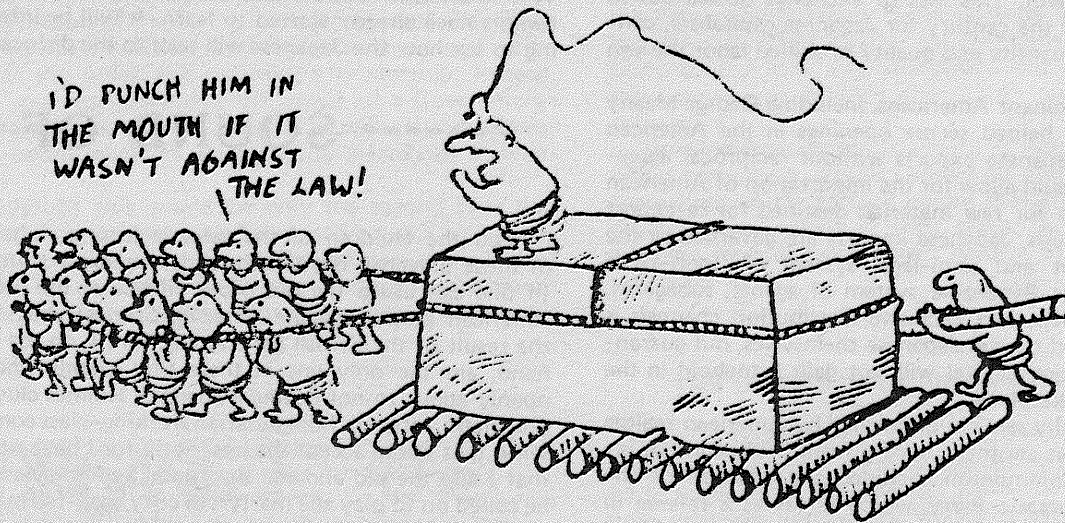
Evidence of Fred Thompson is close at hand at Singlejack Books. I am looking at the review he wrote of Staughton Lynd's *The Fight Against Shutdowns* in the January 1983 issue of the *Industrial Worker*. He did not write a word that strayed outside the central question of the book: What can communities of working people do to combat shutdowns effectively? In fact a close look at any of Thompson's writing reveals that he understood a plain truth about methodology that is rare in our time: *There is no point to discussion of any problem outside the context of how to mobilize against the institutions that create and extend the problem.* Thompson was at the same time well aware that theoretical discussions are of primary importance for any who are seeking progressive change, but he knew they led to failure when expediency caused them to lack this special focus.

Whether concluding phone conversations, his special kind of essays, or book reviews, Thompson could move

without strain from discussion of the deep fear multinational corporations have spread via job-killing automation to consideration of the strategic imperative of getting off the opponent's home turf onto one's own. He sensed in the 1980s "a growing awareness that something needs to be done about this, and the difficulty of doing that within the framework of law, tradition, and capitalist economics".

There is a special power in singular truths stated with the dignity of quiet laughter. Is it possible to look upon this power as a talent? If so, it was finely honed by that generation of revolutionary unionists of which Fred Thompson was a member. Through this inheritance, he and all Wobblies remain around and about.

Stan Weir
San Francisco, California



100 YEARS OF FREEDOM

Freedom: A Hundred Years, Freedom Press, London, distributed in the US by the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1740 West Greenleaf, Suite 7, Chicago, Illinois 60626, 88 pages, \$7.95 postpaid

In the early 1960s, when Walter Westman was the Union's General Secretary-Treasurer, the IWW headquarters on the second floor at 2422 North Halsted in Chicago served as a key distribution point for anarchist literature from all over the English-speaking world. There one could purchase books, pamphlets, or other periodicals from Chicago's Free Society Group, the Libertarian League of New York, the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in Britain, and many less-well-known groups across the Globe. Far more numerous than all of these put together, however—and even outnumbering the Union's own extensive literature—were the publications of Freedom Press of London: Marie-Louise Berneri's *Workers in Stalin's Russia*, George Woodcock's *Homes or Hovels?*, Tony Gibson's *Youth for Freedom*, Philip Sansom's *Syndicalism: The Workers' Next Step*, and many more. Also on hand from Freedom Press were regular bulk orders of the fortnightly newspaper *Freedom* (then edited by Vernon Richards), and the monthly journal *Anarchy*, edited by Colin Ward. In 1964, when the Chicago IWW Branch opened its Solidarity Bookshop—which also served as the Branch Hall for several years—Freedom Press Publications continued to constitute a large share of the stock.

The oldest anarchist publishing house in the world, and still today one of the largest, best, and most prolific, Freedom Press was established in 1886 by an extraordinary group that included old Peter Kropotkin himself. A special centenary issue of the now-monthly *Freedom*, recently published in book form, contains dozens of short articles chronicling its history and re-affirming the ideas that continue to animate its activity today.

The historical articles by Heiner Becker, Vernon Richards, Philip Sansom, and Nicolas Walter are among the finest in the book, telling of the many remarkable individuals associated with *Freedom* over the years, and of the kinds of agitation in which they were engaged. Excellent biographical sketches of such *Freedom* stalwarts as Marie-Louise Berneri, Thomas Keell, Max Nettlau, William C. Owen, Charlotte Wilson, and Lilian Wolfe are supplemented by important documents reproduced in facsimile, including Volume 1, Number 1 of *Freedom* (October 1886) and the "International Anarchist Manifesto" against World War I, co-signed by members of the Freedom Press group together with many others, among them Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and Errico Malatesta, as well as Bill Shatoff of the IWW.

The re-affirmations of anarchism cover a wide field, touching on syndicalism, environmentalism, anti-war struggle, and many other topics. Inevitably reflecting the conflicts and tensions in the movement today, some of these articles seem to me to be less than successful. But the thoughtful and provocative texts by Tony Gibson, Vernon Richards, Nicolas Walter, and Colin Ward—all of whom have been closely associated with Freedom Press for decades—are more than ample compensation.

The oversize book (8 by 12 inches) is abundantly illustrated with photographs as well as drawings and cartoons by Walter Crane, Clifford Harper, John Olday, Donald Room, Philip Sansom, and others. An interesting article explores the links between artists and anarchists in Britain. And speaking of artists, readers of the *Industrial Worker* will be pleased to learn that its British columnist, Arthur Moyses, has enhanced this compilation not only with an article but also with one of his raucous and mercilessly crowded cartoons, too rarely seen on this side of the Atlantic.

In these days when "radical" fashions change so often and so suddenly, and when traumatic ideological flip-flopping and fly-by-night politics are the norm, Nicolas Walter is surely right to praise Freedom Press as "a rare example of persistence and consistency". Freedom Press, he observes, "has been working for anarchism longer and better than anyone or anything else, and is still doing the same job after a century. It deserves its success and survival...."

Freedom's centenary anthology is an important book on the history and current activity of an important group, and is warmly recommended to rebel workers and free spirits everywhere.

Franklin Rosemont

BOOK REVIEW

The AIFLD in Central America, by Tom Barry and Deb Preusch, published by the Resource Center, Box 4506, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87196, paperback, 75 pages, \$5

This booklet is an account of the joint venture of the AFL-CIO and CIA: the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Both the AFL and the CIA were busy soon after World War II undermining leftist organizations all over Latin America, but the Cuban revolution of January 1959 sparked the formation of the AIFLD, which specialized in creating pliant unions and breaking up more-militant ones.

While the booklet describes AIFLD personnel and funding sources in great detail, this reviewer found the five chapters on AIFLD activities in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua the most interesting. These chapters are full of illustrative details like the AIFLD's refusal to get involved in the international campaign to support the Guatemala Coca-Cola bottling-plant workers who were being terrorized in the 1980s, its orchestration of worker support for Duarte in El Salvador, its use of its foothold among the Honduras banana workers to prevent the formation of a worker-peasant alliance in that country, and its focus in Costa Rica on agro-export projects with small farmers in an attempt to stave off militant rural movements.

In the concluding chapter, the authors imply that the formation of the National Labor Committee in the AFL-CIO marked a shift away from the cold-war framework of the union's foreign policy. But they admit that most members of the AIFLD have little or no idea of what the organization is doing in their name and with their money, and until they have there is no way to generate enough pressure to terminate the AIFLD, much less to link US unions in real solidarity with those in other countries.



DIRECTORY

of IWW Branches & Delegates

United States

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

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, Sec'y), PO Box 2576, San Diego 92112.

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

GEORGIA. Delegate, 4310 E. Conway Drive, Atlanta 30327.

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

KENTUCKY. Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 37581.

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

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Guam

Shelby Shapiro, Delegate, Box 864, Agana 96910.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON? THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THUS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

Readers' Soapbox

To the Industrial Worker:

In a letter in the June *Industrial Worker*, Jeff Stein, commenting on my note on Camillo Berneri in the preceding issue, writes that he was "surprised to see the claim made that there was some doubt about who murdered Berneri", and argues that "all of the sources" that he has read agree that the great Italian anarchist was killed by Stalinists.

Among the sources Stein evidently has not read are the writings of historian Carlos Rama, notably his introduction to the Spanish edition of Berneri's *Class War in Spain* and his *Fascismo y anarquismo en Espana contemporanea*; Francisco Madrid Santos's excellent full-length biography of Berneri, published by the Berneri Family Archives; and Burnett Bolloten's *The Spanish Revolution*, one of the best overall studies of the Spanish workers' struggle. All of these works discuss the possibility—originally suggested by Spanish anarchists as early as June 1937—that Berneri's assassins may have been Francoist Fifth Columnists in the service of Mussolini's secret police. Carlos Rama finds this possibility strengthened by Pier Carlo Masini's recent researches showing that Mussolini's spies were in fact active in Spain at the time, and that "Il Duce" himself regarded Berneri, one of the best-known Italian anti-fascists, as the ringleader of an international plot against his life. Although Santos favors the view that the deed was done by Stalinists, he nonetheless summarizes Rama's findings and concludes by quoting Masini's contention that "the Berneri case is still wide open".

The American anarchist historian George Esenwein surveyed the conflicting views of Berneri's assassination in the December 1978 issue of *The Alarm*, an ephemeral bulletin produced in San Francisco. A more-detailed examination of the question by Esenwein will appear in the forthcoming Spanish translation of Bolloten's aforementioned book.

Stein is perfectly right in noting that Stalinists murdered many anarchists and other revolutionaries, and that Stalinism is as much the enemy of the working class as capitalism. Surely the fact that historians are able to dispute whether Berneri was murdered by Stalinists or by fascists tells us much about the class nature of Stalinism.

Yours for global bosslessness,

Franklin Rosemont

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

It is with regret that we inform our readers of the death of Raya Dunayevskaya, the Marxist-humanist philosopher and activist. The paper and organization that she helped to found in 1955, *News and Letters*, has been well known to many members of the IWW.

Raya rejected the idea that Marxism represented totalitarianism. Instead she criticized those governments and parties that established "workers' states" without workers' control. Although she worked as Leon Trotsky's secretary in the late 1930s, she broke with him over the Soviet Union after the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed.

As a writer, she has authored such books as *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, plus numerous articles and pamphlets.

As an activist, she has supported all liberation movements, whether for labor, women, people of color, or youth. She led her first strike at the age of 12, at a Chicago elementary school, over the issue of anti-Semitism and corporal punishment.

Her belief in maintaining a philosophy of liberation unseparated from the voices of revolt from below remained a central theme of her lectures and work. It is for this that her voice will most sorely be missed.

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There's a Reason WHY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE WORKERS REPUBLIC WILL TRIUMPH

ZAMBIAN DISPUTE WITH IMF MIRRORS AFRICAN DEBT WORRIES

When President Kaunda of Zambia abandoned the stringent austerity measures drawn up by the International Monetary Fund, he fueled a wide-ranging debate over whether the Fund's policies represent the best prescription for heavily-indebted Third World countries. The Zambian Congress of Trade Unions, which represents 360,000 workers, strongly recommended pulling out of the IMF program.

Under pressure from the IMF to reduce its \$5.1-billion-dollar foreign debt, Kaunda has undertaken an economic austerity program over the last few years including major cuts in Government spending and measures to diversify the economy. Also included were the lifting of millions of dollars in subsidies for staple foods and the establishment of weekly foreign-currency auctions that reduced the value of the kwacha, Zambia's basic unit of currency, from half a dollar to a nickel in less than two years.

Many Zambians, who live in a country that once enjoyed the highest per-capita income in all of black-ruled Africa, complained of soaring prices, increasing labor unrest, and a dramatic decline in living standards. Last December, when the Government stopped subsidizing cornmeal and its price went up at least 100%, 15 people died in the fiercest urban violence since the country won independence from Britain in 1964. The Government re-introduced the cornmeal subsidies, but four months later announced a 70% increase in fuel prices. The increase was canceled a day later amid signs of rising public dissatisfaction in a country where per-capita income has fallen from \$630 in 1981 to less than \$200 today.

Like other developing economies based on exports of raw materials, Zambia's economy remains almost totally dependent on copper, and thus on the fluctuations of World market prices. Copper still accounts for around 90% of the country's foreign-exchange earnings, and has steadily lost value during much of this decade. Even more foreboding for Zambia is that its copper resources are expected to be almost entirely depleted by the turn of the century.

Over 20 nations in sub-Saharan Africa have adopted IMF austerity programs, encouraging foreign investment, cutting social-welfare-type spending (military spending goes unchecked), increasing incentives for the wealthier farmers, de-valuing currencies, and easing State economic and import-export controls, in the hope that the decline in living standards will be temporary and will lead to sustained economic growth. More likely, however, the IMF policy will prove to be in the long run what it is in the short run: a suction tube to siphon the remaining wealth of the Third World into the First World. The precondition for solving the problems of the Third World is a massive downward shift in resources and decision-making power, and only Worldwide workers' solidarity can wrest this from the powers that be.

plp

UAW GETS QUALITY INPUT AT GM

The same day General Motors announced the recall of 1.1 million 1983-84 compact J-cars to repair seat backs that could suddenly tip over backward, along with 108,000 1985-86 Chevrolet Spectrum cars with faulty fuel pumps, it signed an agreement with the United Auto Workers aimed at improving the quality of GM cars. GM cars can do with a great deal of improving, but whether the provisions of the June 16th agreement (that workers would be rewarded with added pay and other benefits for improved quality efforts and that about six union members will work full-time with GM executives at the company's major car and truck divisions on design, engineering, and quality control) will allow workers to devote clearer thought to the bottom line, or merely allow the company to co-opt the union into sharing the blame for management mistakes, remains to be seen.

I.W.W. WORLD LABOR NEWS

MEXICAN WORKERS: POORER AND HUNGRIER

The economic crisis that began with the drop in oil prices in 1982 and shows few signs of ending today has affected all of Mexico's 82,000,000 people. Naturally, the working class has been hit the hardest. "You eat less, and there are some days you don't eat at all," said Mauricio Calderon, a 28-year-old plumber who lives with his in-laws in a distant suburb of Mexico City.

Just how many Mexicans are without a regular source of income and how they manage to keep afloat is uncertain. With presidential elections only a year ahead, Government statistics on the subject are either difficult to obtain or regarded as unreliable. But even a regular job is no guarantee of a living wage. According to a 1985 study by the Labor Congress, an umbrella organization for the country's unions, 56% of Mexicans with jobs earn less than the minimum wage, which is \$2.85 a day in the capital, and only 13% earn more than the minimum. Another study, by the Metropolitan University, found that the purchasing power of a worker earning minimum wage has fallen to less than it was in 1956, and less than half of what it was in 1939.

The decline has been most marked over the last five years, as galloping inflation has outpaced salary increases and erased gains made in the boom years of the 1970s. Since de la Madrid became president in 1982—according to economists, private labor groups, and foreign embassies in Mexico—workers' purchasing power has fallen by more than 50%.

In response, the workers are indeed eating less. A recent study of "Popular Consumption in the Crisis", undertaken by Maria Hernandez Ramos of the Metropolitan University, found that the "nutritional situation of the residents of working-class neighborhoods, which was already precarious, has suffered marked deterioration in the last few years". A kilogram (2.2 pounds) of chicken, whose purchase required an hour and a half of work at minimum wage in 1982, needed nearly five hours' work by January 1986. And a kilo of onions, which could be bought with just 16 minutes of work in 1982, had soared to 129 minutes in the same period.

The Hernandez study also found that because of frequent price increases, the frequency of meat consumption in working-class neighborhoods has fallen "from three or four days a week to only one or two, and at times none". Nationwide, milk consumption is now only a third that of soft drinks, which cost less and are more readily accessible.

CLEAN WATER FOR FARM WORKERS

This spring the US Labor Department issued long-deferred rules requiring that clean drinking water and sanitation facilities be provided on farms that employ 11 or more field workers. On behalf of the farm owners who feared the expense, the Government had been stalling since 1972, when El Congreso, an organization representing Hispanic Americans, petitioned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for the new sanitation rules. The new rules are expected to affect over 470,000 farm workers (about a fourth of them migrants) employed on about 54,000 farms. The total number of migrant farm workers in the US is estimated at 1.5 to 3 million, who if they work on farms with fewer than 11 workers will have to rely on state laws or themselves to pressure farm owners if they want toilets and drinking water.

COMPANY SUES ITS WORKERS' DOCTORS

From 1980 to 1984, only a handful of workers at the Dayton-Walther Corporation's flagship foundry in Dayton, Ohio filed workers'-compensation claims for occupational diseases. But from late July 1984 to early March 1985, while the plant was idle, the company was hit with more than a hundred claims from workers who had occupational diseases like silicosis, which impedes breathing, or hand and arm injuries from using vibrating tools. The claimants had all been examined and diagnosed by the doctors of the recently-opened Greater Cincinnati Occupational Health Foundation, one of more than 60 clinics that have sprung up around the country in recent years to provide diagnoses and medical care for workers with job-related health problems.

The management of the 80-year-old foundry, now a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Varsity Corporation, has sued the clinic for \$2,000,000 in damages, charging that the doctors were guilty of "medical negligence" or fraud in their diagnoses, and that they should be liable to the company because they knew the workers would file compensation claims. Dayton-Walther is apparently the first company to file suit against an occupational-health clinic, but many other companies feel threatened by the spread of these clinics, most of which are based at universities, hospitals, or medical schools and have strong union ties.

"Worker clinics are growing because ordinary clinics don't usually have a great deal of expertise in diagnosing occupational disease," explained Nicholas Asford, a lawyer and occupational-health policy expert who teaches at MIT. "Doctors who are trained in occupational medicine are more likely to find a connection between a health problem and workplace conditions."

So far, Dayton-Walther's lawsuit has been unsuccessful, as the first judge threw it out of court, saying the company has no legal right of action against the clinic. The company is appealing that ruling, and lawyers involved say they expect that the case will be decided by the Ohio Supreme Court.

KINGSPORT WORKERS RE-UNIONIZE

A quarter-century after five unions—the Bookbinders, Machinists, Printing Pressmen, Stereotypers, and Typographers—struck the anti-labor Kingsport Press in Kingsport, Tennessee, and 20 years after they were decertified, more than 2,000 workers at the successor firm have won collective-bargaining rights. In one of the largest victories in an election supervised by the National Labor Relations Board in the last four years, workers at Arcata Graphics in Kingsport and Churchill, Tennessee voted by more than a 2-to-1 margin for the Aluminum, Brick, and Glass Workers (ABG).

In March 1963 Kingsport workers walked out after management had refused to bargain in good faith, made unilateral changes in contracts, and subcontracted work without notice. Management brought in hundreds of scabs to keep the firm in business, and the AFL-CIO responded by adding Kingsport Press to its "Don't Buy" list and launching a nationwide boycott against the encyclopedias and textbooks the firm produced. In 1967 the NLRB de-certified the unions in an election in which only the scabs were permitted to vote. Several organizing campaigns by other unions since then proved unsuccessful.

In an echo of the problems that existed 25 years ago, job security was the main issue in the ABG organizing campaign. Earlier this year, Arcata Graphics fired 283 employees—some with as much as 34 years' seniority—and replaced them with temporary workers at just over the minimum wage. That's when Arcata employees began signing union-authorization cards.

STATE ISSUES MINE-SAFETY TIMETABLE

The Federal Mine Safety and Health Administration has issued emergency new mine-safety regulations requiring hands-on training with self-rescue devices. The Agency promised that by August it will develop regulations covering environmental monetary systems in the intake escapeway and belt-haulage entry, and structural and fire-resistance requirements for overcasts and stoppings in underground mines. These points are part of the seven recommendations made by the Agency's Longwall Mining Task Force in June 1985 in response to the Willbeg mine fire in Utah that killed 27 workers in December 1984. In April 1987 the Federal Mine Agency cited the mine's owner, the Utah Power and Light Company, for 34 safety violations, including 9 that contributed directly to the occurrence and seriousness of the fire. At the speed the Agency works at, the mine workers will do better to decide and enforce their own standards of mine safety.

FARMWORKER WOES

The United Farm Workers of America are asking for a waiver of the three million dollars required under California law to appeal the decision of an Imperial County Superior Court judge that the union must pay almost 1.7 million in damages to a lettuce grower. The court ruled earlier this year that the UFW, founded by Cesar Chavez, had sanctioned violence against scabs hired by the grower in a 1979 strike. Although growers' fears of unionization are credited with raising farm workers' wages throughout California, the UFW represents less than 10% of the state's 300,000 farm workers and has no significant contracts in other states.

